FOUNDATIONS OF PAKISTAN

All-India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947

Edited by
Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada

NATIONAL PUBLISHING HOUSE LIMITED

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PREFACE

The difficulties in tracing the records, reports and proceedings of the sessions of the All-India Muslim League and the meetings of its Council were many and somewhat distressing. However, almost all the available and ascertainable sources have been tapped. The documents collected in these volumes will speak for themselves.

Volume II of the Foundations of Pakistan is being published after some unavoidable delay in the final stages of editing and printing. I trust that it completes the detailed documentary picture of the All-India Muslim League's struggle for independence and Pakistan which in Volume I was carried up to its Fifteenth Session, Lahore, May 1924.

I am deeply indebted to Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, S.Pk., and Mr. Rafe-uz-Zaman for their valuable suggestions, constructive criticism, and close co-operation. I am also grateful to Dr. Moinul Huq, Dr. K. K. Aziz, Dr. Z. H. Zaidi, Mirza Akhtar Hassan, Mohammed Bhai Dadabhoy, Syed Hayder Ali Pirzada, Mr. Naeem Qureshi, Mr. Tariq Jalali, Mr. Muinuddin Chughtai and Mr. Jamal Ahsan. I must further record my thanks to Mr. Moinuddin Khan for preparing the index, and to the staff of the National Museum of Pakistan, Karach ; Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Karachi; Karachi University Library, the National Archives Library, Karachi; the India Office Library, London, and the British Museum.

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, S.Pk.
Karachi,
March 23, 1970

EDITORIAL NOTE

While meticulous care has been taken to quote documents accurately, checking all available sources, it has not been considered desirable to carry this to the point of reproducing minor but obvious errors of syntax, punctuation and spelling—which are doubtless due to typographical or editorial oversights. However, where there has been any uncertainty of meaning, a footnote or bracketed indication makes this clear. Spellings have been standardized throughout, except for personal names, where even the name of the same person is sometimes differently spelt from one chapter to another.[1]

These minor corrections of language and punctuation are made in the interests of both readability and justice to the speeches and proceedings here recorded—for the speakers would surely have wished that a careful printer would not perpetuate minor lapses of the spoken word in cold print, just because this was not done in the hastily produced reports, pamphlets, newspaper items and other documents from which the present compilation has been prepared.

1. The difficulty here is inherent in the difficulty of rendering Oriental names in the Roman script without cumbersome diacritical marks and of the lack of any standardization for transliteration.

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INTRODUCTION

A turning point in the history of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent was reached when the All-India Muslim League held its Twenty-seventh Session at Lahore in March 1940. On March 23 an epoch-making resolution was moved at that session, demanding that areas of the Subcontinent in which the Muslims were numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones, should be grouped to constitute Independent States. Having regard to the place of its adoption, the resolution was originally referred to as the Lahore Resolution. The Hindu Press, however, dubbed it the Pakistan Resolution, and eventually, in popular parlance, this name prevailed. The Lahore Resolution was the beginning of the end of the administrative unity of the entire Subcontinent, which had been created by the Muslim Emperors and continued by the British.

The conception of Pakistan (i.e. a separate homeland for the Muslims) has been traced back by historians to the entry of Islam in the Subcontinent, and attributed to Muhammad bin Qasim, the first Muslim conqueror of Sind, early in the eighth century, to Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1625), to Shah Wali Ullah (d. 1762), and later to Jamaluddin Afghani (d. 1897) and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (d. 1898). The partition of the Subcontinent[1] has been explained as the inevitable consequence of the irreconcilable differences bet-

1. It may be of some interest to note that on the eve of the Battle of Train (1192 A.D.), Sultan Mu'izz Al Din had suggested to his adversary, Prithwiraj, to partition the Subcontinent, leaving the region of Sirhind, Panjab and Multan with him (the Sultan) and retaining the rest of Hindustan for himself. The actual words of the famous historian, Firishtah, are:
با شما صلح کنیم که سر هند و پنجاب و ملتان با ما باشد و باقی ممالک هندوستان با شما ۔
See Firishtah (Bombay ed.), Vol. I, p. 101.

ween the Hindus and Muslims, which in their turn were the logical conclusion of Hindu-dreams of Hindu *padshahi*. One may easily read clear indications of these dreams in the rise and growth of Hindu nationalism in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and of Hindu revivalist movements in its last decades. Early in the present century, the policy of the Indian National Congress with regard to the partition of Bengal and the movement launched by it to get it annulled removed all doubts about the intentions of the Hindu leaders and their ultimate goal. The Muslim reaction to these ever-growing demonstrations of Hindu communalism was the demand for separate electorates. After a short interval of harmonious relations beginning with the Lucknow Pact of 1916, the forces of communal hatred reappeared in the early twenties in the form of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. The short-sightedness of the Congress leaders did not allow them to be fair to the Muslims. Even the most enlightened of them, Moti Lal Nehru, for instance, failed to do justice to their cause: the Nehru Report made the cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims wider than ever. In fact they failed to realize that the Muslims of the Subcontinent were determined to secure liberation from the British as well as the Hindus by establishing an independent homeland of their own. This led to the formulation of the famous Fourteen Points by the Quaid-i-Azam in January 1929.

The Hindus believed that they could suppress Muslim aspirations by using weapons of oppression, but this experiment during the period of Congress Rule in the Provinces (1937-39) failed miserably; in fact it intensified and further strengthened the determination of the Muslims to win their cause. The existence of two nations, which had always been a fact in the history of the Subcontinent since its conquest by the Muslims, now became clearer than ever.

"The main social result of the introduction of Islam as a religion into India", says a modern Hindu historian, "was the division of society on a vertical basis. Before the tenth century Hindu society was divided horizontally, and neither Budhism nor Jainism affected the division. They were not unassimilable elements and fitted in easily with the existing divisions. Islam, on the other hand, split Indian society into two sections from top to bottom, and what has now come to be known in the phraseology of to-day as two separate nations came into being from the beginning. At all stages they were different and hardly any social communication or intermingling existed between them.[1]

Genesis of Pakistan

In short, the fact that the population of the Subcontinent was comprised of different nationalities had made it impossible for them to be fused into a

1. K.M. Pannikar, *A Survey of Indian History*, p. 135.

single nation, and the notion, however nebulous, of a separate Muslim block and an alliance or federation of different States had been present in the minds of some people as early as, if not earlier than, the middle of the nineteenth century. Since then eminent writers had been expressing this idea in one form or the other.

It will be recalled that the Revolution of 1857 gave an impetus to the demand that the East India Company should not be allowed to continue to exercise political power in the Subcontinent. In June 1858 John Bright, speaking in Parliament on a Bill, had questioned the possibility of so extensive a country as India, with its different nations and languages, being consolidated into one compact and enduring empire. He suggested that instead of an empire, there should be different Presidencies and States, so that if at any future period the sovereignty of England were to be withdrawn, they should leave so many Presidencies built up and compacted together, each able to support its own independence and its own Government.[1]

In 1879, Jamaluddin Afghani thought of the possibility of establishing a Muslim Republic embracing the Central Asian Republics, Afghanistan and the Muslim majority areas of the Subcontinent.[2]

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first person to emphasize the fact that India was a continent rather than a country. Speaking on January 16, 1883, in the course of a discussion on the Local Self Government Bill, he stated this fact and pointed out that India was inhabited by peoples belonging to different races and following different creeds. In fact, as early as 1867 he had clearly foretold the separation of the two nations— Hindus and Muslims. His biographer Maulana Hali has reproduced his conversation with one of his friends, Mr. Shakespear: "During these days, when the Hindi-Urdu controversy was going on in Benares, I met Mr. Shakespear who was posted there as the Divisional Commissioner. I was saying something about the education of Muslims, and Mr. Shakespear was listening with an expression of amazement, when, at length, he said, 'This is the first occasion on which I have heard you speak about the progress of the Muslims alone. Before this you were always keen about the welfare of your countrymen in general'. I said, 'Now I am convinced that both these nations will not join whole-heartedly in anything. At present there is no open hostility between the two communities. But on account of the so-called educated people it will increase immediately

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1. *Selected Speeches of Rt.-Hon. John Bright on Public Questions* (J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London) p. 14.

   Reference may also be made to the observations of Sir John Strachey made as early as 1884: "This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India...that there is not, and never was, an India. Nor need it be feared that the bonds of union fashioned by British rule could ever in any way lead towards the growth of a single Indian nationality". Strachey, *India* (1888), p. 5.

2. I.H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, p. 295.

in future. He who lives will see.' Mr. Shakespear thereupon said, 'I am also extremely sorry, but I am confident about the accuracy of this prophecy.''[1]

An eminent Muslim writer, Abdul Halim Sharar, expressed similar ideas in an editorial of his magazine, *Muhazzib*, of August 23, 1890. "Times are such", he writes, "that the religious rites of one nation cannot be performed without injuring the susceptibilities of the other. If things have reached such a stage, it would be wise to partition India into Hindu and Muslim Provinces and exchange the population."[2]

In 1899 Theodore Morrison proposed, as a solution of India's political disabilities, the concentration of the entire Muslim population of the Subcontinent in the territory extending from Agra to Peshawar.[3]

The plan to partition the Subcontinent into Muslim and Hindu India was mooted in or about October 1917, on the occasion of the Stockholm Conference of the Socialist International, in a written statement submitted by Dr. Abdul Jabbar Kheiri and his younger brother, Professor Abdus Sattar Kheiri.[4]

In April 1920, a Muhammad Abdul Qadir Bilgrami (an assumed name) published *An Open Letter* to Mr. Gandhi advocating the division of the Subcontinent between the Hindus and the Muslims, even giving a list of the districts, fundamentally not too different from the present boundaries of East and West Pakistan.[5]

In the All-India Muslim League Session, held at Ahmedabad in 1921, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, the great poet and revolutionary, referred to the fear of the Muslims that on the establishment of self-government, the Hindus would use the political power of their numerical superiority to crush the Muslims. Three years later, he put forward a scheme to recognize the bicommunal (Hindu-Muslim) basis of the future Independent State and to convert the Muslim Majority Provinces into Muslim States and the Hindu Majority Provinces into Hindu States.

In 1923, Bhai Parmanand, the famous Hindu leader, published *Arya Samaj or Hindu Sangathan*, wherein it was propounded that Hindu-Muslim unity was unthinkable. According to him, the solution lay in either the Hindus assimilating the entire Muslim population of the Subcontinent or being eventually assimilated by the alien intruders. Rejecting both as impracticable, he proceeds to outline a solution of his own; "It struck me a long time ago that the only satisfactory avenue to unity is to effect complete severance

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1. *Hayat-i-Jawaid*, p. 94.
2. Quoted by A. S. Khurshid in *Karwan-i-Sahafat* (Karachi, 1964), p. 67.
3. *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, Vol. XIX, Jan.-April 1966 (Lahore), p. 7.
4. *Proceedings, Stockholm Conference of the Socialist International*, pp. 407-408.
5. The second edition of this letter was published in the form of a pamphlet from Badayun in 1922.

between the two peoples. India could be partitioned in such a manner as to secure the supremacy of Islam in one zone and that of Hinduism in the other."

Sardar Gul Khan, President of the Islamic Anjuman, Dera Ismail Khan, giving evidence before the North-West Frontier Committee (1924) stated: "Hindu-Muslim unity will never become a fact. We would very much rather see the separation of the Hindus and the Muhammedans, 23 crores of Hindus to the South and 8 crores of Muslims to the North. Give the whole portion from Raskumari to Agra to Hindus, and from Agra to Peshawar to Mohammedans."[1]

In 1924, the veteran Hindu leader, Lala Lajpat Rai, evolved a plan of partition for India, and reluctantly conceded the Muslims the North-West Frontier, Western Punjab, Sind and Eastern Bengal.[2]

In June 1925, Maulana Mohammad Ali advocated separation and the right of self-determination for the people of the northern areas of the Subcontinent for economic, strategic, religious and cultural reasons.[3]

In July 1925, William Archbold, sometime Principal of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, foresaw a powerful Mohammedan combination in the North-West in alliance with Afghanistan.[4]

In 1927, Maulana Obeidullah Sindhi, who had taken shelter in Russia and then in Turkey, formulated a scheme for a federal system in the Subcontinent on behalf of the Mahabharat at Sarvorajaya Party. The scheme contemplated the redistribution of the provincial boundaries of India and the creation of three zones: North-Western, Eastern and Southern. The North-Western Zone was to compromise, the Punjab (Eastern and Western Punjab and Gujrat), the Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan.

In March 1928, the *Times* correspondent in India envisioned effective Muslim rule in North India and prophesied the division of the Punjab and the creation of a solid Muslim bloc from Peshawar to the mouth of the Indus.

The Aga Khan, in the course of two articles in *The Times* (London) of October 12 and 13, 1928, observed: "India when freed from outside control, cannot have a unitary, non-federal government. The country must accept in all its consequences its own inevitable diversities, not only religious and historical, but also national and linguistic. It must base its constitution on an association of free States. Each free State would be based, not on considerations of size, but on those of religion, nationality, race and language—plus history. The compact bodies of Muslims in the North-West and East of India would have free States of their own."

In December 1928, the *Empire Review* made a favourable analysis of a suggestion for breaking up the Indian Provinces into small units in accordance

1. *Report of the North-West Frontier Enquiry*, 1924, p. 122.
2. *The Tribune* (Lahore), December, 14 1924.
3. *The Comrade* (Delhi), June, 5 1925.
4. See *Contemporary Review*, July 1925, p. 46.

with ethnic and local sentiment in order to allay communal fears. The implication was that at some future date it might be practicable or necessary to merge Muslim and Hindu areas into some sort of separate blocs.

In December 1929, Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, in his address as Chairman, Reception Committee of the All-India Khilafat Conference Lahore, observed: "India's freedom and progress depends on the fact that Muslims should be given such an area in Northern India which should consist of two or three Provinces or be made one Province. In the same way, in Eastern India, Bengal should be divided in such a manner that Muslims should form 80 per cent of the population. Muslims themselves should, instead of rights, demand a separate country and homeland."[1]

In 1929, Sir Ross Masood, in an interview with the Governor of the United Provinces is reported to have said: The differences of the Muslims with the Hindus are deep-seated, and the Muslims felt that they would be swamped in a self-governing India. Their minds are turning more and more to the idea of a federation between modernized Afghanistan with Persia in the background and with Allies in the frontier independent territories. The Punjab Muslims have long been talking among themselves of a union of the Northern Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan. A generation ago a union with Afghanistan would have been regarded with horror, for the Pathan was not a very popular person in Northern India; but the memory of his raids is dying out; and at present, at all events, it seems preferable to many of them to run the risk of engaging him as an ally rather than to accept the certainty of domination by a Hinduized Central Government.[2]

In the Presidential Address delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad, on December 29, 1930, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal said:

> "I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-goverment within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, and the formation of a consolidated North-West India Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."

In March 1931, *The Round Table* thought it certainly possible that India might break up, first into a Muslim and a Hindu India, and later into a number of national States as Europe did, after the Renaissance and the Reformation.[3]

In November 1931, *The Economist* saw the Muslims manoeuvring for an effective control of the entire Indus basin, Eastern Bengal and a corridor

1. Rafiq, Afzal, *Origin of the Idea for A Separate Muslim State*, p. 189.
2. India Office Library: Halifax Collection, MSS. European, c. 125/5; letter of the Governor of U.P. to the Viceroy, dated December 3, 1929.
3. *The Round Table*, March 1931, p. 346.

between the two.[1]

In December 1931, similar sentiments were voiced in a debate in the House of Commons by Col. Goodman, Sir Alfred Knox and Sir Henry Page Croft.[2]

In 1932, Sir Reginald Caddock observed that if Norway and Sweden could not keep together, if Ulster and the Irish Free State could not be got to unite, how could it be expected that the infinitely greater diversities and divergent racial elements to be found in India could be welded into one self-governing and democratic whole.[3]

John Coatman prophesied: "It may be that Muslim India in the North and North-West is destined to become a separate Muslim State or part of a Muslim Empire."[4]

In January 1933, Chaudhuri Rehmat Ali, a student at Chambridge, issued a pamphlet entitled *Now or Never*, and coined the term *Pakistan*. It was derived from the initial letters of Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (also called Afghan Province) Kashmir, Sind and the last syllable of Baluchistan. In the pamphlet the author stated that in the above-mentioned five Northern Provinces of India, the Muslims were about 30 million out of a total population of about 40 million, and their religion and culture, history and tradition, social code and economic system were fundamentally different from those of most peoples living in the rest of India. In the name of the Muslim brethren who lived in 'Pakistan', he demanded a separate Federation of these predominantly Muslim Units. Rehmat Ali launched the Pakistan National Movement by publishing and distributing pamphlets, tracts, handbills and other literature. A weekly newspaper, under the title *Pakistan*, was also started.

The Pakistan Scheme was the subject of questions in the proceedings of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee in 1932. The Muslim witnesses described it as a students' scheme which should be regarded as chimerical and impracticable.[5] Mr. J. L. French, former District Magistrate in the Punjab, however, told the Joint Committee that the idea of a great Islamic State was being discussed in Muslim circles in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.[6]

Some of the British members, however, expressed their opposition to the idea. The Duchess of Atholl, M. P., felt that the creation of Pakistan might mean civil war in India.[7] Mr. Vyvyan Adams voiced his disapproval

1. *The Economist*, November 7, 1931.
2. *H.C.* 260...December 1931. Cols. 1354, 1370, 1380.
3. R. Caddock, *The Dilemma in India* (1932), pp. 7-8.
4. J. Coatman, *Years of Destiny: India*, 1926-32, p. 376.
5. *Minutes of Evidence—Joint Committee of Indian Constitutional Reform* (*Session* 1932-33) Vol. II, p. 1496.
6. *Ibid.* pp. 16718-20.
7. *The Main Facts of the Problem*, pp. 25-26.

of the Pakistan Scheme in his speech in the House of Commons.[1] On the other hand, Major Yeats Brown saw no alternative to Pakistan. The Hindu leaders also did not consider Pakistan an impracticable students' dream. Mehr Chand Khanna, Professor Rai and others expressed grave fears regarding the Pakistan Movement.[2]

The editors of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first published in 1937, in its IVth Supplement took note of the Pakistan Movement.

A German daily printed a front-page story before the war, and the Movement found mention in Amir Shakib Araslan's review, *Les Nations Arabes*, published in French.[3]

Thus, by the time the All-India Muslim League was reorganized under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, the partition idea had found its way into the thinking of various politicians and writers, and the intelligentsia in general. Nevertheless, it took the League another three years to make a formal demand for it. Let us now see how this demand took its final shape and through what processes it had to pass.

In his correspondence with Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Iqbal canvassed the division of India. In a letter dated May 28, 1937, he wrote: "But the enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years, and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India, the only other alternative is a civil war, which as a matter of fact, has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots." Again in his letter of June 21, 1937, he stated: "In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities. I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that it would take 25 years to come."[4]

In October 1937, Syed Ali Jawad, in an article in *The Pioneer*, entitled 'The League and the Congress', said: "An alternative to a friendly settlement of our dispute is the partitioning of India into two parts, namely, Muslim India and Hindu India... Let us hope and pray that such a drastic cure of our ills will not have to be resorted to.[5]

In April 1938, G. L. Schanzlin discussed the Pakistan plan in detail in an article entitled 'The Rebirth of a Nation', in the *Moslem World*.[6]

On April 18, 1938, Abdul Jabbar Pahlown, M.L.A. (Bengal), gave

1. *Parliamentary Debates*, 1935, 301 H.C. 58.
2. *Civil and Military Gazette*, (Lahore), August 19, 1934.
3. I. H. Qureshi, *Op. cit.* p. 298.
4. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (published by Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, Lahore), p. 23.
5. *The Pioneer* (Lucknow), October 16, 1937.
6. *Moslem World*, Vol. XXVIII., No. 2, pp. 209-210

notice for moving a resolution in the Subjects Committee of the Special Session of the All-India Muslim League which, *inter alia*, provided: "India should be divided into two parts, namely Northern and Southern India—with their separate army and navy." The resolution was not placed before the Subjects Committee, as it was found to be time-barred.

Later in the same year (October 1938), the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference was held at Karachi under the presidentship of the Quaid-i-Azam himself. In his Presidential Address, Mr. Jinnah referred to the breaking up of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, and added that just as the Sudetan Germans were not defenceless and survived oppression and persecution for two decades, so also the Musalmans were not defenceless and could not give up their national entity and aspirations in this great continent. He accused the Congress of trying to destroy the Muslim League and dominate the Muslims by dividing them. He warned that this would result in India being divided.[1] The Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference, Sir Abdullah Haroon, hinted at the possibility of an independent federation of Muslim States.[2] Sheikh Abdul Majid threatened that "if the Congress did not concede Muslim rights, Muslims would have no alternative but to fall back upon the Pakistan Scheme", and that nothing would prevent Muslims from Karachi to Calcutta marching to their own self-determination.[3]

In the Subjects Committee of the Conference, a resolution was tabled which, *inter alia*, provided: "The Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment and political self-determination of the two nations, known as Hindus and Muslims, that India should be divided into two federations, namely, the Federation of Muslim States and the Federation of non-Muslim States.

"This Conference, therefore, recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslim Majority Provinces, Muslim Indian States, and areas inhabited by a majority of Muslims may attain full independence in the form of a federation of their own, with permission to admit any other Muslim State beyond the Indian frontiers to join the Federation, and with such safeguards for non-Muslim minorities as may be conceded to the Muslim minorities in the non-Muslim Federation of India."[4]

After discussion, the above draft was substituted by the following:

This Conference considers it absolutely essential, in the interests

1. *Leader* (Karachi), October 11, 1938.
2. *The Times of India* (Bombay), October 10, 1938.
3. *The Statesman* (Delhi), October 12, 1938.
4. *Ibid.*

> of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interest of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment and political self-determination of the two nations, known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to the All-India Muslim League to review and revise the entire conception of what should be the suitable constitution for India which will secure honourable and legitimate States to them.[1]

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi went to London in March 1939 and had talks with the Marquess of Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, and Col. Muirhead, and suggested to them the partitioning of India. Professor Rushbrook Williams realized the significance of the new Muslim opinion demanding a separate zone, and said that it testified to the degree of alarm characteristic of Muslim uncertainty.[2] *The Round Table* noted that a fresh impetus had been given to the movement for creating 'a so-called Pakistan' of the Muslim provinces in the North.[3]

Zonal Schemes

In 1938-39 various proposals advocating partition and the establishment of Muslim zones and separate States, were put forward by different individuals. Some notable schemes were those proposed by (i) Dr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, (ii) Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, then Premier of the Punjab, (iii) Mian Kifayat Ali[4] and (iv) Dr. Syed Zafarul Hasan and Dr. M. Afzal Qadri of Aligarh.[5]

The partition idea was spreading so fast and going so deep into the politics of the day that the Muslim League had to consider it seriously. Accordingly, its Working Committee met at Castle Mustafa, Meerut, on March 26, 1939, and passed the following Resolution:

> Whereas the All-India Muslim League is opposed to the Scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, and whereas the working of the Provincial part of the Constitution has created grave apprehensions amongst Muslims and other minorities regarding their future, because the Provincial Scheme has utterly failed to safeguard even the elementary rights of the Muslim minorities in various Provinces, and whereas by a resolution passed at the Patna Session in December, 1938, the President of the All-India Muslim League was authorized to adopt such course as may be necessary with a view to explore the possibility of a suitable alternative which would safeguard the interests of the Musalmans and other minorities, the President,

1. *The Pioneer* (Lucknow), October 15, 1938.
2. 'Indian Constitutional Problems' in *Nineteenth Century*, March 1939, pp. 292-3.
3. *The Round Table*, March 1939, p. 362.
4. His scheme was published under the title, *Confederacy of India by a Panjabi*.
5. This came to be popularly known as *The Aligarh Scheme*.

with the concurrence of the Working Committee, hereby appoints a Committee of the following gentlemen to examine various schemes already propounded by those who are fully versed in the constitutional developments of India and other countries and those that may be submitted hereafter to the President, and report to the Working Committee their conclusions at an early date:

(1) Mr. M.A. Jinnah (President)
(2) The Hon. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan
(3) Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan Saheb
(4) Syed Abdul Aziz Saheb
(5) Sir Abdullah Haroon
(6) The Hon. Sir Nazimuddin
(7) Abdul Matin Choudhri Saheb
(8) Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb
(9) Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Saheb (Convener).

Subsequently, the Quaid-i-Azam, addressing a meeting of the League Council held at Delhi on April 8, said that there were several schemes in the field, including that of dividing the country into Muslim and Hindu India. These schemes were before the Committee which had been set up by the Working Committee of the Muslim League. He assured the meeting that the Committee was not pledged to any scheme. It would examine the whole question and produce a scheme which, according to the Committee, would be in the best interest of the Muslims of India.[1]

Thus, a partitioned India had now come into the realm of practical politics.[2]

Early in the followig year (February, 1940) meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League were held in Delhi. The question of a seprate homeland for the Muslims were seriously considered and it was decided to propose it officially at the open session to be held in March.[3]

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1. *The Indian Annual Register*, 1939.
2. Mansergh, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs: Problems of External Policy*, 1931-39, p. 356.
3. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman gives the following version of the proceedings of the Working Committee held on February 4, 1940: . . . I also pointed out to the members that recently Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had published a scheme for the future constitution of India in which he had proposed the division of India into seven different zones, and had also provided for a confederal structure. Personally, I said, I would suggest confining our demand to the separation of Muslim zones, *viz*, N.W.F.P., Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab in the North-West and Bengal and Assam in the East, and would leave the rest to the Congress to deal with. At this stage, Sir Sikandar, who was sitting to the right of Mr. Jinnah, started pleading for his confederal scheme and Mr. Jinnah opposing it. The discussion went on for about two hours, when finally, with the concurrence of the members, Mr. Jinnah rejected Sir Sikandar's scheme and entered in his notebook my suggestion with approval." *Pathway to Pakistan* (Longmans, 1961), pp. 233-234.

Two days after the meeting of the Working Committee held at Delhi (*i.e.* on February 6, 1940), the Quaid-I-Azam met the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, and conveyed to him that the Muslim League in its open seession at Lahore was going to demand the partition of the country.

1940 Open Session of the League

On March 22, 1940, Mr. Jinnah delivered his Presidential Address in the open session. He pointed out that Islam and Hinduism were not religions in the strict sense of the word, but were in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it was a dream that Hindus and Muslims could ever evolve a common nationality. He warned that if the British Government were really in earnest and sincerely wished to secure peace and happiness for the people of this Subcontinent, the only course open was to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national States'. He affirmed that the Musalmans were a nation according to any definition of a nation, and that they must have their homeland, their territory and their State.[1]

Authors of the Resolution

Just before the session, the Working Committee, in its meeting held on March 21, 1940, had appointed a Committee, with the Quaid-i-Azam and Sikandar Hayat Khan as its members, to draft a resolution. Sir Abdullah Haroon claimed that the resolution was drafted in the light of an outline he had placed in the hands of the Quaid-i-Azam in the shape of a short memorandum in February 1940.[2] According to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Sir Sikandar had sent his suggestions to the Quaid-i-Azam in advance of the session through Mir Maqbool.[3] Sir Sikandar gives this version:[4]

"I have no hesitation in admitting that I was responsible for drafting the original resolution. But let me make it clear that the resolution which I drafted was radically amended by the Working Committee, and there is a wide divergence between the resolution I drafted and the one that was finally passed. The main difference between the two resolutions is that the latter part of my resolution, which related to the centre and co-ordination of the activities of the various units, was eliminated."

A claim has been made that Mr. Fazlul Haq was also associated with the drafting of the Lahore Resolution. In a letter dated October 13, 1945, addressed to Muhammad Shahjehan, Mr. Huq stated: "as regards Pakistan, I stand by the Resolution whose wording I drafted, and which I moved in the Lahore Session of the Muslim League". His biographer, referring to the Sub-committee constituted by the Muslim League at Meerut in 1939, writes:

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1. *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*, with Preface by M. A. Jinnah, pp. 1-5.
2. Letter to Quaid-i-Azam dated February 11, 1941, reproduced in *Pakistan Issue*, p. 75.
3. Syed Noor Ahmad, *Marshal Law Se Marshal Law Tak*, p. 200.
4. *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, March 11, 1941.

"The Subcommittee approached Mr. Fazlul Haq and entrusted him with the onerous task of drafting the Constitution of the prospective Pakistan. He drafted the same and submitted it to the Subcommittee which approved it."[1] No corroboration of these claims is available. From the reports, it appears that Mr. Haq arrived at the meeting from Calcutta when the Draft Resolution was under discussion in the Subjects Committee. He, therefore, could not have had a hand in its drafting. Of course, he did move the Resolution in open session.

Resolution before the Subjects Committee

On March 22, at about 8 p.m., a meeting of the Subjects Committee was held. The Quaid-i-Azam informed the Committee that the draft resolution was being typed and would be placed before the Committee shortly. In the meantime, he explained the two-nation theory in detail. When the draft resolution was received, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan read out its text. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan gave its Urdu translation. As the members wanted time to consider the resolution, the Committee adjourned to the next day. On the 23rd the Committee resumed its sitting at 11 a.m.; and after seven hours discussion, the resolution, with some alterations, was adopted. It is understood that a number of amendments were moved by the representatives of Muslim Minority Provinces in connection with the safeguards.[2] The resolution reads as follows:

> While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated August 27, September 17 and 18 and October 22, 1939, and February 3, 1940, on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of the country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.
>
> It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated October 18, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act is based will be considered in consultations with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de-novo*, and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.
>
> Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on

1. Abdur Rab, *A. K. Fazlul Haq*, p. 10.
2. *The Statesman* (Delhi), March 23, 1940.

> the following basic principle, *viz.*, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, *with such territorial readjustment as may be necessary*, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to consititute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.
>
> That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically[1] provided in the Constitution of minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests *in consultation with them*; *and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically*[1] *provided in the Constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.*
>
> This Session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally, by the respective regions, of all power , such as defence, external affairs, communication, and such other matters as may be necessary.

The italicized passages in the third and fourth proposals were additions made to the original resolution.[2]

Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi moved an amendment for the deletion of the following words:

> That geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States.

He suggested that the provinces of the Punjab, Sind, the Frontier and Baluchistan should be specially mentioned therein.[3] Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan intervened and said that the omission of the names of the provinces was deliberate, otherwise the territory of the proposed State would extend only up to Godhgaon. He added that by using the expression 'territorial readjustment', it was not intended to surrender portions of the Punjab and

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1. In the official publication called *Resolutions of All-India Muslim League from December 1938 to March 1940*, published by the Hon. Sec., All-India Muslim League, Delhi, on p. 47, the word used is 'specifically'. In some publications, as for instance *India's Problem and Her Future Constitution*, the expression used is, 'specially'. It seems that the official version is correct.
2. *The Statesman* (Delhi), March 24, 1940.
3. *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Lahore), April 21, 1964.

Bengal but to claim areas of Muslim culture like Delhi and Aligarh.[1] After this clarification the Committee approved the resolution. Subsequent events hardly justify the interpretation given by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. In October 1942, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam, expressing his apprehensions about the future interpretation of the phrase. He pointed out that the words 'territorial readjustment' could be interpreted to mean that those divisions or sub-divisions in which Muslims were not in a majority could later be detached from the Muslim provinces of Punjab and Bengal,[2] And this clause was later utilized by the Congress and the Hindus in favour of the exclusion of various districts from within the provincial boundaries of the Punjab and Bengal—which now form part of Indian territory.

Adoption of the Lahore Resolution

On March 23, 1940, a resolution was moved in the open session of the Muslim League by Mr. Fazlul Haq, then Premier of Bengal. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman seconded the resolution. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, and Mr. Abdullah Haroon supported the resolution. As it was time for prayers, the session was adjourned to the following day. On March 24, discussion of the resolution was resumed. Qazi Isa, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, Dr. Mohammad Alam, Khan Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, Syed Zakir Ali, Begum Mohammad Ali and Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni spoke in support of the resolution, which was passed unanimously amid great enthusiasm.

The Lahore Resolution was thus proposed on March 23, but actually passed on March 24, 1942. And on Friday, the 19th of April, 1940, the Muslim League organized a nation-wide Lahore Resolution Day. Public meetings were held by all provincial, district and primary League bodies to explain and support the historic resolution. But in view of the fact that the Lahore Resolution was moved on March 23, it has ever since 1941 been celebrated on March 23. When Pakistan became a republic, March 23 was designated Pakistan Day.

Resolution Termed 'Pakistan'

The news of the adoption of the resolution was flashed all over the world. The *Milap* and other Hindu papers published it under the headlines of 'Pakistan Resolution', with, no doubt, an ulterior object. An attempt was made to create confusion by raising the cry '*Pak*' (pure) and '*Na-Pak*' (impure) States, and by the bogey of Pan-Islamism. The expression, however, caught the public imagination and soon became popular. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman recalls: "The next morning the Hindu Press came out with big headlines 'Pakistan Resolution Passed', although the word was not used by anyone

1. *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Lahore), March 23, 1960.
2. *Pathway to Pakistan*, Longmans, Pakistan Branch, Karachi, 1961, pp. 424-427.

in the speeches[1] nor in the body of the Resolution. The Nationalist Press supplied to the Muslim masses a concentrated slogan which immediately conveyed to them the idea of a State. It would have taken long for the Muslim leaders to explain the Lahore Resolution and convey its real meaning and significance to them. Years of labour of the Muslim leaders to propagate its full import amongst the masses was shortened by the Hindu Press in naming the resolution the 'Pakistan Resolution.' "[2]

In the beginning Mr. Jinnah referred to it as the Lahore Resolution.[3] At the Delhi Session of the Muslim League, he recalled:

> Now one more thing I wish to say about Pakistan is this. There is a new propaganda. The latest argument I think is really very wicked, the most wicked of all. The argument is this: Mr. Jinnah is working for the territories in the North-West and East Zones '*Pak*' and the others '*Na-Pak*'. I have heard this from several quarters—and I was thunderstruck. You know what false propaganda can do. I think you will bear me out that when we passed the Lahore Resolution we had not used the word 'Pakistan'. Who gave us this word? (Cries of "Hindus".) Let me tell you it is their fault. They started damning this resolution on the ground that it was Pakistan. They are really ignorant of the Muslim movement. They fathered this word upon us. 'Give the dog a bad name and then hang him.' You know perfectly well that Pakistan is a word which is really foisted upon us and fathered on us by some sections of the Hindu Press and also by the British Press. Now our resolution was known for a long time as the Lahore Resolution, popularly known as Pakistan. But how long are we to have this long phrase? Now I say to my Hindu and British friends: We thank you for giving us one word.
>
> What is the origin of the word Pakistan? It was not the Muslim League or the Quaid-i-Azam who coined it. Some fellows in London,[4] who wanted a particular part of the North-West to be separated from the rest of India, coined a name in 1929-30, started the idea, and called a zone Pakistan. They picked up the letter P for Punjab, A for Afghan—as the N.W.F.P. is known even to-day as Afghan—K for Kashmir, S

1. Syed Hasan Riyaz in *Pakistan na-guzir tha*, p. 57, writes that Begum Mohammad Ali in her speech referred to the resolution as the Pakistan Resolution. This has not been substantiated by any other source.
2. Khaliquzzaman, *op. cit.*, p. 237,
3. On December 25, 1940, he for the first time described it as the Pakistan Resolution.
4. The reference is to Choudhry Rahmat Ali who coined the word 'Pakistan' in 1933. (See his pamphlet, *Now or Never*). The term Pakistan began its life as a cluster of initials artificially compounded to form the initials of Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, (also called Afghan Province) Kashmir, Sind, and the ending of Baluchistan. The letter 'i' in the transliteration of Pakistan (پاکستان) is the Urdu short vowel (زیر) which is placed under a letter.

for Sind, and Tan for Baluchistan. A name was coined. Thus, whatever may have been the meaning of this word at the time, it is obvious that the language of every civilized country invents new words. The word Pakistan has come to mean the Lahore Resolution. We wanted a word and it was foisted on us, and we found it convenient to use it as a synonym for the Lahore Resolution.

Further light on the origin and meaning of the term is thrown in the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence of 1944. In his letter of September 15, 1944, Mr. Gandhi enquired: "Pakistan is not in the resolution. Does it bear the original meaning—the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan, out of which the name was formed? If not, what is it?" The Quaid-i-Azam in his letter of September 17, 1944, replied "Yes, the word 'Pakistan' is not mentioned in the resolution, and it does not bear the original meaning. The word has now become synonymous with the Lahore Resolution."

Congress Reactions

Mr. Gandhi stated that by passing a resolution favouring the vivisection of India into two, the Muslim League had created a baffling situation. According to him partition would mean suicide and the two-nation theory was an untruth. He declared those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide.[1] He considered vivisection to be a sin,[2] a call to war.[3] By June 1947, however, Gandhi had veered round and blessed the partition. C. Rajagopalachari opposed the resolution, describing it as cutting the body into two,[4] but later he realized the logic behind it and its inevitability. Nehru and some-other Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders were quite violent in their criticism.

Indian Press Comments

The Hindustan Times wrote: "History has made Muslims and Hindus in India into one people, which even the ingenuity of the most ingenious constitution-monger will be unable to divide. To break up the unity of India is not to satisfy the ambitions of this community or that, but to ruin the peace and prosperity of people of this country as a whole. This is a solution which the Muslim community as a whole will reject, whatever the League and its leaders do", *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* considered it to be an absurd scheme: "If the Muslims cannot live as a minority community under an All-India Government, can they expect the Hindus to live under a Muslim majority? What is Mr. Jinnah going to do with the non-Muslim minorities in the Muslim States? Unless he is prepared to make them magically disappear, he must

1. *Harijan*, April 6, 1940.
2. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Vol. 6, p. 107.
3. D.G. Kaushik, *The House That Jinnah Built*, p. 132.
4. *The Statesman*, January 23, 1942.

arrange for an exchange of population with neighbouring Hindu States. Can millions and millions of people be so transplanted? We pause for a reply."

The Statesman, on the other hand, found Pakistan a live issue. "If India receives Dominion Status, partition seems the inevitable result in view of the attitude which the Muslim community appears disposed to adopt. If that really represents their position, neither the Congress nor the Hindu Mahasabha would be able to hold them." There would probably be fighting, but in any case there would be partition. "Mr. Jinnah is no religious fanatic. Not hastily or willingly has he gone along the road that has led him to embrace the idea of Pakistan. If both sides will face realities and discuss them without passion, Mother India can yet be saved."[1]

British Press Comments

The Times held the Congress policy responsible for the emergence of Muslims as a separate nation, but disfavoured the Pakistan proposal as "it would mean an end to Indian unity".[2]

The New Statesman's reaction was that the Indians did not divide on the lines of creed but on economic lines, and that the communal division had been recognized and exaggerated by the white rulers for their own ends.[3]

The Economist contented itself with saying that it was foolish to suppose, as the Congress did, that divisions of race and culture, which had created fundamental political cleavages all over the world, would in India be slurred over by denying their existence.[4]

The Observer appreciated that a new phase of the Indian problem had opened, and read in it the implied warning that the Congress must revise its policy of 'a crude democratic consultation' for all India if it wanted other Indian communities to co-operate with it.[5]

For the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Jinnah, by getting the resolution passed, had 're-established the reign of chaos in Indian politics', and the plan struck at the heart of Indian nationalism.[6]

Nature gave a favourable comment: "Apart from the fact that the voice of a minority of some 80 million or more, sectional differences, for once, forgotten, cannot be ignored, it is based upon a very real difference in cultural traditions, as every student of Indian civilization is aware; for the Muslim tradition fosters a democratic outlook, while fearing and resenting Hindu domination in an independent India, which would, from its immemorial tradition of caste, be essentially oligarchic in practice. However impracti-

1. Reproduced by Dr. Ashraf in *Pakistan*, pp. 100-106.
2. March 27, 1940.
3. March 30, 1940.
4. March 30, 1940.
5. March 31, 1940.
6. April 2, 1940.

cable the Muslim demand may be , no solution will secure the future of India in world affairs or internally which attempts to ignore or override these fundamental differences of culture and tradition."

Interpretation of the Resolution

The Lahore Resolution was discussed in detail and at length. The expression 'Independent States' had been used in the Resolution; and considerable comment has been made on the alleged ambiguity of its meaning, especially about whether the resolution contemplated one or more Muslim States. Dr. Ambedker wrote: "It speaks of grouping the zones into 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign. The use of the term 'constituent units' indicates that what is contemplated is a Federation. If that is so then the use of the word 'sovereign' as an attribute of the units is out of place. Federation of units and sovereignty of units are contradictions."[1] Professor Coupland says: "It could scarcely mean that the constituent units of the independent States were really to be sovereign, but that it did mean that the States were to be really independent."[2] Mary Loise Becker considers that the Lahore Resolution only referred to " 'Independent States'....autonomous and sovereign *vis-a-vis* Hindu India, but not in relation to one another."[3]

Sir B.N. Rao, Constitutional Adviser to the Government of India, and later a Judge of the International Court of Justice, gave the following interpretation of the Lahore Resolution in his outline entitled *A New Constitution, prepared for the benefit of the Government of India*, 1945:

> According to the Resolution, the two regions, with necessary territorial adjustments, are to be 'independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'. The language used is loose: apparently what is meant is that the two regions should form a single independent State, Pakistan, of which the several provinces are to be constituent units. In other words, Pakistan is to be a Federation by itself. At present the whole of British India is in a sense a single Federation; Mr. Jinnah seems to contemplate its division into two Federations, Pakistan and Hindustan, independent of each other. The Pakistan Federation would thus consist of two zones separated from each other by Hindustan territory.[4]

Clarifications by the Quaid-i-Azam and League Resolutions

In a signed preface to *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*, dated

1. B.R., Ambedkar, *Thoughts on Pakistan*, 1941, p. 17.
2. R. Coupland, *Indian Politics*, part II, 1944, p. 208.
3. *All-India Muslim League*, unpublished thesis presented by M. L. Becker, Harvard University, 1957.
4. Sir B.N. Rao, *India's Constitution in the Making*, p. 16.

October 7, 1940, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "That the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent State (*sic*), in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

At the annual session of the Muslim League held in Madras in April 1941, the Lahore Resolution was made the creed of the Muslim League, and the aims and objects of the Muslim League were amended so as to conform thereto. It is interesting to note that the word 'together' was added after the word 'grouped', the amendment reading:

> The North-Western and Eastern zones of India shall be grouped *together* to constitute independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

At the Thirty-first Annual Session of the Muslim League held in December, 1943, at Karachi, a resolution was adopted appointing a Committee to prepare a comprehensive scheme for economic and social uplift, including: State industrialization in the Pakistan zones; introduction of free primary basic education; reform of the land system; stabilization of rent; security of tenure; improvement in conditions, of labour and agriculture; control of money-lending. It may be mentioned that the resolution envisaged Pakistan as an independent sovereign State consisting of provincial states.

An authoritative interpretation of the Lahore Resolution by the Quaid-i-Azam is found in the famous Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence of September 1944.

Mr. Gandhi enquired:

> Are the constituents in the two zones to constitute 'Independent States' an undefined number in each zone?[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam replied:

> No. They will form units of Pakistan.[2]
>
> . . . Pakistan is composed of two zones, North-West and North-East, comprising six provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore Resolution.[3]

On December 2, 1944, the Quaid-i-Azam gave an interview to Mr. Paul Fang of the Central News Agency of China and explained Pakistan in these words:

> There are six provinces in the North-West and East zone of this great Subcontinent of India and those are Sind, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P.,

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1. Letter of Mr. Gandhi dated September 15, 1944. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (*Ed.*), *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, Guild Publishing House, Karachi, 1966 edition, p. 107.
2. Letter of Mr. Jinnah dated September 17, 1944. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
3. Letter of Mr. Jinnah dated September 25, 1940. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. In the Northern zone Musalmans have a majority of 70 per cent as against the caste Hindus, and they (the provinces) have been the homeland of Musalmans for one thousand years, and we want to establish our independent sovereign Muslim State."

The Quaid-i-Azam on the Concept of Pakistan

On November 8, 1945, the Quaid-i-Azam gave an interview to a representative of the Associated Press of America, who reports on this interview as follows:

Mr. Jinnah emphasized and re-emphasized that he spoke for himself as a citizen and as President of the League. But he said he did not intend to try to dictate to constitution-drafting and legislative bodies of Pakistan and did not want to create an impression that he was trying to do so now.

Geographically, Pakistan would embrace all of the North-Western Frontier, Baluchistan, Sind and the Punjab Provinces in north-western India. On the eastern side of India would be the other portion of Pakistan composed of Bengal (including the rich industrial and port-city of Calcutta) and Assam Provinces.

Politically, Pakistan would be a democracy. Mr. Jinnah said he personally hoped its major industries and public utility services would be socialized. The component States or Provinces of Pakistan would have autonomy.

Economically, Mr. Jinnah contended, Pakistan, divided into two separate zones, is just as sound an undertaking as though it would be a country with all of its States in one block; that its natural resources and population would be sufficient to make it a great world power.

He said that "even now a Muslim League Committee is studying the field for developing the Pakistan States as a nation. There is a great future for it, with its still untouched iron, petroleum, sulphur, coal and other mineral deposits, many of which already have been mapped. The Punjab is putting up one of the greatest hydroelectric stations in the world, and this will mean a rural electrification and industrial development programme".

He said there would be ample revenues from "equitable taxation levied in a manner consistent with social justice" to finance good Government and "allow us to have a State as good as any in the world and better than many sovereign countries on the map of the world today".

"This would be a Muslim State", Mr. Jinnah said. "As far as the Musalman is concerned, there would be no social barriers of any kind against Hindus or anyone else. The Musalmans are a people who

believe and act on the basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity."

On the subject of socialism of utilities and industries, he said, "You are asking me to interpret what the Government will do". But personally, he said, "I believe that in these modern days, essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State. That applies also to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for the law makers to say, not for me to say . . ."

Mr. Jinnah said he did not expect Pakistan would have a one-party government, and that he would oppose one-party rule. "An opposition party or parties are good correctives for any party which is in power", he said.

Pakistan's theory, he said, guarantees that federated units of the national Government would "have all the autonomy that you will find in the constitutions of the United States of America, Canada and Australia. But certain vital powers will remain vested in the Central Government, such as the monetary system, national defence and other federal responsibilities".

He said each federated State or Province would have its own legislative, executive and judicial system, each of the three branches of Government constitutionally separate.[1]

League Legislator's Convention

In 1945 elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures were held. The Muslim League fought the elections on the issue of Pakistan. In an election speech the Quaid-i-Azam said:

> Our demand of Pakistan is clear. The areas in which Muslims are numerically in majority should be grouped to constitute an independent State. If the Muslim verdict is against Pakistan, I will stand down.[2]

The League won all the Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly. In the Provincial elections, the Muslim League won 439 out of 494 Muslim seats. The Muslims thus gave a clear verdict in favour of Pakistan.

It may be recalled that between 1940 and 1945, consideration was given to various modes of ascertaining the opinion of the Muslims of the Subcontinent on the issue of Pakistan. Mr. Gandhi had suggested that the only satisfactory mode was the vote of the adult Muslim population[3]. Maulana Azad had said that the matter should be decided by Muslim representatives in the Constituent Assembly. Another suggestion made was that the

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1. *Times of India* (Bombay), November 9, 1945.
2. Speech at Quetta on October 10, 1945. Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah. Edited by by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, (Sh. M. Ashraf, Lahore), Vol. II, p. 411.
3. Mr. Gandhi's letter dated May 30, 1940, to Ziauddin Chaudhary.

question of Pakistan be referred to the elected Musalmans of the Central and Provincial Legislatures. When the Congress challenged the right of the Muslim League to nominate the full Muslim quota in the Interim Central Cabinet, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, in a communication to the Quaid-i-Azam, suggested that the issue be decided by a Convention of all the Muslim members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures.[1] Now that Muslims had given their verdict at the elections in favour of Pakistan—perhaps with this background in view—the Convention of Muslim League Legislators, Central and Provincial, was convened in April 1946.

Inaugurating the Convention, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "This Convention is one the like of which has never taken place in the history of India." A Subjects Committee was constituted, consisting of 10 per cent of the Legislators in each Province. Bengal was represented, among others, by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Mr. Abul Hashim, Mr. Hameedul Huq, Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Mr. Nurul Amin. Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani represented Assam. The Subjects Committee took five hours to discuss the draft of the resolution that was to be presented before the open session. Mr. Abul Hashim raised a question on the word 'States' used in the Lahore Resolution, but was overruled by the Quaid-i-Azam.[2] On April 9, 1946, the open session of the Convention unanimously adopted a resolution which clearly indicated that Pakistan was intended to be a single, sovereign State. The resolution, *inter alia*, provided:

> That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East, and Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India, namely Pakistan zones, where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent State, and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay. . .

Moving the resolution, Mr. Suhrawardy paid a warm tribute to the Muslims of the minority provinces, from whom, he said, originated the wave of the movement for Muslim freedom. He added: Muslims of Bengal are prepared to make every sacrifice for the greater glory of Pakistan. At the conclusion of the Convention, Mr. Suhrawardy remarked: The question before the country now is one of Pakistan and Hindustan. Once this is conceded, it will be for the Pakistan State to define the status of its constituent units. The units should as far as possible be workable units and should conform to the conditions of linguistic and cultural affinities.[3]

Before the Convention was dissolved, all the members of the Convention signed pledges solemnly declaring their firm conviction that the safety,

1. Letter dated July 2, 1945. Shamsul Hassan, personal collection of Jinnah papers.
2. Khaliquzzaman, *op. cit.*, p. 344; M.A.H. Isphani, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, As I knew Him* (Forward Publications Trust, 1966), p. 159.
3. *Morning News* (Calcutta), April 13, 1946.

security, salvation and destiny of the Muslim nation lay only in the achievement of Pakistan.

Council Meeting of the League

After the Convention, a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League was held on April 10, 1946. It is asserted by Mr. Abdul Wahid Khan and other Leaguers that the resolution adopted by the Legislators' Convention was placed before the Council[1]. It is, however, denied by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman[2] and Mr. Z.H. Lari.[3] The official publication of League resolutions gives the text of the resolutions adopted by this Council meeting on other topics; but unfortunately, the minutes of the full proceedings of the meeting are not available in the official records of the Muslim League. It may, however, be noted that on March 24, 1946, the Secretary of the Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, issued te following notice:

> A meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League will be held on Wednesday the 10th of April, 1946, at 10 a.m. in the Anglo-Arabic College Hall, Ajmeri Gate, Delhi, under the Presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah—
>
> A) To consider the resolution that may be passed by the All-India Muslim League Legislators' Convention to be held in Delhi on the 7th, 8th and 9th of April, 1946.
>
> B) Any other item with the permission of the President.

In view of the above notice, in the ordinary course, the meeting must have been conducted in accordance with the above Agenda. Be that as it may, other resolutions of the Working Committee and the Council of the Muslim League are explicit and clear.

Other Resolutions of the Council

On April 26, 1946, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League authorized the Quaid-i-Azam to send a reply to the Cabinet Mission, *inter alia*, to the following effect:

> They, however, desire me to invite your attention to the position taken up by the Muslim League since the passing of the Lahore Resolution in 1940, successfully endorsed by the All-India Muslim League Session and again by the Convention of the Muslim League Legislators as recently as April 1946, as per copy enclosed.

The Council of the Muslim League, at its meeting held on June 6, 1946, at New Delhi, considered the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on May 16, 1946, and other relevant statements and docu-

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1. *Dawn* (Karachi), September 2 and 21, 1969.
2. *Ibid.*, September 17, 1969.
3. *Ibid.*, September 18,1969.

ments, and in a resolution placed on record its views for the guidance of the nation:

> In order that there may be no manner of doubt in any quarter, the Council of the *All-India Muslim League reiterates that the attainment of the goal of complete sovereign Pakistan still remains the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India*, for the achievement of which they will, if necessary, employ every means in their power and consider no sacrifice or suffering too great.

Subsequently, at a meeting held in Bombay on July 29, 1946, the League Council passed a resolution withdrawing its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission plan, and called on the Muslims throughout India to celebrate August 16, 1946, as Direct Action Day. In this resolution it was stated that:

> The scheme of the Cabinet Mission fell far short of the demand of the Muslim Nation for the immediate establishment of *an independent and full sovereign State of Pakistan comprising the six Muslim Provinces.*

The Birth of Pakistan

On June 3, 1947, the British Government made the famous statement regarding the mechanics of the division of the Subcontinent; and on June 9, 1947, the Council of the Muslim League met to consider the proposals embodied in the statement. The Council was of the opinion that "although it could not agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, it had to consider His Majesty's Governments' plan for transfer of power as a whole." The Council gave full authority to the President of the Muslim League to accept the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise, and empowered him to take all necessary steps and decisions in connection with and relating to the Plan. The Plan was accordingly accepted by the Quaid-i-Azam. In July 1947, the Indian Independence Act was passed to set up the Dominions of India and Pakistan. So on August 14, 1947, within eight years of the adoption of the Lahore Resolution, Pakistan emerged as an independent sovereign State.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SIXTEENTH SESSION

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 30-31, 1924

The Sixteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened in Bombay on December 30, 1924, at 11 a.m. in the big hall of the Globe Cinema Theatre.

The attendance of members was unusually large and representative of Muslim opinion of all shades. In addition to members of the League, the following were amongst the distinguished visitors present on the dais: Dr. Annie Besant, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru, Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. Joseph Baptiste, Mr. N. V. Gokhale, Mr. T. G. Goswami, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. P. Joseph, Mr. Justice Suleman, Major Nawab Mumtaz Yaruddoula Bahadur, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Hussain Hedayatullah, Mr. A. M. K. Dehlavi.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Holy Quran, after which Mr. Sheriff Deoji Canji, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address of welcome.

The President of the Session, Syed Riza Ali, then directed the Secretary to read the messages of sympathy which had been received. When this had been done, Syed Riza Ali read his Presidential Address.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SYED RIZA ALI

Fellow-member, ladies and gentlemen, let me tender you my most sincere thanks for the signal honour you have conferred upon me by asking me to preside over your deliberations. To be called upon to take this chair is an honour of which the occupant may always feel justly proud. The situation, which we have met to consider, however, is so overwhelmingly complicated that as I stand before you today, it is not so much the proud position to which you have raised me, great as it is, as the heavy responsibility

1. *Source*: Brief Minutes of the Proceedings by Syed Zahur Ahmad, Hon. Secretory. Printed by the Students Commercial House, Lucknow.

which it imposes upon me that occupies my mind. When I recall the conditions under which the leaders of our community decided to hold the historic 1915 Session of the League in Bombay, pass in review the rapid developments witnessed by the League at Delhi in 1918, and at Amritsar in 1919, and compare the situation as it was at Ahmedabad in 1921 with the disruptive forces that are at work on all sides to-day, I feel unworthy of the great honour I have received at your hands. The sky is dark with clouds and the waves are beating high; and believe me I use no mere conventional language when I say that, instead of having an indifferent seaman like myself to assist you in this storm, I wish your boat were piloted by a mariner of the knowledge and experience of His Highness the Aga Khan or the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali. Perilous as the voyage is, I venture to make a start relying on your sympathy and support. And if our hearts are stout and our resolve unshakable, God will give us strength enough to get to the shore in safety.

The short period that has elapsed since we met at Lahore last May, has witnessed many casualties in the ranks of distinguished Indians, Muslim and Hindu. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, the well-known Musalman philanthropist and baronet, is no more. He took an honourable share in many movements for the uplift of his community, and has left a most worthy example to be followed by his wealthy co-religionists. His indefatigable industry and remarkable business capacity were rewarded with huge wealth, of which he made most laudable use. In his prosperity, he never forgot his less fortunate countrymen, and his princely benefactions have earned his memory the deep gratitude of his community and country. He has died in the fulness of years and honours, leaving a noble heritage for his illustrious sons.

You will no longer see the cheerful face of Shaikh Shahid Husain of Oudh, a prominent Muslim Leaguer from the United Provinces and a senior member of the Local Council. Almost the last public service he performed was the long journey to Lahore to attend the meetings of the League. Another old supporter of the League, borne down on the flood of existence, was Nawab Abdul Majid. He was ever ready to support a movement calculated to improve the condition of our community. Bi Amman was a unique figure in the arena of Indian politics. With piety and deep religious fervour, she combined a capacity for political work which was truly remarkable. The Khilafat movement brought her on the public platform, and those who have listened to her speeches—and she was by no means unfamiliar to Bombay—cannot forget the earnestness of her words, which produced a deep impression on her audiences. She was a practical social reformer, whose example, along with that of Mrs. Hasrat Mohani, has relaxed the rigour of the purdah system prevailing in northern India. We offer our sympathy to her distinguished sons, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohammad Ali, and other members of her family.

In Sir Asutosh Mukerji, the country has lost an eminent jurist, a most

distinguished judge, and one of the foremost workers in the cause of higher education. The late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu always exerted his influence for the extension of the field of self-government. The country and his own province would have greatly profited by his steadying influence in the Bengal Government had he been spared to us. Dr. Subramania Iyer was one of the pioneers of the Congress movement and did valuable political work before he was appointed a judge of the Madras High Court. He was one of the ablest judges of his day and officiated as Chief Justice several times.

Beyond our own country we mourn the loss of one who, though not of India, loved her with the patriotic fervour of an Indian. The roll of illustrious Englishmen who devoted themselves to the uplift of our country—Elphinstone, Munro, Canning, Ripon, Minto, Morley and Hardinge—entitles the British nation to look back with pride on the record of the achievements of these just and broad-minded men. But to Edwin Samuel Montagu history will assign a unique position. He came into power at a most critical time in the history of his country, and in a few weeks, was able to make the historic announcement of August 20, 1917. It is true that the British people were well disposed towards Indian aspirations about this time, but how far they would have been actually prepared to go is an unknown factor. It is a matter of common knowledge now that had there been a less enthusiastic, less courageous and less skilful champion of our cause, the Government of India Act of 1919 would not have been passed in that year; and, what is more, when enacted, it would have been a much more illiberal and unsatisfactory statute than it is. Nor were his services to our religion less valuable. His influence in the Cabinet was on the wane towards the last 18 months of his office; but we must gratefully acknowledge that never did he cease to press the Indian Muslim view-point on His Majesty's Government. In the end, this ostensibly cost him his office, though the true causes were vastly different. The fact is that his opponents never forgave him for his whole-hearted, ardent and unremitting advocacy of the India cause. In their obituary comments, the press in England has called him 'a true friend of India'. While the description is accurate so far as it goes, it is by no means a full description. Let Englishmen remember that a true friend of India as Mr. Montagu undoubtedly was, he was a truer friend of his own country. It has to be confessed with a heavy heart that in India, owing to unforeseen causes, his services were not appraised at their true value while he was at Whitehall. Whether the country will perpetuate his memory, by raising statues in his honour, remains to be seen. But one thing, on your behalf as also mine, I can certainly say. Mr. Montagu's memory will be cherished in every patriotic Indian heart with undying gratitude and imperishable affection.

The English Political Parties

The subjects with which you would expect me to deal in this address

are big, difficult and controversial. The last three years have seen three successive general elections in England. The Conservative party has come into power with a huge majority, and there is every likelihood of its remaining in power for the next five years. As a result of the study of the British party system, there had arisen in our countrymen a tendency, which became distinctly noticeable by the early eighties, to treat the Liberals as friendly and the Conservatives as hostile to Indian hopes and aspirations. The terms in which references were made to India by some distinguished Liberals were certainly more pleasing to us. The fact, however, remains that, judged by the test of results, it is extremely difficult to dogmatize that India owes more to one party than to an other. The Act of 1892, which contained the germ of the elective principle in a microscopic form, was given to us by a Conservative Government. True, we received the somewhat liberal measure of reforms in 1909 from a Liberal Ministry. But it was not so much the sensitive conscience of Gladstone's followers as the strong personality of 'honest John', to which the lion's share of the credit must go. Things were greatly changed by 1918, under the shadow of the Great War; and there was a general disposition in England to recognize the valuable services that were being rendered by our country in every theatre of the war. Here again it is to be noted that, in spite of the general goodwill prevalent towards us at that time, its practical manifestation would not have taken the form it actually did, but for the noble efforts of the late lamented Mr. Montagu. Further, the Government which introduced the Bill in 1919 was a coalition government, and it was only passed after an agreement had been arrived at, amongst all the political parties, to enact it in the shape given to it by the Joint Select Committee of both Houses, on which sat the representations of all schools of political thought. The record of the Labour Government is too fresh in our minds to be recalled. We concede that the Labour party was in office, not in power; even so, we cannot forget that it did not feel disposed to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of a further advance. In the light of these events, covering a period of more than 30 years, is it right, is it prudent, is it politic for us to identify ourselves with any one of the British parties, and thereby alienate the sympathies of the others? The attitude of those parties towards us may be a fact of which we should be ready to take note. But it would be a mistake to pin our faith to the traditions of any of them. In the past, we have suffered more from England's neglect of our country than perhaps from any other cause.

The India Office was known to be such a parochial place that it had no attraction for an English politician of the first rank. For a long time, our destinies used to be committed to the charge of indifferent politicians of the stamp of Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Brodric (now Lord Middleton)—with the possible exception of Lord Salisbury. Mr. Morley was the first politician of the front rank who chose the India Office for the scene of his

labours. Under the Coalition Ministry, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, a distinguished Conservative, administered the Indian affairs at Whitehall; and, brief though his tenure of office was, it was satisfactory in results. His championship of the Indian cause against Lancashire over the cotton excise duties, and his initiation of a scheme of political reforms shortly before his resignation, are gratefully remembered in India. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from these premises. While we cannot be indifferent to the rise and fall of the political parties in England, experience shows that the presence of mediocre politicians at the India Office has proved infinitely more injurious to our interests than the pressure brought to bear upon any Government in Parliament by a number of members interested in frustrating India's onward march. We should therefore welcome Lord Birkenhead, one of the most brilliant men of the Conservative party, as the Secretary of State for India. In 1907, Morley described him as "a very clever Tory lawyer, rising hope of his party and not at all a bad fellow". To indulge in political prophecies is futile. But I venture to say that if, instead of trying to wrest anything from him by threats of civil disobedience, we settle down to constructive work, the future may not be as barren of results as it looks to-day.

A Common Programme for Different Approaches to Swaraj

One cannot be too careful in surveying the events of the past 18 months. Momentous decisions have been taken by the Government and by important political parties of our country. Strife has raised its head to set community against community. The repetition of flamboyant platitudes from numerous platforms has made confusion worse confounded. What is wanted is an accurate description of the situation without any attempt to exaggerate or to minimize. The collapse of the non-co-operation movement has been followed by consequences which its promoters did not and could not foresee. Not only have communal disturbances brought to the surface the inner working of the minds of considerable sections of the population, but the leaders of public opinion, divided into a number of parties, have been unable to secure unanimity for a common programme to be put before the country. According to some, India can only attain her political emancipation through the spinning wheel. Others believe that it will come by stopping the working of the machinery set up by the Government of India Act. Then others take the view that the best method is to work or stop the machinery as it may suit us. Again, others are convinced that true wisdom lies in working it, such as it is, to the best of our ability. In addition to these, there are minor political groups, too numerous to mention. All this reminds me of what a writer said about the Spanish character some years ago. He said that if seven Spaniards were to form a political association, it would soon split into three with one independent. It is to be recognized that we are passing through a period of transition, and some of our difficulties are inherent in the

situation. No sane man can object to the existence of political parties with a definite, workable programme in these go-ahead times. But if they are to work in co-operation with one another, they must have something in common in their programme. And I ask: is their nothing on which all parties are agreed? Is there any party worth the name that has not set before itself the goal of *Swaraj* or self-government? Hardly ever during the last 100 years was there a matter on which public opinion declared itself half so strongly or unanimously as it has on this question. To us it is the question of questions and the problem of problems. The differences, important though they at times may be, between race and race, creed and creed, class and class, are at once overshadowed by this overpowering manifestation of India's will. And yet the irony of fate is that so far we have been unable to separate the essential from the accidental, the changing from the immutable. The display of energy on our part is prodigious. Compared with its volume, however, the effect must continue to be disappointingly small, so long as we do not make up our mind to distinguish matters of principle from matters of procedure. For, except methods to be pursued, procedure to be followed, there is no vital difference between the No-changer and the Liberal, the obstructionist Swarajist and the Independent. After all, non-co-operation in its broadest and most orthodox form, obstruction with its varying moods, and constitutional agitation with its somewhat cheerless prospects, are only a means to the end, and not the end in itself. Our end is the attainment of *Swaraj*. Prudence and experience point to the absolute necessity of the various political parties drawing up, by common agreement, a national programme which can be worked by all. It need not be a very elaborate scheme. The fewer the points on which concerted action is to be taken, the greater will be the facility in working it out. But two conditions ought not be transgressed. In the first place, the programme should not ignore stern realities. Secondly, the methods to be employed should be practical. This would leave every party free to act as it likes with regard to the measures not included in the national programme. Objections, some of them of a weighty character, can be urged against this proposal. It may be said that in the absence of a fusion of parties, their meeting together for a particular purpose will deprive them of that enthusiasm, vigour, complete understanding and mutual confidence which are the life-blood of a political organization. I must regretfully confess that, in the absence of any willingness in the existing parties to modify their political creeds, I have no better solution to offer.

Constitutional Progress

The circumstances under which the Government of India Act was passed in 1919 need not be recounted. There was a serious split in the political parties of the country over the Scheme of Reforms. The Bill, though improved by the Joint Select Committee, failed to give satisfaction.

One party openly rejected it in toto. The other party, though fully alive to its imperfections, decided to give it a trial, reserving to itself the right to seek its revision at the earliest possible opportunity. In September 1921, the Legislative Assembly, a body which, in the words of Sir William Vincent, had 'done much to justify the demand,' gave expression to the views of those who had decided to co-operate with the Government, by demanding the transfer, from the beginning of 1924, of all subjects to the control of the ministers in the provinces, the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government with regard to all matters, except Army, Navy, Foreign and Political Departments, and in 1930 the grant of full Dominion self-government. A long and lively discussion followed, in which three members of the Executive Council participated; and ultimately the resolution, amended as below, was passed with the consent of the Government members headed by Sir William Vincent: "That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he should convey to the Secretary of State for India the view of this Assembly that the progress made by India on the path of responsible government warrants a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1929."

In fact, about that time, it was not seriously disputed in official circles that, given tranquility and a somewhat longer experience of the working of the constitution, its revision would be undertaken. The first speech addressed by Lord Reading to the Indian Legislature, after his assumption of his high office, pointed in the same direction. On September 3, 1921, His Excellency said: "I know that you are sitting here under a constitution which has never been presented otherwise than for the purposes of the transitional stage. There are resolutions that will come before you during the sittings of your Assembly urging your advance along the road of constitutional progress. I am carefully watching and studying the working of this new machinery, and I am satisfied that, in the short time in which it has already existed, you have not yet sufficiently tested its perfections, if you are ready to admit that it has any, also its imperfections, which no doubt you have already to some extent discovered. It is a human machine with human imperfections. I am prone to the caution of age and, therefore, *will wait until I have had a little more opportunity of judging before I pronounce my conclusions.*" (The italics are mine.)

By this time Lord Reading has had ample experience of the working of the constitution. The evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Committee has aroused the greatest interest in its labours. It is unfortunate that the leader of the *Swaraj* party in the Assembly was unable to accept the Government's invitation to serve on the Committee. Its report has been submitted and is anxiously awaited by the public. The news that it is not unanimous, and that the Committee is almost evenly divided on vital issues is sufficiently dispiriting. But the ambiguous language used by Lord Reading in a recent speech, at the annual dinner of the European Association at Calcutta, has created general disappointment. His Excellency seems to have been con-

siderably impressed by the complications, and perplexities of the present situations. His complaint that many Indian politicians and leaders of thought have withheld that measure of co-operation which the authors of the Government of India Act expected to receive, cannot be easily refuted. But is it not a fact that the halting, hesitating provisions of the Act are themselves responsible to no small extent for this result? I am not one of those who think that the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme was unworthy of England to give or of India to receive. It marked a considerable advance upon the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. In fact, the problem with which the Government of India and His Majesty's Government are faced to-day is nothing as compared with the momentous issue decided in 1919. For, whereas in that year the greatest and most important question of principle with regard to the goal of British policy in India was settled, the sole issue that arises at present is whether it is not expedient to enter upon the second stage of the journey.

With great respect to Lord Reading, I venture to point out that nobody has proposed the adoption of a new policy to His Majesty's Government. The policy is there, clearly enunciated in the preamble to the Act. What is advocated is merely a quickening of the pace; and the strongest argument in support of it is that in the midst of the deplorable dissensions that have of late divided community from community, creed from creed, and class from class, all the warring elements are agreed as to the supreme necessity of an onward move. A still more significant feature is that though the failure of the non-co-operation movement has in other respects, brought reaction in its train, it has not in any way affected the desire for political emancipation. If anything, it has made the desire more acute than it was ever before. The talk of the Congress constitution being interpreted in such a way as to include breaking away from the British Empire, is no more than a counsel of despair. Similarly, the increase of political crime in Bengal marks the mad despair of the rising youth with the present constitution. It is urged that those who believe in the cult of the bomb and the pistol have not declared that their goal is *Swaraj*. They are, it is alleged, opposed to all government. The best method of ascertaining their ideals would be for Lord Lytton, or some other high official, to have a frank talk on politics with some of the prominent men among those who have been lately deprived of their liberty. They may be quite innocent for aught we know; but if the Government feels justified in treating them as members of a gang organized for political crime, let it not refuse to acquaint itself with their political aspirations. In short, this is a most psychological moment for Lord Reading and Lord Birkenhead to act courageously. As Lord Minto observed on a historic occasion, the really strong man is he who is not afraid of being called weak. And now that the Government has taken strong measures to suppress violent crime in Bengal, nobody can charge it with yielding to violence, if it shows a spirit of concession

and conciliation.

In his Calcutta speech, Lord Reading remarked: "My experience in India has taught me that there is a wealth of real loyalty and trust in the British Government which animates vast numbers of the people of India." How strong India's faith in British justice is, was demonstrated not only in the European war, but in no less a degree in 1920-21, when, in spite of a tempting vision conjured up by non-co-operation, large sections of her population came forward to work the constitution, hand in hand, with the Government. At no time since the early days of British rule has India dishonoured a cheque drawn by England on India's goodwill, intelligent co-operation and ready help. Is it too much to hope that business-like England will not refuse to go into the accounts and pay the balance to India in this hour of her pressing and embarrassing need.

The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance and Regulation III of 1918

The promulgation of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance has given rise to a fierce controversy. In the statement appended to the Ordinance, Lord Reading appealed for the support and co-operation of all those who were opposed to anarchy and violent crime. Whatever you may think of the measure itself, I have no doubt that you emphatically condemn any campaign for the destruction of home, life and property. Those engaged in it do not, unfortunately, realize the great disservice they are doing to the cause of Indian liberty. No government can afford to be indifferent to the spread of anarchical forces. If a Swarajist government were confronted with a similar situation, its clearest duty would be to deal with the enemies of the public peace. It is my firm belief that manifestations of intellectual distemper are a great danger in the path of our future progress, and that insidious and corrupting influences are the real enemies of our motherland. The Government, in my judgment, are entitled to our support in all reasonable measures they take to meet the situation.

This brings me to an examination of the action recently taken by the Government of Bengal and the Governor-General. Regulation III of 1818 was made at a time when there was little peace or security in the land. Ambitious chieftains were carving up the remains of the Mughal Empire to provide principalities for themselves; adventurous spirits allied themselves with the rising British power and espoused the cause of its rivals by turns, and the resultant confusion was so threatening to the maintenance and consolidation of British rule that the semi-military situation rendered the promulgation of the Ordinance inevitable. Where, it may pertinently be asked, is the justification for allowing this archaic Regulation, thoroughly inconsistent with the spirit of the modern times, to remain on our statute-book? Its continuance becomes more unjustifiable in view of the provisions of Section 72 of the Government of India Act, which vests the Governor-General with ample

power to deal with emergencies. The Committee appointed to report on repressive laws in 1921 recommended its repeal. Though the Government were unable to agree, the recommendation has received very strong support from the public. Even if the Government cannot see their way to its total extinction, the advisability of its substitution by a piece of legislation, more consonant with the spirit of the constitution, to be passed with the concurrence of the Indian Legislature, should be undertaken at an early date. In Bengal, not only was action taken under the Ordinance, but the Government of that Province simultaneously proceeded to act under the Regulation. Be it noted that the chief executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation and the two Swarajist members of the Legislative Council were arrested under the Regulation. If the claim that the Ordinance does not substitute the will of the executive for the determination of important issues by trained judges is held to be valid, it follows that there was no evidence worth the name against the victims of the Regulation; or the Bengal Government would not have hesitated to submit such evidence to scrutiny by the judges to be appointed under Section 19 of the Ordinance. As one who is sincerely anxious to be fair to the authorities, I must say that no case has been made out for the Bengal Government in connection with their action under the Regulation.

The case of the Ordinance stands on a somewhat different footing. It cannot be said here that the Government have been actuated by a desire to burke all judicial enquiry. The Ordinance sets up special tribunals, introduces a different set of procedure and curtails and, in some cases, takes away the right of His Majesty's subjects to the protection of the highest court of law in the land, the High Court. All these are encroachments on some of the most cherished and elementary rights of the subject. The greatest objection to the promulgation of extraordinary measures is that they afford an irresistible temptation to the executive to resort to summary methods and avoid going to the regular courts of law. Furthermore, the fact that, in the numerous searches made so suddenly and almost simultaneously in various districts in Bengal, no arms and ammunition are reported to have been discovered, lends weight to the objection of the critics. On the other hand, speaking for myself, I can say that it is extremely difficult to brush aside as unreliable all the evidence on which Lord Lytton felt himself justified in asking for the promulgation of, and Lord Reading, on carefully examining it, agreed to framing, the Ordinance. It is possible, though by no means probable, that Lord Lytton, who as the Under-Secretary of State for India, was known to be in sympathy with Indian aspirations, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, who was a prominent member of the Liberal party and the Labour Secretary of State, were all seized with panic. The fact, however, remains that the Government, while pointing to the record of crimes, declare that they were unable to cope with the situation with the help of the ordinary law. It is unfortunate that, from the nature of the case, it is not possible for the Government to disclose the evidence

and satisfy the public mind about the activities of each individual. While, therefore, I am unable to say that there was no justification for Lord Reading to exercise his extraordinary powers, I am convinced that the Ordinance goes too far. It gives the local government excessive powers and does not sufficiently safeguard the rights of the individual affected. This is no place for entering upon an exhaustive discussion; but the qualifications of the commissioners and the judges, the authority by which they are to be appointed, the committing to custody in jail of a suspect against whom preventive action may be taken, and the option to the local government to accept or reject the report made by the judges on a careful scrutiny of a suspects case, are, among others, some of its obviously objectionable features.

Indians and the Army

Many are the steps India has to take before she gets to her appointed goal of *Swaraj*. In no direction, however, is her equipment less satisfactory than in the matter of defence. In a remarkable speech in the Legislative Assembly, Sir William Vincent said: "If I had been a non-official member of this Assembly, the one consideration that I would have constantly pressed upon the Government would have been the development of an Indian Army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the future political progress of this country." For, in spite of the grant of King's Commissions to our countrymen on a very limited scale, what is our position in the Army? We are admitted into the other ranks of the cavalry, infantry, pioneers, sappers and miners. But the door to the tank corps and armoured car companies is still closed upon us. In the artillery, we are not admitted as gunners in the Royal Horse Artillery, field artillery or in the medium artillery. We are allowed admission as gunners only in the Pack Artillery, in the Frontier Garrison Artillery and in the Indian Coast Artillery. We are conspicuous by our absence as officers in the headquarters or in the staff of commands. We are not eligible to any King's Commissions in the ancillary services such as supply and transport, medical, veterinary, ordinance and clothing, remounts, military training and educational. Our continued exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the artillery, air force, and other branches of the Fighting Services is a sad commentry on the spirit in which the Government of India Act, 1919, is being interpretted and enforced. The non-regular forces are made up of the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force. The former is for the benefit of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, while the latter consists of Indians only. Here again, it is impossible to overlook the distinction that while the Auxiliary Force has most of the arms of the regular army, the Territorial Force has one arm only, namely the Infantry. The Auxiliary Force may aspire to having some of its members selected for King's Commissions; not so the members of the Territorial Force, who must remain content with Viceroy's Commissions. This description, brief as it is, will bring home to

every patriotic Indian the sense of our helplessness. It is urged that the process of making an efficient officer is long and laborious. While we fully appreciate the force of this criticism—though it may be parenthetically remarked that we are not responsible for our exclusion from the higher posts—it is obvious that the present rate of progress will take several centuries before the Army is completely officered by Indians. A little more courage, and a little less of caution, on the Government's part is the only practicable solution of the problem.

The Lee Commission Report

Not much need be said about the Lee Commission's Report. The circumstances under which the Commission came to be appointed are too fresh in your mind to be recapitulated. In consequence of the action taken by the Secretary of State, the Report has passed beyond the region of controversy and has become a *fait accompli*. It is unfortunate that, owing to the existing political tension, the many important issues arising out of its recommendations were not discussed on their merits. My personal view is that while it was, and will always be, our duty to remove the legitimate grievances of the Services, Imperial and Provincial, nothing should be done to impede the process of steady Indianization. It is also my considered view that the claim of our countrymen to receive emoluments on the same scale as are allowed in the case of Europeans is wholly untenable (*sic*).

Before leaving the subject it seems advisible to make a few observations on the personnel of the Indian Civil Service. That Service has had a glorious past, and will, in the future, also have enormous powers for good and evil. As an Indian I rejoice that the element of my countrymen in it is steadily on the increase. But I feel that if the Service is to keep up its efficiency, it is absolutely necessary that it should not consist only of those classes that have acquired an aptitude for passing examinations. The time at my disposal will not allow me to enter upon the larger question of how far competitive examinations are an unmixed blessing. There is a sharp difference of views on the subject among competent authorities. Twelve years ago, writing about the success of the men trained at Haileybury, Sir Mortimer Durand said: "It was a short-lived institution, lasting only from 1809 to 1857, but it produced some great administrators, and to this day there is some doubt whether the civilians afterwards chosen by open competition have proved equal to the Haileybury men."

Sir Alfred Lyall, who had had considerable experience of both systems, expressed his opinion thus: "My great objection to the competition of civilians is that they are too like clever office men at home, very good at writing precis, and accurate in their legal functions, but without sympathy for the people whom they govern, and only liking the respectable educated native." In his book, *The Indian Polity*, Chesney, a close observer of the administrative

system in India, says, "As to the success of this measure (the competitive system), it has beyond doubt fallen short of the expectations formed of it by the first supporters of the principle of competition—so far that it had entirely failed to attract to the Indian Service all the rising talent of the country." One thing, however, is clear enough. Independently of the considerations urged by the Muslim community in support of its claim, which must strike all impartial observers as just and strong, it is neither in the public interest, nor conducive to efficiency, that the huge administrative machinery of the Government should be run by a particular class. It is significant that no Musalman has yet been appointed to the Indian Civil Service as a result of the supplementary examination held in India. At the same time, the number of successful Muslim candidates in England is so small as to be almost negligible. It is high time to take steps to do justice to the Musalmans. They may not be adepts in the art of passing examinations, but it is agreed, on all hands, that they make excellent administrators. I would call attention to the manner in which the Government of the United Provinces has solved the problem. Every year it fills a certain number of posts in the executive branch of its Provincial Service by holding a competitive examination. There is only one examination, but the successful candidates are placed in two lists, one Muslim and the other non-Muslim. As many men from each list are selected in order of merit as there may be vacancies available for the community concerned, provided that no candidate is chosen unless he has secured a minimum number of marks. The system, though by no means perfect, is yet the best that can be devised, looking to the peculiar conditions obtaining in India. I earnestly appeal to the authorities in England, the Government of India, and various provincial governments, to examine and adopt it for making appointments to the Services under them.

Military Expenditure

There are so many other matters that require a careful consideration. The alarming growth of military expenditure is closely bound up with the question of defence. Public opinion is fully alive to the importance of keeping our forces in a state of high efficiency. He is no lover of his country who will risk foreign aggression by unduly cutting down the expenditure (on the forces) or reducing their number. But it would be equally wrong not to cut our coat according to our cloth. As the military budget is not put to the vote of the Assembly, it is all the more necessary to keep a watchful eye upon it.

Industrial Development

In the past our industrial development had been sorely neglected. A change, a very welcome change indeed, has been of late discernible in the policy of the Government. The country also welcomes the attitude adopted

by the *Swarajist* party in the Legislative Assembly, and their co-operation with the Government, in passing the Steel Industry Protection Bill last June. Vastly more, however, remains to be done. The coal industry has fallen on evil days, and is unable to meet foreign competition in our own market. The paper industry has a sad tale to tell. The needs of the Indian merchant shipping are crying. Our currency and exchange problems are awaiting solution. There is work, yes ample work, for all who have an inclination to do it. Let us not forget that *Swaraj* will not come to us in a day. It cannot be that we will wake up one fine morning to find it knocking at our doors. If India is to attain *Swaraj* in the near future, her vast population, regardless of creed and caste, must set to work at once. Time and tide wait for nobody. Is it reasonable to expect that there will be a change in the laws of nature for our sake? Let us dispassionately consider the advice recently given to us by that true friend of our country, Colonel Wedgwood. He pathetically remarks: "If Labour has done nothing for India during the past year, neither has India helped her own case." This is the advice given to us by a man who is suspected of harbouring such revolutionary intentions with respect to the future progress of our country that he was considered too dangerous to be entrusted with the office of Secretary of State in the late Labour Government.

Indians Abroad

Another cause of constant irritation and humilitation to India is the denial of equal rights of citizenship to our countrymen overseas. Lord Reading is to be congratulated upon his selection of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to represent India at the Imperial Conference last year. In spite of his best endeavours, we are not even able to claim that the game has ended in a draw. But there is no reason to be down-hearted; let us continue the struggle unswervingly, and hope that good pluck will, in the end, be accompanied by good luck. In this connection we must realize that the cessation of the Congress activities in England has done incalculable harm to the cause of Indian progress. Till a few years back, the Congress movement was not only represented there by a strong committee, but the British public used to be enlightened on Indian affairs through an ably conducted journal. At present, judgement goes against us by default on many an important question. It is to be sincerely hoped that the chief Indian political organizations will unite in reviving the defunct British Congress Committee, or setting up an organization on the old lines in its place. The adoption of new methods of agitation in India is not sufficient to impress the British public. That object can only be achieved by carrying on a propaganda on modern lines in England.

Special Concerns of the Muslim Community

Now I come to topics of special interest to the Muslim community. The outstanding event of the year in the Muslim world has been the expulsion

of King Husain from Mecca. He has left unwept, unhonoured and unsung. His treachery to his Sovereign in 1916, his misrule during the last six years, his overpowering love of gold, and his callousness towards the pilgrims, to whose miseries and sufferings he was supremely indifferent, had prepared for him the fate he has met at the hands of Ibne Saud. We are grateful that His Majesty's Government refused to be drawn into this domestic struggle, and did not depart from the path of neutrality.

The execution of Moulvi Niamatullah Khan at Kabul raises a question of more than temporary interest to our fellow-religionists. With the political activities, if any, of this gentleman we are not concerned. Had he been tried for and found guilty of a political offence against the State, it would have been a matter exclusively between him and the Afghan Government. But the judgment, the full text of which was published in the press, shows that on some matters of belief, his opinions were held to be inconsistent with the generally prevalent beliefs of the orthodox Muslim faith. And it is this aspect of the question which cannot be viewed with unconcern by Indian Musalmans. Without going into the merits of a delicate ecclesiastical controversy, for which I do not feel myself competent, I must say that no Muslim state is justified in countenancing a movement for taking the lives of its subjects, natural born or domiciled, in order to save their souls. If once the idea gets abroad that Muslim Governments are not prepared to allow full religious liberty to their subjects, it will weaken the world position of Islam as a great moral force.

Of late, developments of considerable importance have taken place in some Muslim countries. If I refrain from noticing them here, it is, of course, due to no lack of sympathy with our co-religionists abroad. We know our duty to our brethren in faith, be they Turkish, Afghan, Persian, Egyptian, Moroccan or of other nationalities, and have never been lukewarm, consistently with our position, in discharging it. But there is a higher duty that we owe to ourselves and to our country. The questions that occupied our minds during the last 10 years were of an exceptional nature, inasmuch as they directly affected some of the most highly cherished tenets of our faith. But now that the Turkish problem has been solved to our satisfaction, and the Khilafat question has been recognized as a domestic affair to be settled by the Muslim world, I strongly feel that we would be less than just to ourselves if, instead of devoting our time and energy to internal problems of our motherland, we still allowed ourselves to be distracted by what was going on in distant lands. Extra-territorial patriotism is a most noble and inspiring sentiment if kept within reasonable bounds. But the moment it interferes with the discharge of our duties or the exercise of our rights as Indian Musalmans, it becomes a fruitless pursuit, a profitless devotion to a chimera.

The League's Temporary Inactivity

Complaints, frequent complaints, have been made against the inacti-

vity of the League. Some critics have gone to the length of saying that to all practical intents and purposes it is dead. The criticism shows a lack of appreciation of the magnitude of the Khilafat and Turkish problems which till recently had thrown all other activities into the background. It was the Khilafat Committee that was looking after these problems, and the League obviously could not tackle internal questions without coming into conflict with that body. Whatever mistakes our fellow-religionists may have made, it must be said to their credit that they concentrated all their energy and efforts on a satisfactory settlement of the post-war question in western Asia, which was inextricably blended with the dictates of our religion. With these considerations staring us in the face, can any Musalman justly blame the League for its past attitude? By launching on a policy of masterly inactivity for a time, it has served the best interests of our community and our holy religion.

Moreover, since the days of the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the community has stoutly set its face against allowing itself to be grouped into rival parties. As a minority, we have enough of our troubles. With a split in the camp we shall no longer be able to present a united front on matters affecting the vital interests of our community. Hitherto, we have been able to prevent a split in the League. Not that all the Musalmans think exactly alike on all political questions. But its elastic constitution has served to keep the process of secession in check. Whether, in this position, the gain outweighs the loss or the loss outweighs the gain, it is for you to consider. But to a careful observer, the loss is more apparent in action, in results, in constructive work; while the gain is shown more clearly in our escape from disintegration and division. To avoid future friction, I would suggest a division of labour. I believe that if the Khilafat Committee looks after our religious interests and the League confines itself to internal questions, both bodies will find ample scope for the display of their energies.

Congress-League Relations

From the very start the League has had to face misrepresentations from one quarter or another. You will perhaps remember that when its establishment was decided upon at Dacca, in the last week of December 1906, under the guidance of such far-sighted leaders of the Muslim community as the silver-tongued Mohsin-ul-Mulk and the strong-willed Viqar-ul-Mulk, assisted by Nawab Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca— none of whom, alas, is in the land of the living to-day—, the London *Times* jubilantly pointed out that the coming into being of a strong Muslim political organization would not make for peace in India. Fortunately the League has belied this prophecy. The second stage of misrepresentation arrived in 1915, when a section of our own community thought that in holding the session for the first time in its life at Bombay side by side with the Congress session, our object was to play second fiddle to the Congress. Fellow-members, we have outlived this criticism as well.

And now towards the end of 1924, we are entering upon the third stage. A cry has been raised that in holding the League session at Bombay we are trying to separate the Musalmans from the Hindus. Let me assure our critics on your behalf that the latest accusation is as much without foundation as the two that had preceded it. The record of the public work of those who are responsible for holding the League session at Bombay—and amongst them I would especially mention my friend Mr. M.A. Jinnah, a consistently selfless worker in the cause of India's emancipation—is a complete answer to the charge. We have our duties to the community as well as to the country. The change in circumstances since 1915, when the Congress stood undivided, is an important factor to which I would call our critics' attention. We are willing and ready to give to the Congress that measure of co-operation and support which is reasonably possible under the altered conditions. And this we have already done by arranging the dates in such a manner that those belonging to one body may be able to attend the meetings of the other. But those who believe that nearness in space alone can mean unity of aim and action certainly assume too much. If the two bodies are not agreed abou . their methods of work, they will be separate, be they ever so near each other. While we shall do our utmost to help in bringing about an atmosphere in which all parties, irrespective of caste and creed, may be able to join hands with the Congress to push on the cause of Indian liberty, we would be retarding political progress, not only of our own community, but of the country as a whole, if we allowed the League to be merged in the Congress. And here I cannot resist the temptation of placing before you a proposal which, if accepted, may altogether do away with the necessity of both bodies having their annual sessions in the same place. If the League, or its Council, every year elects about 10 or 12 of its members to formally represent the Muslim Community in the Congress, and if the rules of the latter body are so changed as to recognize their character as your accredited representatives, I believe a great many of the difficulties will disappear. In case this proposal commends itself to you, your representatives will be in a position to throw light, from the Muslim point of view, on such questions as may come up before the Congress. Whether it can usefully be adopted for some time to come, it is for you and the community to judge.

Communal Disturbances

The events of the last six years are too well known to be mentioned here. The whole country has passed through a severe trial, but the ordeal undergone by our community was more exacting and provoking than that of the rest of the Indian population. Is there a Musalman in this assembly, or outside it, who did not feel the deepest mortification and humiliation at the terms of the Treaty of Severes, which practically annihilated the independence of the foremost Muslim power in the world? I must greatefully acknowledge in your name that it was the sympathy and support of our non-Muslim fellow-

countrymen that greatly strengthened our hands throughout that struggle. The way for bringing both great communities together had already been paved by the unfortunate martial law regime in the Punjab, whose common hardships and indignities created a sort of comradeship between the Hindu and the Muslim. But there is hardly any unmixed blessing in this world. Out of this unstable fellowship was born the non-co-operation movement, the full effects of which we have yet to see. Its huge structure was not based on the solid foundation of a carefully considered plan. The blunders of the Imperial and Local Governments in the Punjab, and of His Majesty's Government in connection with the post-war settlement, coupled with disappointment at the nature of the reforms then under discussion, served as the foundation of this edifice. Because in a mood of deep resentment, both communities had persuaded themselves that they would treat their differences as non-existent, it was taken for granted that those differences had been removed for good.

To cure the evil is good, but to prevent it is better. What are we to do now to restore harmony between the two great communities? Fellow-members, let me tell you that, serious as the situation is, it would be cowardice on our part to wring our hands in despair. Are we going to permit ourselves to be deflected from our cause? If we do, we will be false not only to ourselves, but to countless generations yet unborn. And what verdict will history pass on those who are never tired of preaching that Hindu-Muslim unity is an impossibility? I shudder to think of that verdict. Pray do not consider that I am minimizing the enormous obstacles and the prodigious impediments with which our path is beset. But will the descendants of the great Arabs, in whose path neither sea nor mountain was a barrier, and the followers of a religion which came into the world to cement distant countries with bonds of universal brotherhood, get terrified by the ghost of Hindu-Muslim strife? No, and a most emphatic no. The days of the ill-fated Hijarat are over, let me hope never to return. India is as much our motherland as that of the descendents of the illustrious Brahmans of the Sacred Vedic age. If the flames of internal dissensions are not to envelop and consume both communities, they must find means to live in peace. I know that feelings are running high on both sides. Let us at once address ourselves to removing the tension. And in this connection, I cannot help saying a word about the mentality of a certain type of educated man. Fellow-members, it is so easy to put the blame on the ignorant masses. But can we honestly say that he (the educated man) is wholly free from guilt? The calculating politician does not, as a rule, strike the match. Perhaps he is hundreds of miles away when the explosion actually takes place. But are you quite sure that he does not help in the process of making the material more inflamable? He is the leader of the helpless masses in the sense that he knows, when it suits his purpose, how to put them on the wrong path.

The Shuddhi[1] *and Sangathan*[2] *Movements*

No sane man can question the right of the followers of any creed to extend its sphere by all legitimate and proper means. But it is open to serious question whether the *Shuddhi* movement was not launched at a highly inopportune time, and whether the methods employed were not of a questionable character. Had it not been for the existing communal tension, I would certainly have considered it necessary to say more about it. As it is, I would draw the earnest attention of its authors to a re-examination of their position in the light of the recent occurrences; and would appeal to them not to hesitate in abandoning or relaxing their efforts, if they find that their past activities have operated to aggravate communal dissensions. The *Sangathan* movement suffers from bad fellowship. Had it not been a twin sister of the *Shuddhi* propaganda, there was much in it that would have appealed to patriotic Indians. Perhaps it is not yet too late to rescue it from the jaws of the *Shuddhi* movement. If the better mind of the country wishes to direct the energies of the members of the *Sangathan* into anything like useful channels, I agree with Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, the illustrious leader of the *Swaraj* party, that its membership should not be confined to one community, but that both Hindus and Musalmans should be its members. In my judgment, however, it would be more advisable to drop it till communal relations are placed on a more solid and harmonious footing. The justification for the continuance of the *Tanzim*[3] would automatically vanish with the disappearance of the *Sangathan*.

Mahatma Gandhi

Fellow-members, amidst the din of discord and dissension, there is one great unifying influence of which the country ought to take the fullest advantage. And that is the presence of Mahatma Gandhi, who, after an enforced absence of nearly two years, was restored to us in the beginning of this year. While I have been unable to see my way to agree with him on some questions of the highest importance, even though I have deemed it my duty to publicly oppose him on those points, every patriotic Indian will readily acknowledge that he has done more than any other Indian to waken in India's teeming millions that sense of nationalism which will, God willing, grow with the growth of years and will not rest contented till India comes into her own as an absolutely equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Time is not yet to appraise this great man's services at their true value. Take, for instance, the question of a common language. It was he who realized that a

1. Literally means purification—a movement to convert Muslims to Hinduism, started by Swami Shradhanand.
2. A movement aimed at developing greater unity and organization among the various orders of Hinduism.
3. Muslim counterpart of the Hindu *Sangathan* movement, for religious organization and unity.

common language is a potent factor in bringing about nationalism. His choice has fallen on Hindustani or Urdu, and the best sense of the country endorses his choice. The same may be said of the importance he attaches to the removal of untouchability. I need not weary you with other instances of his far-sightedness. But perhaps his greatest service to the country consists of the ceaseless, unflinching, whole-hearted and most sincere efforts he has made to promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Kohat Question

If, therefore, I take the liberty of disagreeing with him on the Kohat question, I do so with the greatest regret. It is not my purpose to apportion blame, nor do I propose to discuss how the trouble started and what tremendous proportions it assumed. But as one who, as a member of the Frontier Enquiry Committee in 1922, came into direct contact with the people of the Province, and had opportunities of seeing Kohat and its people, I feel I must say that the sufferings and privations of the Hindu population whom Mr. Gandhi met at Rawalpindi, without having an opportunity of acquainting himself with the version of the Kohat Muslims, have influenced his mind so much that he is unable to form a correct estimate of the action of the authorities or the attitude of the Musalmans. Believe me, nowhere in British India have I found a body of officials, both European and Indian, more anxious to promote the welfare of the people committed to their charge.

Nor should I be unjust to the much abused Pathan, whose strong arm stands between the Hindu and the ferocious and fanatical trans-frontier tribesman. The status of *hamsaya* (neighbour) gives the Hindu important privileges, the full extent of which is known only to those acquainted with the rough conditions of life obtaining in the Frontier Province. The Hindus living in the zone especially liable to raids from the tribesmen are, as a rule, the *hamsaya* of some Khan (Pathan Chief); and according to the immemorial code of honour, the institution imposes on him the duty of protecting the Hindu population at the sacrifice of his own life and the lives of his followers. The minority as well as the majority report of the Enquiry Committee bears eloquent testimony to the manner in which this duty is performed. And be it noted that if, on any rare occasion, any Khan displays lukewarmness in affording adequate protection to his *hamsaya*, the British official is never slow to put in force the provisions of the Frontier Crimes Regulation in the interest of the Hindu population. The civil authorities make use of the Regulation on such a large scale that loud were the complaints made by a number of the Khans and Pathans who appeared as witnesses before the Enquiry Committee against, what they said, was an unwarranted use of its provisions. I may further state that it was in the interest of the Hindus that the majority report of the Frontier Committee, signed by all the Musalman members, purposely abstained from recommending its repeal.

For Mr. Gandhi to advise the Hindus to refuse to return to Kohat till the Musalmans assure them that their lives and property will be safe is advice the soundness of which is open to serious question. It was not the Musalmans who expelled the Hindus from Kohat; the evacuation took place, according to the Government of India's Resolution dated December 9, 1924, "at the earnest entreaty of the Hindus themselves". Nor has their return been ever opposed by the Musalmans. The Pathans and their chiefs do not disavow the responsibilities cast upon them either by the code of honour or the Frontier Crimes Regulation. Even if they did, the arm of the law, in the shape of the Regulation, is strong enough to deal with them. Under the circumstances, one fails to appreciate the reasonableness of the advice that the Hindus should not return till the Musalmans give them full assurances as to their lives and property. The bitterness caused by the disturbances will take time to die out at Kohat as elsewhere. I am sure that the authorities are sincerely anxious to do all they can to help the Hindus. A careful study of the Resolution and its annexures will convince every impartial observer that the Government of India and the local authorities have acted in a wise and sympathetic manner. After having examined the causes of the deplorable riots at Multan, Amritsar, Delhi, Kohat, Jubbulpur, Pilibhit, Lucknow, Shahjehanpur and Allahabad with an anxious care to be just to both parties, it is my view that it is no less the duty of our countrymen, Hindu and Muslim, than of the Government, effectively to keep in check the growing tendency in one community to provoke and the violent proclivity in the other community to retaliate.

The Congress-League Compact of 1916

One hears so much and so often about the Congress-League compact of 1916 that you would perhaps like to know the views of one who, as one of the representatives of the All-India Muslim League, was closely associated with it from beginning to end. Fellow-members, let me assure you that your representatives, including myself, have no reason to be ashamed of their performance. Only those who have been in the thick of the battle fully realize the difference between the India of 1916 and the India of 1924. However dissatisfied our community to-day may be with some of its provisions, it must be acknowledged that the compact enacted a new era in the history of Indian constitutional advance. And if we desire it to be revised, we should remember that it always takes two to settle a dispute. The great objection urged against the compact is that it offends against all principles of justice and fairplay in that it does not secure its due to the majority community in the Punjab and Bengal. I am prepared to confess that, though a party to it, I must admit the force of your argument. If the other party had faithfully abided by its terms, I would have found myself in an unenviable position; and strong and just though the complaint of the Punjab and Bengal is, I would have had considerable hesitation in pleading for a reconsideration of its terms. But it seems that

our Hindu fellow-countrymen are no more enamoured of it than many of the Musalmans. In fact, the first hole was cut into it by the non-Muslim members of the United Provinces Legislative Council, who in 1922 reduced Muslim representation in the district boards to 25 per cent, instead of fixing it at 30 per cent as contemplated by the Compact. Similar complaints have been made by Musalmans in other provinces.

The question of a revision cannot, therefore, be delayed long. With the experience of 1916 to guide us, it must be borne in mind that once you open a settled question, you are overwhelmed with requests, demands and ultimatums on all sides. Be that as it may, I think the desire of a majority to come into its own is worthy of serious consideration. If the Musalmans in the Punjab, and possibly in Bengal, get what they want, will it be necessary to revise the proportions laid down for the Muslim minority in other provinces? I would be the last to put forward any proposals in the spirit of heads I win, tails you lose. A compromise is hardly worth the name, if thereby one party has every thing to gain, and the other party everything to lose. A dispassionate consideration will, however, show that by righting the wrong done to the Punjab, and perhaps Bengal, Musalmans in 1916, and adhering to the pact in other respects, the Hindu majority in other provinces will not be prejudicially affected. Indeed, it will have no effect whatever on such a majority.

Considering the matter from an All-India view-point, it is up to the Musalmans to compensate the Hindus for the loss of a few seats that will be transferred from the latter to the former in the Punjab, and may be in Bengal. That loss can be made good by making adequate provision for Hindu representation in such provinces as Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province. It is to be hoped that a Legislative Council will soon be established in the North-West Frontier Province. And may I here appeal to the Government to lose no time in granting this Province the reforms recommended by the North-West Frontier Enquiry Committee? There is, however, another direction in which the Musalmans may be able to meet the wishes of their Hindu compatriots. The well-known proviso in the Pact of 1916 says: "No Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution." Very great value is naturally attached to this safeguard by the Muslim community. I have no right to assume that my community can be induced to accept a modification of this most valuable right.

In these democratic days, constitutional safeguards afford the greatest protection to minorities. So great is the need of such safeguards that the Allied and Associated Powers at the Paris Peace Conference came to the conclusion that it was absolutely necessary to protect the minorities in Poland, Czecho-

slovakia, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and Rumania by inserting a provision in the treaty made with those countries. The need of such a provision has been thus stated by Professor H.W.V. Temperley in his admirable book, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*: "In the very nature of things, it was inevitable that in every case there would be assigned to these States a considerable population alien in language, race, and religion. These people would be placed under the rule of those from whom they were estranged by long generations of bitter enmity, and in some cases of internecine warfare. Some guarantee, some security must be provided that they should not be subjected to injustice, that they should not be deprived of their political rights, nor exposed to legal disabilities and social persecution. This was not only in accordance with the general principles of justice and humanity, by which the peace was to be governed, but also was required by the most urgent reasons of political expediency."

It is not perhaps necessary to quote from the terms of the Treaty to show in what manner special protection was afforded to the minorities. The simple point is that the foundation of democracy is and should be mutual security. Viewed in this light, it is hardly possible to realize at this somewhat early stage what important part the proviso is going to play in our future constitution. But so far as my personal views are concerned, I am prepared to reconsider a revision of its terms if a satisfactory settlement is come to on Muslim representation in the Provincial Councils. I take it that whatever decision is arrived at by mutual consent, it will be equally applicable to all local bodies.

Indiscretion of Delhi Municipal Committee

The action taken by the majority of the members of the Municipal Committee of Delhi with regard to separate constituencies raises such an important issue of principle as to call for a word. In the face of an almost solid Muslim opposition, the non-Muslim members have taken it upon themselves to recommend the abolition of separate electorates. I feel I would be failing in my duty if I did not unhesitatingly declare that our community looks upon their action as a direct encroachment on our rights. The issue is an All-India issue, and cannot certainly be decided by the whims and caprices of the municipal committee or that district board. Those who are prone to advise us, after the manner of men pretending to possess superior wisdom, must remember that we shall not tolerate the slightest invasion on our rights.

Musalmans and the Public Services

The strained relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities, in no small measure, arise out of the desire of the young men of each community to secure Government posts. Partly owing to the greater economic pressure to which they are subject, and partly in consequence of

their past history and traditions, this tendency is more marked among the Musalmans than among other communities. The paucity of careers for educated Indians has heightened the trouble. It follows that if we Indians want to avoid jealousies, intrigues and incessant friction, an effort should be made to define each community's share in the public services. I may add that there is a third party equally, if not more, interested in this question, viz., the Government. But there is every reason to believe that it will not be inclined to override an agreement come to between the parties. The number of posts going to the Musalmans will obviously vary from province to province. And it seems that in the absence of a more workable basis, we might fix it at the figure assigned to each community for the purposes of representation. It is obvious that the population basis is highly unsatisfactory and misleading. Take, for instance, the United Provinces, where the Muslim population amounted to less than 14 per cent about 24 years ago. So large, however, was the share of the Musalmans in the public services that we find Sir Antony MacDonnell (now Lord MacDonnell), who was regarded by our co-religionists as hostile to their interests, making the following statement in a speech in 1900, in vindication of his policy in regard to appointments to Government posts: "If I were asked to state a general rule by which the distribution of Government appointments between the two great communities should be regulated, I must say that, subject to the general rule that the best man for an important post should get it irrespective of creed or race, the Muhammedans could not fairly claim more than three appointments for every five appointments going to the Hindus. . . . Owing to various reasons I have, as a matter of fact, recognized Muhammedan claims to a greater extent than on such a principle might be defensible."

The next question in this connection is the method of recruitment. As I have pointed out in connection with the Indian Civil Service, competitive examinations are no panacea for all our ills. But in case competitive examinations are instituted, I would strongly urge that the Musalman candidates should be placed on a separate list and that the operation of the principle should be confined to letting them compete among themselves.

Conclusion

Fellow-members, our path is long and devious, and we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the goal. For some time the stars have been fighting against us in their courses. But there is no cause for alarm; much less for despair. Remember, the clouds are the darkest before the dawn. Already there is a streak of light above the horizon, if one would only care to see. Whatever the obstacles in our way, a common bond unites all of us who have started on the march towards the goal. And that bond is service of the motherland. The ennobling, inspiring sentiment has fired the imagination of us all. The worship of the motherland

has brought to her altar the philosophical Brahman, the brilliant Bengali, the vigorous Maharatta, the sturdy Sikh, the refined Indian Christian, the cultured Zoroastrian, and the austere and unidolatrous Musalman—yes, even the Musalman, to whom this new worship is no idolatry. To her glory let us all sing:[1]

There resteth to India a glory,
A glory that cannot grow old;
There remaineth to India a story,
A tale to be chanted and told.

Second Sitting

The Muslim League resumed its session in the Globe Cinema Theatre at 11 a.m. on December 31, 1924.

Besides members of the League, the following were amongst distinguished visitors present, in addition to most of those who attended on the previous day: Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

RESOLUTIONS

After a recitation from the Holy Quran, the following resolution was put from the Chair, and was unanimously passed, the whole audience standing up to do so.

I. The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of profound grief at the deaths of Bi Amman, Lt. Shaikh Shahid Husain of Gadia (Oudh); Sir Carimbhoi Ibrahim, Bart., of Bombay; Nawab Abdul Majid of Allahabad; Maulana Abdul Majid Sharar of Madras; Sheikh Farzand Ali of Lucknow; Sir Ashutosh Mukerji of Calcutta; Dr. Subramanya Iyer of Madras; Mrs. Ranade of Bombay; Sir Ashutosh Chaudhari and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu of Calcutta, and tenders its sincere condolences to the families of the deceased in their bereavement.

The following resolutions were then adopted without opposition:

II. The All-India Muslim League expresses its sense of profound grief and sorrow at the sad and untimely death of the Rt. Hon'ble Edwin Samuel Montagu, a true and sincere friend of India, whose period of office as Secretary of State constituted a landmark in the history of Indian constitutional progress, and whose advocacy of the Indian Muslim cause, in connection with the Khilafat and Turkish questions, will always be remembered with gratitude by Indian Musalmans, and the League conveys its sincere condolence to the widow and other members of the family of the deceased. (Proposed by Mr.

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1. Presidential Address by the Hon'ble Syed Riza Ali: Official Pamphlet published by the Bombay Chronicle Press, 1925.

M. A. Jinnah, seconded by Malik Barkat Ali, and supported by Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.)

III. The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government the immediate and paramount necessity of introducing reforms in the N.W.F. Provinces, and of placing that Province, in all respects, in a position of equality with the other major provinces of India. (Proposed by Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, seconded by Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar, and supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali.)

IV. The All-India Muslim League urges upon such provincial governments as have not yet enforced the Musalman Wakf Act, to do so without further delay. (Proposed by Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, seconded by Mr. Faiz Tyebji, supported by Mr. Wahed Husain and Akbar Ali Mohsin).

V. The All-India Muslim League protests strongly against the action of the Legislature of the Union of South Africa in passing, and of the Governor-General-in-Council of the Union in assenting to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance, which deprives Indians in Natal of the right to Municipal enfranchisement exercised by them continuously for over 40 years, and thus constitutes a breach of the 1914 settlement, whilst it adds one more disability to those already suffered by the Indians of South Africa, in the enforcement against them of differential legislation based upon racial considerations. The League urges upon His Majesty's Government to disallow the said Ordinance as it is highly unjust, and as it is the duty of the Imperial Government to protect the rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa, and it further urges upon the Government of India to take all necessary steps for the removal of the grievances of the Indians in South Africa.

The League emphatically protests against the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923, which deprives Indians of their rights in Kenya and directly violates their status of legal equality with the other immigrant population; and the League demands that, in the interests of justice and good faith, energetic steps be taken, by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, to remove the stigma of racial inferiority placed upon the people of India by the decisions taken in pursuance of the said policy, and in particular with regard to the franchise and representation of Indians in the Legislature, and the reservation of a large area of the Colony, known as the Highland, for the exclusive use of white immigrants as a privileged minority community, under the pretext of the doctrine of 'Native Trusteeship'.

The League protests against the unequal and unjust treatment meted out to Indians in the mandatory territory of Tanganyka in East Africa and calls upon the Government of India to take necessary steps without any further delay to represent their grievances at the next meeting of the League of Nations for redress. (Proposed by Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalji, seconded by Mr. Ayub Khan, and supported by Mr. Nair. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mahatma Gandhi were also invited, by the President, to speak upon the

above resolution, and both of them addressed the League in support of it.)

VI. The All-India Muslim League condemns and deplores the assasination of Sir Lee Stack, but it is strongly of opinion that the reprisals exacted by the British Government are unwarranted, inasmuch as the important terms of the ultimatum and the action taken thereafter are unconnected with the crime, and the League strongly feels that the action of the British Government is aimed at crushing the independence of Egypt, and therefore strongly condemns it, and expresses its sympathy with the people of Egypt in their struggle for independence. (Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Yaqub, seconded by Dr. Kitchlew, supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali and Hafiz Hayat Husain.

The League was adjourned at 2 p.m. for two hours.

Third Sitting

The next sitting was resumed at 4 p.m., and the following resolutions were passed without opposition:

RESOLUTIONS (Contd.)

VII. The All-India Muslim League is firmly of opinion that anarchical organizations can never secure *Swaraj* to the people of India, and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organizations, if any, the All-India Muslim League views, with the strongest disapproval, the action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, as such an extraordinary measure, being a direct invasion upon individual liberty, should not have been enacted without the sanction of the Legislature, and as it easily lends itself, in the hands of the Executive, to grave abuses resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated. The League therefore urges the immediate withdrawal of the Ordinance, and the trial, if necessary, in accordance with the ordinary law, of the persons detained under it; and the League further urges the Regulation III of 1818, which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of public crimes, without warrant, without tiral and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement, should be forthwith withdrawn; and it records its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of the just rights of the people long overdue, and that the speedy establishment of *Swaraj* is the only effective remedy therefor. (Proposed by Mr. M.C. Chagla, seconded by Agha Mohammad Safdar, supported by Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan and Moulvi Mazharuddin.)

VIII. The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the circumstances of the time imperatively demand that the various Muslim associations of India, representing different shades of political thought and different parts of the country, should co-operate together to the greatest possible extent, and a united and sound practical activity should be developed to supply the needs

of the Muslim community, and that for this purpose, it is desireable that the representatives of the various associations should meet in a conference at an early date at Delhi, or at some other central place, and that the Secretary of the League should invite the associations and announce a proper time and place for the conference after previous consultation with them. (Proposed by Maulana Shaukat Ali, seconded by Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan, supported by Mr. Jinnah and Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan.)

IX. The All-India Muslim League appoints a committee of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, nine members being necessary to form a quorum, to formulate the Muslim demand regarding the representation of the Muslim community in the Legislatures of the country and in other elective bodies, and their due and proper share in the public services, with power to them to confer with the other political organisations and report to the Muslim League—Viz:

Syed Raza Ali of Allahabad; Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan of Aligarh; Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja of Aligarh; Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi; Dr. M. A. Ansari of Delhi; Raja Ahmad Ali Khan Alwi of Salempur (Oudh); Syed Alay Nabi of Agra; Moulvi Mohammad Yakub of Moradabad; Sir Mohammad Shafi of Lahore; Hon'ble Mian Fazle Husain of Lahore; Sheikh Abdul Qadir of Lahore; Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew of Amritsar; Maulana Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore; Malik Barkat Ali of Lahore; Peer Tajuddin of Lahore; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad of Calcutta; Hon'ble Moulvi Abdul Karim of Ranchi; Mohammad Akram Khan of Calcutta; Dr. Abdulla Suherwardy of Calcutta; Khan Bahadur Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan of Patna; Dr. Mahmud of Patna; Seth Yakub Hasan of Madras; Moulvi Syed Murtaza of Madras; Mr. M. A. Jinnah of Bombay; Mr. Omar Subhani of Bombay; Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan of Bombay; Mr. Mohammad Khan of Karachi; Mr. Mohammad Nazeer of Ahmadabad; Syed Abdur Raoof of Yeotmal, Berar; Moulvi Abdul Hamid of Sylhet; Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar; Maulana Mohammad Ali of Rampur; Syed Zahur Ahmad, Honorary Secretary. (Proposed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, seconded by Malik Barkat Ali of Lahore.)

Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore then moved and Malik Barkat Ali of Lahore seconded the following resolution:

X. The All-India Muslim League deplores, very deeply, the Kohat tragedy and the great loss of life and property there; but it feels it to be its duty to place it on record that the sufferings of the Hindus of Kohat are not unprovoked, but that, on the contrary, the facts brought to light make it clear that gross provocation was offered to the religious sentiments of the Musalmans, and the Hindus were the first to resort to violence; and further that, though their sufferings were very great, and they are deserving of the sympathy of all Musalmans, it was not they

alone that suffered. The Muslim League is not, at present, in a position to form a judgement as regards the details of the allegations published by the Government or by the members of the two communities concerned, and asks the country also to suspend its judgement until a committee on which Musalmans as well as Hindus are adequately represented, has inquired into the whole affair and has reported its findings. The League earnestly recommends to the Musalmans of Kohat to invite the Hindu residents of Kohat to return to Kohat, and to settle their differences with the Musalmans of the place honourably and amicably; and the League trusts that while the Hindus will in future avoid provoking the Musalmans, the latter will refrain from resorting to violence, and would refer all disputes to the arbitration of the trusted leaders of the two communities. The League condemns the failure of the authorities to take proper steps to prevent the Kohat tragedy, and to protect the lives and property of the Hindu and Muslim citizens of Kohat.

The Subjects Committee had passed the following proposition which the said mover and seconder were to put forward before the League, in preference to the given resolution, which Maulana Mohammad Ali had intended to move in the form of an amendment: "The All-India Muslim League deplores the Kohat tragedy and sympathizes with the sufferers, both Hindus and Musalmans; and while placing on record its firm conviction that the Hindus started the riots in the first instance, appeals to both communities to forget the past and resume their old peaceful relations. The League hopes that the Musalmans of Kohat, being the predominant element in the population of the town, will receive their Hindu neighbours with open arms."

The mover and seconder both, however, agreed to accept Maulana Mohammad Ali's amendment, and put it forward as the principal resolution, with the permission of the President, Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad then moved, with the permission of the President, the proposition accepted by the Subjects Committee, as an amendment to the resolution moved and seconded as aforesaid. Mr. M. A. Jinnah of Bombay opposed the terms of the resolution as actually proposed, and preferred the amendment.

The amendment was opposed by Malik Barkat Ali, Mr. M. C. Chagla, Maulana Shaukat Ali, and Maulana Mohammad Ali, and was lost.

The resolution as proposed was then carried.

The following resolutions were then adopted without opposition.

XI. The All-India Muslim League fully sympathizes with the principles of the programme of *Tanzeem* and appeals to Musalmans all over the country to organize the community and make the programme effective and successful. (Proposed by Dr. Saifiuddin Kitchlew and seconded by Maulana Shaukat Ali.)

XII. The All-India Muslim League strongly recommends that the

Musalmans of India to take all necessary steps to revive the cotton industry of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. (From the Chair.)

XIII. The All-India Muslim League hereby recommends that every member of the League should encourage the use of Swadeshi cloth to the entire exclusion of foreign cloth as far as possible. (From the Chair.)

The Session was then closed, after votes of thanks to the Reception Committee and the President, with a concluding speech by Syed Raza Ali, followed by a general prayer for the success of the League.[1]

1. Official Record, prepared by Syed Zahur Ahmad, Hon. Secretary. Printed by the Students' Commercial House, Lucknow, 1925,

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

ALIGARH, DECEMBER 30-31, 1925

The Seventeenth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Aligarh on December 30, with Sir Abdur Rahim presiding. Among those present were Sir Mian Mohammad Shafi, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Jinnah, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Seth Yaqub Hussain, Dr. Kitchlew, Seth Mohani, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Alay Nabi, Mr. Tasadduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani, Dr. Abdur Rahim, and Mr. Sorabji Rustamji of the South African Delegation.[1]

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sheikh Abdullah, gave the following address of welcome:

Members, Ladies and Gentlemen, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my proud and pleasant duty to welcome you to this Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League. Many of you have come from far at the sacrifice of your personal comfort to participate in the deliberations of our political association, which in itself is a proof of the interest you must be taking in the success of the aims and objects of the League, and which, I am sure, will much encourage the workers in their efforts to attain the goal in view. This year, besides the performance of my duty to welcome you, I have also to perform another and equally pleasant duty of welcoming the League itself back to its birthplace, after so many years of its absence from Aligarh. The memory of the early association of the League with Aligarh is still fresh in our minds, and it gives us much happiness

1. *The Indian Quarterly Register 1925*, Vol. II, p. 355.

to see the League once again amongst ourselves.

I am sure it will be within the memory of many of my audience in this *pandal* that the idea of a political association was mooted and matured here in Aligarh in the early years of the present century, which ultimately resulted in the formation of this very League in the year 1906. Though at this day it will be a sheer waste of time and breath to enter into a discussion about the causes of the culpable indifference of the Musalmans to the political affairs of their motherland in the pre-League days, I have got a clear recollection of the fact that the then advanced party used to hold Aligarh responsible for keeping the community back from the field of politics. But I can say, without any fear of contradiction, that it was not Aligarh which kept the community back from politics; it was the community itself, which, for want of a full and clear grasp of the new conditions of life to which it had been subjected by British rule, continued to feel shy, for a considerable time, of participating in the agitation and demands for popular political institutions. It was Aligarh which first of all realized the new situation, and in justification of its position as the centre of Muslim activities, gave the Muslim community a lead in the field of politics, just as it had done before in the field of education. I hope that future historians will give a prominent place to the event of the birth of the League. It must be admitted that the awakening of India to the political needs of modern times began with the birth of the Indian National Congress, full 20 years before the birth of the League; but the abstention of the Musalmans, as a community, from the former body did not permit it to make any great progress during that period. The coming into existence of the League and the entry of the Musalmans into the field of politics gave a great impetus to the forward movement of the Congress itself and caused a great acceleration in its speed. Besides this, the League proved beyond any question that though the Musalmans were backward in education and modern ways of thought, their political instincts were much stronger than those of any other community. It established before the country that the Muslim community possessed a much higher capacity for political combination as a people. No community in India ever showed such aptitude for unity of aims and concert in action as did the Musalmans under the auspices of the League in those early days. Though the League initiated for them a new policy and opend before their eyes a new political aspect, the Musalmans showed no hesitation in the least in giving their full adherence to it, and in conferring upon it the status of a true representative body of the whole community. The success of the League in its initial stage was phenomenal; and had it continued to follow its own straight path, to-day it would have been some stages ahead of the place where it stands. It was very gratifying to the late Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk of revered memory, and to the other founders of the body, to see all the politically minded Musalmans being attracted to the League platform so quickly and adopting it as a rallying point for giving a united expression to their political views.

Congress-League Relations

The League, like any other body in similar position and circumstances, in the beginning excited much hostility and criticism from the politicians of the Congress school, who suspected that the organization was to be merely a puppet in the hands of the Government to be employed for retarding the political progress of the people of India. But in spite of all the discouraging criticism and opposition, the League continued to work independently on lines suitable to the conditions of India. It reached its first stage of success in the year 1916, when the Congress politicians, hitherto its opponents and critics, were persuaded to acknowledge the fact that the attainment of the goal in view would not be possible until special political needs of the Muslim minority were recognized by the Hindu majority. This recognition on the part of the Hindu leaders was followed by the famous Hindu-Muslim Pact of Lucknow towards the end of the year 1916. The League and the Indian National Congress thereafter worked together in a sort of political partnership for attaining the ultimate goal of self-government; and there cannot be two opinions that the event of alliance of these two bodies will ever remain a most prominent landmark in the history of progress of the new political life in India.

One of the obvious and immediate outcomes of the alliance between the League and the Congress was the pronouncement of August 20, 1917, by the British Government. I remember the Lucknow Pact being specially referred to by some of the speakers in the British Parliament as one of the grounds which had persuaded the Government of the time to place before the people of India the goal of self-government. The same Parliament in which, only eight years before the above pronouncement, no lesser a Secretary of State than Lord Morley had emphatically declared that the Government in India was to remain British and absolute, for all time to come, was ultimately compelled to yield to the joint demand of the two communities, when after giving up its old, rigid and unjustifiable position of a rank autocrat, it gave India the hope of self-government. Such is the force of combination which our countrymen must learn to value better than they are doing in these days. Now the goal of self-government is before the country and our League has got a claim of equal credit for it with the Indian National Congress. If a few years after this solemn pledge, the British Government failed to respond to the impatient demands of a section of our politicians for the fulfilment of the same in the course of a year only, it does not follow that it will never be fulfilled. It must be fulfilled as a matter of course. British statesmen know as well as anybody else that autocracy or bureaucracy are no forms of government for the progressive races of man, and that the moral and intellectual forces now at work in the world will soon make the existence or continuance of any of the old forms of government quite impossible. We should hope that India will

soon prepare herself to give all the old forms of government a reverential burial and take her place among the self-governing nations of the world.

Lack of Balance in League Policy after 1918

After the famous Pact mentioned above, the League had to perform a double duty: to the cause of the country and to the cause of the community it represented. It had, on the one hand, to co-operate with the Congress for bringing constitutional pressure on the Government for a speedy liberalization of political institutions, and, on the other hand, it had to remain on the watch to see that nothing detrimental to the interests of the Muslim community was done by the joint action of the two parties. The task was a difficult one; but up to the year 1918, the League went on doing its allotted work satisfactorily and in a spirit of laudable fidelity to the country as well as to the community. But in the year stated above, it began to show signs of unsteadiness in pursuing the course chalked out for it. It is the period intervening between the year 1918 and this day during which the League has been remiss in more points than one. One of them is such that it . . . must be emphasized and pointed out at this place. I think I have got the whole of the Muslim community, with the exception of a very few persons, to agree with me that the action of the League in going ahead of the people it represented in an unwarrantable and frantic haste was fraught with the most dire consequences for the Musalmans of India. There could be no objection to the Muslim politicians joining any of the wings of the Indian National Congress, as, that body being a common political organization, its platform was open to the Musalmans as well as the Hindus. But the organization of the League submitting itself to be bodily dragged to the Congress platform for giving its agreement to all the resolutions of the extreme wing of that body was an unthinkable event. It is a regrettable fact that, under the influence of the general political excitement in the country, the League suffered the balance wheel of its speed to be taken away from it, to the greatest possible detriment to the cause it was designed to serve. Thus the League, by an extraordinary and unmanageable acceleration of its speed, went quite out of joint with the community, and lost all hold upon the people it represented. The Musalmans could not be blamed for not keeping pace with the extreme wing of the Congress as was done by the League, because a very considerable section of the Hindu politicians was also left behind by that wing. The difference in the case of Hindu politicians thus left behind and of the Muslim community has been that the Hindus took pretty good care not to discontinue the political education of the people in their own way, while the Musalmans simply withdrew their interest from the League and reverted to the state of their old apathetic attitude to politics. The Hindus, by setting up a separate platform under the name of the Liberal Federation, are giving the country the advantage of their education for the last eight years; but Musalmans, by

keeping aloof from the League as well as any other political platform, have suffered much in their political education. The League must justly realize its responsibility in this matter, and make amends for its past mistake.

Now I should not say a word more on the point of the past actions of the League; but with regard to its future, I want to strike a note of warning in the interests of the Muslim community as well as the League itself. It must be well known to everybody here that a large section of the politically minded Musalmans have become quite impatient with the present state of affairs; and if they find that the League has gone irretrievably beyond their reach, they are sure to start another organization for the political education of their people most suited to their capacity and needs. Now, it rests with the League either to submit to the will of the majority of the people and re-adapt itself to the policy of steady progress, or force upon the Muslim community an injurious political split. It must be borne in mind that as long as the resolutions of non-co-operation and boycotting stand on the record of the League, there will be very few Musalmans who will give the body their adherence. The Musalmans as a community are not of extreme political views, nor can they afford to be so under the circumstances unmistakably noticeable by all. I hope that there will arise no need of a new political organization; and the League, in the exercise of its foresight, will make it clear, even in this very meeting, that it is no longer an association of our extreme politicians, but a representative body of the Musalmans in general.

Hindu-Muslim Relations

After giving an assurance of its old fidelity to the people, the League will have much uphill work to accomplish in the near future in the solution of various problems confronting the country at this date. I will refer only to one of these problems here; and I hope you will agree with me that the problem I am going to mention is of the first importance . . . The problem of such great importance in my mind is the problem of the present unfortunate relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans. The spirit of mischief is at work in these days, and we find ourselves in the grip of the demon of discord. The intellectual and moral and even religious resources of certain leaders of the two communities, which ought to have been spent on making the life of the present and future generations more comfortable and happy, are being employed to create permanent causes of friction and strife. The matter has now reached the stage that even a leader of Mahatma Gandhi's sympathies—once the idol of the people and the apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity—has been compelled openly and candidly to admit that the solution of the problem has gone beyond his control and the control of his friends. For the last two years, we are under the visitation of an epidemic of riots and communal outbursts, and no town or village, from one corner of the land to the other, has escaped the infection. The cause of these riots and fracas, if

minutely examined, will prove to be the most frivolous and idiotic. But they have quite overpowered the sanity and the common sense of the people; and in agreement with Mahatma Gandhi, I should say that we are quite helpless in their hands. The authors of this unpardonable mischief, whether Hindus or Musalmans, must bear in mind that their action is fraught with the most disastrous consequences for future generations, and that posterity will find ample grounds for passing an adverse verdict on their shortsighted policy. The causes of the strife are neither fundamental nor real nor rational. Only recently in this very town, the members of the two communities gave a most despicable and degrading exhibition of their prowess, when they butchered six helpless old citizens of theirs in cold blood and maimed and disabled scores of others, mostly innocent. If anybody desires to know the causes of this bloodshed and mad fury, I cannot name them, as they were of such a trivial nature that one cannot remember them.

The real cause of the Hindu-Mohammedan estrangement and strife in these days is to be found in the notions of false patriotism of certain leaders. Even some first-rank political leaders have fallen in to the error of thinking that it would be possible for them and their community to attain *Swaraj* without the help and co-operation of the other community. Propaganda in this direction has already begun bearing poisonous fruits; and the most harmful and provocative of all the overt acts, as influenced by this propaganda, is the training of young men of one of the two communities under the names of *Jathas* and *akharas* to match their physical strength against the members of the other community. This is practically a preparation for civil war by one section of the population of the country against the other. This excites much suspicion and irritation in those against whom the preparation is being made. The other side has become very nervous, and apprehends a sinister intention against their life and property; and as a matter of precaution, must be contemplating to do something to keep themselves ready for self-defence. Thus all relations of neighbourly love and amity existing before the new conception of a single-community *Swaraj* came into existence have been replaced by distrust and suspicion. This notion of *Swaraj* of a single community has unquestionably sprung from some unhealthy brain; and I hope its absurdity will soon be declared by the common sense of the Hindu community itself. But the question is how to stop immediately the course of the growing mischief in the land. The League has got a very clear duty before it in this behalf, and must do something to stop the further growth of the great mischief to the cause of the motherland. The tension has not reached a breaking point so far, but it may reach it at any moment and cause an unthinkable catastrophe to be lamented by posterity for generations.

I fail to understand what good purpose, under these circumstances, is to be gained by a persistent advocacy for *Swaraj* from the Congress or the League platforms, or by our condemnations of the anti-*Swaraj* utterances of the

Secretary of State or the Viceroy. The attainment of *Swaraj* must be admitted to be an impossibility by a mere advocacy or condemnation, when a vast majority of our countrymen are so busy in raising an abiding barrier between India and *Swaraj*. Nobody can be deluded into believing that bureaucracy can be scared away either by fine speeches or by outburst of indignant feelings. The Englishman is there and stands on his own strength, and his position cannot be shaken by mere speeches or resolutions. He may or may not be liked; but when after quarreling amongst themselves, the Hindus and the Musalmans both appeal to him for. . . .his protection, or for judging their cases himself and not entrusting them to be tried and judged by the magistrates and judges belonging to communities other than their own, he is doubly strengthened in his conviction that he stays in the land as a matter of necessity and for the protection of the weak. A demand for the Indianization of services loses all force when the Indians themselves show their distrust of the fairness and impartiality of Indian judges and magistrates. So the position of our leaders has become inconsistent with the actual facts of life; and now it will be wiser for them to suspend their activities for a while in the higher sphere of politics, and devote their whole attention to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Some of our critics say that the Musalmans are the aggressors, and that their aggressiveness is to be assigned to their leanings towards people beyond the frontiers of India—that they do not love their motherland and their sympathies are always apt to flash across the borders of India to reach Muslim lands and Muslim communities in Western Asia, that they never pay any regard to the sufferings and miseries of their countrymen, and hence they behave like aliens in the land. Now if this imputation were true, I would be prepared to admit it as a serious fault on the part of the Musalmans. With regard to the charge of aggressiveness on the part of the Musalmans, I have simply to refer to the judicial proceedings in the Hindu-Muslim riot cases, which disclose that the Musalmans are not the only sinners. But it is a highly misleading accusation to aver that on account of a few disturbances in which turbulent Muslim elements were shown to be the aggressive party, the whole of the Muslim community has become aggressive in their attitude towards the Hindus. The whole of the Muslim community or the Hindu community cannot be held responsible for the misdeeds of a few members of the two communities acting under the heat of passion in the unfortunate communal outbursts.

I assure the critics that the generality of the Musalmans, and particularly their educated classes, are as good patriots as the Hindus themselves. Of course the Musalmans of India have got much warmth in their feelings for Musalmans all over the world, based as they are on the conception of Islamic brotherhood; but at the same time, they are not ignoring their duty to their motherland. Now, without the least inclination on my part to discourage this grand and noble conception of the world-wide brotherhood of Islam, I must be emphatic in telling the whole body of my brethren in faith that the

love of our motherland is our paramount duty, not on rational grounds only, but on religious grounds also. No Musalman should ignore that love of the motherland is one of the articles of our faith, and it should be cherished as such. On behalf of the educated Musalmans, I can positively say that they are no longer under a sense of confusion as to the proper and correct meaning of the word 'motherland', and that they do in no way love their true motherland less than their Hindu compatriots.

Now I may confront our accusers for a moment, and ask them to search their own minds and examine their own past attitude to the Musalmans, and tell me frankly whether some of the lingering foreign tendencies and sampathies of the Muslim community are not partly due to the inhospitale social treatment meted out to them by the accusers themselves? But accusations and recriminations will in no way improve matters, and therefore both communities should forget the past and think of the present and future only.

The World of Islam Outside India

Before I conclude, I feel it is necessary to refer to a few matters concerning the world of Islam outside India. In these days Syria, Morocco, Hedjaz and Mosul are places which are uppermost in the minds of every Musalman, and so we cannot avoid a reference to them in our political meetings. The first and foremost in our minds is the case of Syria. France by her recent staggering barbarities and merciless massacres in Damascus and other Syrian towns and villages has caused much pain to Muslim feeling in this country. France is admittedly killing people in Syria to establish and uphold the prestige of the Christian civilization of Western Europe. But France must remember that if these are the only fruits of her civilization which she can bestow upon the people who have been forced by England to accept her yoke, the civilization of Western Europe will soon come to be regarded as a detestable luxury by Europe herself, and a dire curse by the nations not possessed of fire-arms, poisonous gasses and bomb shells. France, by her mad fury in bombarding the ancient and defenceless town of Damascus for 57 hours, by smashing to pieces its sacred relics and ancient monuments and blowing to atoms pious men in their mosques, helpless maidens and matrons in their inoffensive homes, and innocent babies, has wounded the heart of Islam. This unworthy nation, though a republic herself, is for others proving a callous usurper of their lands and liberties, a sordid imperialist and a merciless butcher. The tales of the present excesses of France give us reason to thank our stars that we so narrowly escaped her yoke in the beginning, which would have proved far more galling and humiliating than the one to which we have been subjected. The difficulty with us is that we have no hold upon this merciless and so-called civilized nation. All that we can do is to urge before England, the major partner in the civilization of Western Europe, to intervene and put and end to the Mandatory Despotism of France. England should not shirk

her own responsibility and duty to Syria, as it was she herself that, after conquering Syria—partly at the sacrifice of the manpower of India—forced that unhappy country to the subordination of France.

The civilization of France is a complete disappointment to us in these days. Her unholy and most unjust alliance with Spain for crushing the small, valiant, and freedom-loving Riff community is another example of her abominable imperialism. I do not want to take much of your time in my reference to the Hedjaz question. I have not appreciated this issue very clearly, perhaps for the reason that there is not much in it to be appreciated. The simple fact which will find a place in history is that a Muslim ruler of one part of Arabia invaded and conquered another part of that country and established his rule over it. We could neither stop him from his conquest nor lend him any help for it; but all the same, we are fighting among ourselves and no party can say what is the real issue for us. Though it might be quite premature for us to show any partiality for Ibne Saud, there could be no difference of opinion, however, that the Sharifa family must go. This should be the first and the final verdict on the part of the Musalmans of India, and the matter should end with it so far as we are concerned.

The question of the Mosul Wilayat of the Turkish Empire is also one of the questions which is causing excitement among the Musalmans of this country in these days. The British seem to be bent upon wresting these provinces from the hands of the Turks; and the Turks are displaying a marked pertinacity in resisting all attempts at depriving them of this part of their motherland. We may raise our voice against the British pressing of this matter to an unhappy issue, as we know that a war between Turkey and England will inevitably destroy the peace of mind of the Muslim population of India and of other countries under the sway of the British. We hope the matter will find an amicable settlement soon.

Conclusion

Gentlemen, I feel I have taken more of your time than I intended in making these brief references to the present political situation, at home and abroad, in its special bearing on the welfare of our community. I do not wish to take up more of your precious time. Let me, in conclusion, say that we meet once again politically united. . . .and I earnestly hope and pray that our deliberations will result in evolving a common political programme for the guidance of our community, the forward march of our country, and the early realization of our political aims and objects. Gentlemen, I welcome you most cordially to this present session of the League.[1]

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the League, next addressed the meeting, inviting Sir Abdur Rahim to take the Chair. Sir Abdur Rahim then delivered

1. Official Pamphlet published by the Muslim University Press, Aligarh, 1925.

the following address.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SIR ABDUR RAHIM

Gentlemen, I feel greatly honoured by the confidence you have reposed in me, by asking me to preside at this Session of the All-India Muslim League. We shall be called upon to devote our best thought and united energies to the consideration of important political problems fraught with possibilities for much good or evil to the country and, consequently, also to our community. I assure you that I have not accepted the responsibility of guiding your deliberations at this juncture with a light heart. The situation bristles with difficulties. I am afraid I shall tax your patience a great deal, for I feel that I must expound the Muslim political attitude in some fullness, especially as the community has very few recognized organs of expression. I ask you in all earnestness to give me your uninstinted support in carrying our deliberations to a successful issue, even though you may not agree with me on all points. I want you to bear in mind that, in the words of the *Hadis*, we are the followers of the middle path and the blessings of God rest on combined Muslims.

It was very appropriate that this important Session of the League should be held at Aligarh. Here, Syed Ahmed, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Shibli Nomani, Mushtaq Hussain and other leaders of thought and action laid the foundations of that modern liberal movement among the Muslims whose influence is now felt all over India. I was one of those who helped to usher the All-India Muslim League into existence, though I had to sever my connection with it soon after, in response to the call of other public duties. Much time has since rolled by, and it is somewhat of a coincidence that I should return to the League at another crisis in the political fortunes of India. The League, as the spokesman of the Muslims of India, has contributed a great deal to the inauguration of both the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms; and the result of our discussions at this Session is certain to influence the character and scope of the next political advance. Within the last few years, political agitations have intensified at a tremendous rate. It should be gratefully acknowledged by all that it was due to Mr. Montagu's bold imagination and love of this country that the principle of government through legislatures responsible to the people has been at all established in India. However much the various political parties differ amongst themselves as to the pace we are to go and the methods of work to be adopted, it is clear that there is no difference of opinion on the point that the progress of the constitution must be along the lines of a government responsible to the people. Happily, both the Viceroy and the present Secretary of State, representing the Conservative Government, have after most careful and prolonged consideration reaffirmed that great principle. This is our fundamental starting point.

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1. Indian Quarterly Register *1925*, Vol. II, p. 356

In order to deal with the main political questions that are in controversy, it is necessary that I should mention some undisputed facts which have to be taken into account.

Hindu-Muslim Relations

Within its fold, the League has men of different shades of political opinion. The reason is that they are all actuated by a common anxiety to see that no public measure of importance overrides or overlooks the interests of the 70 million Muslims. But let no one think that the League devotes any the less thought to the promotion of measures for the good of the country as a whole, because it also scrutinizes them in their special bearing on the fortunes of the Muslims of India. That the League's standpoint is sound, none but uncompromising theorists can honestly deny; for any measures which are calculated to injure the interests of millions among India's population must, by reason of that fact alone, stand self-condemned. I am aware that there are some Englishmen who are unable to realize the need for separate Indian organizations for Muslims or Hindus; that is so only because they have been insufficiently enlightened about the real conditions in the country and are possessed with the idea that what differentiates Hindus and Musalmans is merely religion, and differences of religion should not interfere with the consideration of political problems. How we all wish that it were so! The fact, however, is that the Hindus and Musalmans are not two religious sects like the Protestants and Roman Catholics of England, but form two distinct communities or peoples, and so they regard themselves. Their respective attitudes towards life, their distinctive culture, civilization and social habits, their traditions and history, no less than their religion, divide them so completely that the fact that they have lived in the same country for nearly a thousand years has contributed hardly anything to their fusion into a nation. A mighty spiritual spell separates the 230 millions of Hindus, not only from the 70 millions of Indian Muslims, but from the rest of humanity, while it divides the Hindus themselves internally into groups which know no social commerce with one another. Caste, with its cruel doctrine of untouchability, has survived many a social convulsion. It has baffled all the efforts of Buddha and Asoka, of Akbar and Aurangzeb; and the Fnglish panacea of nationalism has brought not more unity but worse divisions. It gives me no pleasure whatever to state these facts; for anyone who has the good of India at heart must at times give way to a feeling of despair to see the deep and wide gulf separating the two communities, and to witness the collisions that have been taking place between them from time to time—more frequently indeed in recent days than ever before—often resulting in considerable bloodshed. These unfortunate riots between the more or less ignorant classes of Hindus and Musalmans are not, however, the worst symptoms of the malady. I wish to make it clear here that I am going to dwell on the mischievous activities of a certain class of Hindu politicians,

because they unfortunately appeal to the lower instincts of a community; and human nature, such as we find it, seems to be governed by something akin to the physical law of gravitation, the lower level of passions and prejudices constantly pulling at the higher tendencies.

I refer to the *Shuddhi*, the Mahasabha and the *Sangathan* movements, the professed object of the first being to convert Musalmans in millions to Hinduism, and that of the last to train the Hindus for self-defence, while the Mahasabha is a general organization which comprehends all Hindu activities. The Muslims regard these movements, which are led by politicians like Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Sradhanand, as the most serious challenge to their religion that they ever had to meet—not even excepting the Christian crusades, whose objective mainly was to wrest back from the Muslims some places sacred to both—and as a grave menace to their political status. The result is that the Muslims have started their *Tanzeem*. I doubt that at any time in the history of India the relations between the two communities generally were so seriously strained as at present. In fact, some of the Hindu leaders have talked publicly of driving out the Muslims from India as the Spaniards expelled the Moors from Spain, that is, unless they perform *Shuddhi* and become Hindus or submit to their full political programme. Either of these alternatives would, according to their calculation, lead to the other. We shall, undoubtedly, be a big mouthful for our friends to swallow. But as our Persian sage has warned us, never despise your enemy. Thanks to the artificial conditions under which we live, we have to admit that they are in a position of great advantage; and even the English have learnt to dread their venomous propaganda, a weapon of warfare which, by the by, in its most objectionable form went along with the poison gas and air bombs consecrated during the last war with the blessings of European nationalism. These amiable gentlemen are unceasingly at work: a section of them have specialized in vilifying all Muslim institutions, including Islam itself; some in distorting history to make out that no good has come to India from the advent of Islam, and practically all in proving that the Muslim community is incompetent and composed of no better material than the lowest classes of their untouchables. They are equally adept in the art of belittling, in every way possible, our best men in public positions, excepting only those who have subscribed to the Hindu political creed. What is the most obvious result of the propaganda of these political wiseacres? Riots and more riots. But they are rather pleased than sorry when some Muslims stung to fury run amok and retaliate, as it gives them an opportunity to charge the Muslim community with fanaticism and communalism. What have they achieved politically? Less than nothing. They have, in fact, by their provocative and aggressive conduct made it clearer than ever to the Muslims that the Muslims cannot entrust their fate to them and their class, and must adopt every possible measure of self-defence.

We Muslims must tell these politicians frankly and explicitly that their

claims that India belongs solely to the Hindus is preposterous and unfounded and is unjust to India itself. India is a world in itself. We do not know who its original inhabitants were; perhaps a number of primitive tribes. However that may be, India, as some Urdu poet, I believe has put it, has been noted for its *mehman-nawazi* (i.e. hospitality). She is much more broadminded than those who pretend that she belongs to them. Her hospitable doors have always been wide open to all. She is great because of the numerous races that have realized their destinies within her boundaries; the Dravidians, the Aryans, the Tartars, the Scythians, the Arabs, the Persians, the Afghans, the Mughals, and the latest comers of all, the English, all have found sustenance on the mighty breast of India. To India's greatness each one of these peoples has contributed. The Dravidians and the Aryans have to their credit a magnificent system of speculative philosophy and a charming mythological literature. The scythians are remembered by their gallant descendants, the Rajputs. The Arabs, the Persians and the Mughals have brought India a religion whose democratic teachings have succeeded in sweeping away the barriers of race and colour from among one-fifth of the human race on three continents of the globe. Theirs are those architectural monuments which in their wonderous beauty rank amongst the finest creations of human genius, and which, along with other similar buildings still to be seen in Spain, Egypt, Arabia, Persia and Central Asia, are among the wonders of the world. They introduced and developed those crafts and arts whose exquisite products nowadays adorn every refined home of England and America. Who can say that the British have contributed nothing of value? If I am to put it in a few words, their most valuable gifts to India have been science, method and organization; and has any sane thinker any doubt that we must have increasingly and abundantly of these, if we are to build up a healthy vigorous people, amply supplied with the necessaries of life, rational in their outlook, strong and independent?

We admit the many good qualities of the great Hindu community—their alert intelligence, their thrift, and their industry—and I assure them that we have not the slightest desire or inclination to discourage talent and enterprise among them. Anyone who is at all acquainted with the history of the Muslim races all over the world, from Spain to Siberia and from Moscow to the heart of Africa, will never deny that they were the greatest patrons of human talent, energy and enterprise, without any consideration of race, colour or creed. They, in fact, explored every country for gifted men, lavished honours and treasures on them, assiduously collected and preserved the learning, wisdom and science of the past, and thus built up a great civilization of their own in an incredibly brief space of time. They take a fatally narrow view of things, indeed, who underrate the value of what we Indian Muslims have contributed and are able to contribute to the political development of the country. Whatever our faults, there are no other people so really free from prejudices of race, colour or class; and those politicians who would deny us

all opportunities in public life should realize that, if they really seek to establish a self-government responsible to the people, it is impossible to do it without our help. India's best future lies in giving all the different communities that live or work here the fullest scope to develop and express their distinctive political genius instead of clogging them with theories borrowed wholesale from other countries but never before heard of here.

Some of the above-mentioned class of Hindu politicians think that they are making out a strong case against us by emphasizing the fact that we are deeply interested in the affairs of other countries inhabited by Muslims. Consequently our patriotism, it is suggested, is not wholly confined to this country. If a common civilization, history, tradition, religion and considerable affinity of race and language produce sentiments of sympathy and brotherhood among peoples whose social ideas are utterly uninfluenced by caste, colour or clime, is that a matter for reproach or to be surprised at? Any of us Indian Musalmans travelling, for instance, in Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, Turks, Egyptians or Riffs would at once be made at home, and would not find anything in the ways and manners and the mode of living of our hosts to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India in the same town where we live, we find ourselves total aliens in all social matters when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our fellow Hindu townsmen live. Besides, some at least of the other Muslim countries are, so to speak, our religious homes, such as Palestine, Iraq and Hedjaz; others are full of religious and historic associations, such as Turkey, Persia, Central Asia, Syria and Egypt. On many important questions of theology, and even social observances, the opinions of learned Muslims and the practices of Muslim communities of other countries are cited and followed in India and *vice versa*. We Muslims are proud of our international outlook; and India would have been a happpier country if she were not embarrassed by caste and untouchability. As for treason to India, is it not a fact that it is men belonging to the Hindu community that are engaged actively in conspiracies with foreign societies and Governments for creating trouble in India, and which, if at all successful, would end in an indefinite postponement of self-government? These politicians who would eliminate the English from India allege that in such a contingency, we Muslims would rather see a foreign Muslim power rule in this country. That is true in the sense that the Muslims would not like the Hindus any more than the Hindus would like the Muslims to rule in place of the British. The Muslims, though a silent community, are not blind to what is going on. I say emphatically, however, that it is not true that we Muslims would not like to see a self-governing India, provided the Government of the country is made as responsible to the Muslims as to the Hindus. That is, in fact, the ideal to which we have always been asking our Hindu fellow-countrymen, or rather their politicians, to subscribe without any reserve, not merely by assenting to the abstract proposition, but by

accepting measures by which alone it can be carried into effect. Otherwise, all vague generalities, such as *Swaraj* or commonwealth of India or home-rule for India have no attraction for us.

It is reassuring to find that there are a few Hindu politicians who are working hard and earnestly to promote the cause of unity and goodwill between the two communities. The Muslims have shown even greater earnestness in this cause. One remarkable fact should never be forgotten, that some Muslims went so far as to place some Hindu politicians on the pulpits of famous mosques as a pledge of their goodwill. But we are greatly discouraged by the poor results of our efforts. Nevertheless, this is not a question which we should put aside as impossible of solution. But as a first step we must fully meet and definitely check the baneful activities of those Hindu politicians who, under the protection of English bayonets and taking advantage of English tolerance and patience, are sowing trouble in the land to attain a *swaraj* the full implications of which they do not understand and would never face. It will, perhaps, be years before a substantial fusion of the two peoples comes about, and probably it will be as the result only of some general social upheaval. We must all, in the meantime, persevere in our effort as the most serious item in our daily task. The real solution of the problem we have in view is to bring about a state of things in which the conditions of life of the entire population, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, and Christians, the peasants, labourers, and Hindu untouchables, will be so improved economically and the political power so distributed in the general population that domination by a class of monopolists and intelligentsia, whether Hindu or Muslim, will have disappeared, and with that all strife between the different communities. Will our Hindu friends also accept this as their aim in all their political and administrative thinking and work steadily towards it? It cannot, let them remember, be attained all at once by the adoption of any particular political measure however radical, still less by any philosophical *mantram* (i.e. formula), however alluring in its simplicity. It is in fact the question of questions which is agitating the whole world; and whether anyone likes it or not, the social movement which is based on the cravings of universal human nature is not going to be stopped. It is for us to welcome it in India and give it a proper direction in the circumstances of the country. It is no longer the mere vision of a millennium; for modern science and organization can attain it and will attain it, perhaps before very long. It is an ideal which has a special appeal to us Muslims, since it is a fundamental conception of Islam itself. Islam, as you know, recognizes no class superiority or domination, it has no room even for a priesthood; and while it recognizes private rights, sets its face against the objectionable features of capitalism.

The Muslims in Bengal

I shall now give you a few facts regarding the position of the Muslims

in Bengal, as an illustration of their general condition all over India, and indicate to you the causes that have brought it about. Any student of Indian history knows that since Bakhtiyar Khalji came to Bengal with 17 horsemen and captured the government of the area in 1199, the Muslims have indisputably been its rulers until the establishment of the East India Company's Government in 1757. During this period, Bengal was an independent Muslim kingdom for nearly 300 years, and for the rest it was more or less nominally a province of the Mughal Empire. The Arabs, perhaps even from before Khalji's conquest, had a brisk trade with Bengal on the Chittagong coast, and there must have been considerable admixture of Arab blood in the population of those coasts. The Afghans, the Persians and the Mughals must have found employment in thousands in the army and the civil administration, not to speak of the numerous courtiers and retainers that must have flocked into the Province. The Muslim population there is now about 26 millions. Many of Bengal's Muslim rulers were great patrons of learning and literature. It is well known that Hafiz, as he himself says in one of his inimitable verses, received an invitation to the court of the Bulbans. It was under the patronage of the Muslim rulers of Bengal that the Bengali language and literature, which the Sanskritic pundits used to look down upon, were developed with the collaboration of Muslim writers, somewhat in the same way as Urdu in the United Provinces. This is revealed by the investigations of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and other authorities on the subject.

In the plains of Bengal everything decays with incredible rapidity, but magnificent ruins in brick and mortar are still there to testify to Muslim Bengal's past grandeur. In Dacca or Jehangirnagar, which was one of the later Muslim settlements, you will even now find beautiful mosques at a distance of every few yards; and the Golden Mosque at Gour, one of the earliest Muslim capitals in Bengal, must have been one of the grandest places of worship in the world. Only the other day, one Englishman, after seeing the ruins of Gour, writes in the *Field* that the city in Muslim days must in extent and population have been nearly equal to Calcutta, and the people of those days must have attained a high standard of civilization. He says, "The line of 49 Muslim kings who reigned there between 1200 and 1530 kept a court of which the oriental splendour must have nearly equalled that of the contemporary rulers of Delhi." In Hunter's *Indian Musalmans*, you will find the description of a village in which, just before the days of the East India Company, a Muslim nobleman lived in his mansion on the banks of a beautiful lake, where the ladies used to enjoy the cool evening breeze in gaily painted house-boats, in the midst of an extensive park where men used to hunt preserved game. Adorned with hundreds of such mansions, the countryside of Bengal in the days of the Muslim kingdom must have presented a picture very different from that of the present times. Even during the regime of the East India Company, only three generations back, a large portion of the land of Bengal was held by

Muslim *jagirdars*, *aimmadars* and zemindars, and the civil administration was staffed almost entirely with Musalman officers, *dewans*, *sadrisadurs*, *muftis*, *kazis* and maulvis, etc.. Education was widely spread, and I have not the least hesitation in asserting that the percentage of literacy among the Musalmans in those days was higher than at present. Every Musalman of position had a madrassa or maktab and a mosque attached to his house; these madrassas turned out men well educated in Arabic and Persian, able to conduct business in the courts as judges and *vakils*, and in other capacities in the administration, in Persian and latterly in Urdu. I myself have seen the ruins of some of those madrassas. One of the first steps in the policy of the East India Company, when its military ascendency was firmly established in Bengal, was to abandon recruitment of the Musalmans of Bengal in the army; and when it obtained a firm grasp of the details of the revenue, judicial and police administration of the country with the help almost entirely of Muslim officers, the Court of Directors, though not without considerable division of opinion, suddenly altered their policy. English and Bengali were substituted for Persian and Urdu; and in one generation the Muslims were swept out of the administration. The motive was mainly political, though it was supported on administrative grounds.

The Resumption Proceedings, which were started soon after the Wahabi movement in Bengal and apparently in consequence of it, resulted, according to Hunter's estimate, in the confiscation of one-fourth of the land from Muslim *jagirdars* and *aimmadars*. The cumulative effect of these policies was to pauperize the entire well-to-do and educated classes of the community, consisting of hundreds of families, and to throw out of employment vast numbers of the general population. Most of these families had to resort to villages, so that they might earn a scanty living by cultivating the few acres of land that were still left to them or they could get hold of. There they had neither the means nor the facilities for educating their children; but to-day, in many a humble Muslim cultivator's family all over Bengal, you will find traditions of better days. The large admixture of Arabic and Persian words in the spoken Bengali language also testifies to the past history. The net result has been that the classes of the community which should ordinarily provide its leaders have, owing to impoverishment and lack of suitable openings in life, become considerably disorganized and demoralized, so that one obvious thing immediately necessary is to reconstruct that class.

This is a mere sketch of the present condition of Bengal and I would not have dwelt on it but for the fact that it is a very striking example of what has happened to Muslims throughout India. It must be admitted that the change of government was bound to tell most heavily on the former rulers of the country, who were dislodged. But it was not necessary that they should have been reduced to their present condition. I have never been able to understand why the performance of boys and youths in the examination hall

should be regarded as a test of the capability of vast communities, for that is really what is at the back of the present administrative system.

Advancement of the Indian Muslims

It is, however, no use quarrelling with the past; and when the English people themselves, in laying the foundations of responsible government in the country, have given incontrovertible proof of their desire to give all classes and sections of the people of India a real opportunity to ameliorate their condition, it follows that the old arrangements, which experience has shown to benefit only a limited class of intelligentsia, and which do not suit large sections of the population, must be radically altered. I shall not be surprised if substantial steps are soon taken in that direction. If it is England's duty to help India forward as a whole on the path of progress, she owes a specially onerous duty towards India's 70 million Musalmans, who have continuously suffered and declined. Nevertheless, it should be constantly borne in mind by us that we must continue to exert the pressure of public opinion on the Government of the day, if we are to advance our position.

It is not our desire, in recreating an influential educated body, to set up the domination of a Muslim intelligentsia in the country side by side with that of the Hindus. What we want is to afford opportunities to the most intelligent and energetic men among the Muslims with their special knowledge of the difficulties of their community to help in advancing the economic, educational and political progress of the general population. We hold that it would be impossible for any Government to neglect the Muslim community without seriously jeopardising the best interest of India as a whole. . . Their economic value to the country is incalculable. But for the plucky Muslim sailors and skilful navigators supplied by Bengal, Bombay and Sind, India's trade with the outside world, round the coasts and along the great Indian rivers, would be seriously handicapped. It is due mainly to the enterprise of the Muslim peasants of the Punjab, Bengal and other provinces that India owes much of her wealth; and certainly Bengal, which is perhaps the best cultivated of all provinces and where almost every inch of land grows paddy or jute, would have remained largely an unreclaimed marsh but for Muslim labour. Malabar owes much indeed to the Moplas, for without their indomitable pluck, large tracts of it would still have remained unreclaimed jungles haunted by elephants and tigers. Burma, especially Rangoon, is greatly indebted to Muslim merchants from Bombay, and to various forms of labour supplied by the Muslims of Bengal. Indian colonial settlements in East Africa, South Africa and Australia are largely composed of Muslims from different parts of India. During the war, I am told, the Muslim sepoys of the North-West and the Punjab formed the majority of the Indian troops that fought for the British; and a monument is now to be seen in the Calcutta Strand, commemorating the valuable services rendered by the Muslim seamen of Bengal throughout

the war.

Take the various arts and crafts to which I have already alluded. The beautiful silk, woollen and cotton fabrics for which India is noted, the shawls and the embroidery work of Kashmir, the gold cloth of Benares, the muslin of Dacca, prints of Lucknow and Farrukhabad, the wood-carvings of Kashmir, the brass and other metal work of Moradabad, the jewellery of Delhi and the silverwork of Kashmir, the exquisite needle-work of Delhi and Madras, the entire carpet manufacture of India, and practically all similar crafts are carried on by the skill and labour of Muslim artisans. What greater disservice could any politician do to India than to attempt to suppress the Indian Muslim's aspirations by denying him a fair and adequate opportunity for self-expression.

An Evaluation of Experience in Government Service

Gentlemen, you will now permit me to relate to you some general results of my experience in the different public positions that I have filled during the last 17 years. It has been my lot to be in daily contact with educated Indians and Englishmen for nigh upon 35 years, as a practising barrister, a judge, a member of an important Royal Commission, and last of all as a Member of the Executive Council of Bengal, from which I have just retired. I wish to acknowledge without reserve that I found that I had much to learn from my English colleagues at every stage of my career, and I would have been a great loser if I had not had the advantage of working with them. All those with whom I worked here and in England will admit that, whenever I did not agree with my English colleagues, I freely expressed my dissent, and perhaps more so than any other Indian in a similar position. Nor did this happen infrequently. Looking back, however, I must admit that, if in some cases I was in the right, so were they in others. I have also been associated with many eminent countrymen of mine in the discharge of public duties, and I believe they will admit that most of the progressive measures were originated by the initiative of Englishmen themselves.

I was tempted to leave the Bench with its quiet, dignified life to join the new Government of Bengal under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme mainly by the prospect that there would be five Indians—two Executive Councillors and three Ministers—in a Government of eight men, including the Governor, and I naturally thought that the Indian point of view would necessarily have the greatest possible chance. I did not care to scrutinize the detailed provisions of the Act and the rules and regulations. The one fact alone that there would be five Indians in the Government was sufficient for me. Nor was I wrong; for I cannot recall even a single occasion when there was agreement on any question among us Indians that our opinion was disregarded. I have no knowledge of other provinces, but I should be very much surprised if things were at all different elsewhere. If the Indian point of view has not prevailed on any questions where it should have, then it must be attri-

buted more to the weakness of the Indian Members and Ministers than anything else.

Take again the more important Public Commissions and Committees. There is no rule, convention or understanding that the members chosen from the official personnel, Englishmen or Indians, should all vote one way or support any particular policy; and as you know, I myself acted upon that principle in the Public Services Commission. Again, when I was asked to give evidence before the Muddiman Committee, I had the liberty to express my own views, which radically differed from those of the Government, and took full advantage of it. Now take the Lee Commission. It had on it four Indians, of whom two were from the first ranks of public life in India. I say nothing now about the merits of their recommendations. All that I want to say is that those who condemn them should bear in mind that the five English members of the Commission were fully justified in presuming that the recommendations which had the support of all their Indian colleagues were *prima facie* in accordance with Indian public opinion. So also in the Muddiman Committee the report of the majority was signed by two out of six Indian members.

As regards Indians in the Government, it is alleged that the system is such that the Indian majority in the Government cannot enforce their views. Dealing with the provinces, what is referred to mainly is the provision of law which vests power in a Governor to override the rest of the Government in certain contingencies, and to dissent from the Ministers at his own discretion. But even without any formal rules enunciating joint responsibility, there was nothing to prevent all the members of a Government in any province acting together in enforcing their views if the Governor overruled any of them, or all of them, in any measure of importance on which they were agreed. Do not however misunderstand me. I do not suggest for one moment that the Government of India Act and the rules framed under it do not require amendment; in fact, as you know, even while I was a member of the Bengal Government, I pressed strongly before the Muddiman Committee for considerable amendment of the law to bring it into harmony with the intention of the Act, which is to make those important branches of administration, education, health, self-government, agriculture and industries, entirely responsible to the legislature. All that I want to point out now is that however democratic a constitution you may have and whatever checks and counter-checks you may provide on paper for that part of the Constitution where the power really centres, much will always depend on the temperament and disposition of those who have to work it. Of this, you will find, in Woodrow Wilson's book on the American Constitution, a most convincing confirmation; and this fact, therefore, must be borne in mind by all constitution makers, especially by us.

But do not think for one moment that much good work has not been accomplished during the last five years by the combined efforts of Indians in the Government and the various legislatures, working in co-operation with

and, if all the facts were told, often led by the experience and political wisdom of Englishmen. Some reduction has been made in the army expenditure, though much more yet remains to be done; considerable economy has been effected in the civil departments; and deficit budgets have been converted into surplus budgets everywhere. The vital principle of fiscal autonomy has been at least partially recognized. The cotton excise duty has been suspended preparatory, let us hope, to its complete abolition. Discriminating protection has been adopted, and the great steel concern of the Tatas has already derived much benefit from it. The salt tax has been reduced; a comprehensive Taxation and Economic Enquiry Committee has been instituted; and the Currency Commission is now holding its sittings. I shall be much surprised if after these Committees have reported, India's economic and financial conditions are not much improved. The exclusion of Indians from the Commissioned Ranks of the Army is now a thing of the past; and it ought not to be long before a full-fledged Sandhurst is established in India, and an Indian militia is formed to supply the needs of our country's defence from external aggression and internal troubles. The Government of India has been making unremitting efforts to secure equitable treatment for Indian colonists in South Africa and keeping a vigilant watch on the position and welfare of emigrants. The Indianization of the services is going on apace and has already outstripped the aspirations of Hume, Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerjee, Tyabji and Gokhale. The laws discriminating between Indians and Europeans in criminal trials have been greatly modified; and in every department of civil administration, the English officers' reluctance to take orders from Indian Members, Ministers and Heads of Department has disappeared. Up-to-date ideas of education are being worked out, and the many new universities that have been established are undoubtedly and advance on the old type. Steps are being taken to inaugurate universal compulsory primary education; and some little beginning, though very rudimentary, is being made in the domain of technical and vocational education.

The bounds of local self-government have been considerably extended; and the conscience of the educated classes and the Government has been roused to the need for improving the health of the people and the general conditions of their living. It seems that the new Viceroy will be in a position to take an expert's interest in the development of agriculture in the country; and let us hope that in this important matter, he will be able to apply his ideas to the practical benefit of the agricultural classes. Let us also hope that he realizes that the spread of suitable education in the agricultural community is an indispensable condition of agricultural development. Owing mainly to the extension of franchise under the Reforms, some sense of political responsibility and power though yet very faint and circumscribed, has been awakened in much larger circles among the general population, and there has been a distinct improvement in the social relations between the English and the Indians.

How I wish that relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans had not been growing so thoroughly unsatisfactory.

I am one of those idealists who see no end and would put no limit to human progress, and still less to that of 300 millions of my countrymen. The horizon of my vision is not even bounded by Dominion Status or *swaraj* or a commonwealth of India. My only concern is that we should have a clear grasp of the realities of the situation, in order that we may chalk out a firm and ample path of uninterrupted advance by suitable methods and measures.

The British Presence in India

Government, gentlemen, is an expression of the social capacity of a people. Any people living within a territory or forming a particular tribe or race or a congregation of tribes and races may be able to determine their own government. If they do, it implies, first of all, that they have a certain unity of purpose, are able to act together in administering the affairs of the community, and have sufficient self-discipline to acquiesce in the exercise of authority by some man or men from among themselves.

Granting that, there is still the further condition that they have the means and capacity to resist the attacks of other peoples. When both these conditions, which are inseparable, are fulfilled, we have self-determination in the real sense. No one, unless he closes his eyes to palpable facts, will deny that the chance of one powerful people attacking another people nowadays is not less but more than it was in the days of Chengiz Khan, Halaku or Timur, Mahmud of Ghazni, Bakhtiyar Khalji, Babar, Atilla, Alexandar of Macedon and the Christian Crusaders, Napoleon, Clive and Warren Hastings. Whatever excuse they may make, the aggressive peoples are almost always inspired by lust for power and possession.

For some time before the last war, an impression, or at least a hope, prevailed that the peoples of Europe were so blended together by ties of civilization that they would never fight among themselves; and if they had to fight with uncivilized races—I am using the word in the European's sense—, they would not go beyond certain limits in killing and exploiting.

After the last European war, which according to political phrasemakers was waged in order to end war, no one can pretend that the mainsprings of action of the modern European nations are less primitive than those of other nations, past or present.

Look at how France, the leader of European civilization, has been engaged in combination with Spain in exterminating the Riffs, a gallant little nation whose only fault seems to have been an unyielding desire to live its own life and arrange its own affairs, and how France, again, has laid in ruins the most beautiful historic city of Damascus, full of great memories, killing and mutilating with shells and air bombs thousands of peaceful citizens, including children, women and old men. It is true that no European nation desires to

administer the affairs of another European nation in the same way as those of non-Christian non-European peoples. That is partly because even the weakest European nation is better organized than most non-European peoples, and partly because the general public opinion of Europe is more sensitive in the one case than in the other. Nor can it be assumed that the greed for territory and dominion has died out among the Asiatic peoples; and if we see fewer cases of aggression among them, it is only because none of them are strong enough to subjugate the others in the face of European and American competition.

I have not known anyone who has seriously suggested that the people of this country, left solely to themselves, would at present be able to set up a Government of their own and maintain it against outside attacks. They are no better organized, and otherwise far less equipped for self-defence, than when a handful of Englishmen took over the Government of the country from the Mughals, practically without any resistance. And if it were true that Englishmen are here mainly to rob and exploit us, and would not scruple to use any form of deception or violence to achieve their object, as some nationalists persist in describing them, then surely the prospect of any substantial political advance must be wholly illusory. That, however, is not the proper standpoint from which to look at the question.

Whether the English captured the Government of India by conquest, or it was voluntarily made over to them by a section of the people, and acquiesced in by the rest, may be a point of historical controversy. We are ready to concede that they are not here on a purely self-sacrificing mission, and that their connection with India must be of some advantage to them. India is prepared to pay everyone who serves her in any capacity his due wage. But while we concede this, we should be justified in expecting that the English should help us with their wider political experience in advancing the well-being and growth of the country. It will serve no practical purpose to discuss the question of balance of advantages in its numerous pros and cons. It is sufficient and best for us all to recognize frankly that the presence of the English people in the prevailing circumstances of India is justified by necessity.

At the same time, we must point out to those Englishmen who would assume the role of political prophets that nothing useful is achieved by laying down that they cannot conceive of a time when the English would cease to be administratively connected with India. Political prophecies do very little good to any party. In matters governing the destinies of nations, true wisdom is to be found in the words of the Holy Quran "God exalts whomsoever He chooses, and abases whomsoever he chooses". England owes a great moral debt to India, and the only way she can discharge that debt is by taking all possible measures to help her to become self-reliant and strong. The best men of England recognize this obligation; and we ought to meet them in that spirit, and combine with them to overcome the opposition or inertia

of the narrower-minded men.

Nor should statesmen shut their eyes to the evidences of social upheaval which are manifest all over the world, including India, indicating that new ideas and fresh forces are at work, which must radically alter the relations between classes and classes and between different group of peoples. As for relations between the different peoples, nationalism, in which is ingrained a spirit of jealous rivalries and combativeness, is shown, especially by the last war, to be full of serious dangers; for when it is most active, hate becomes its sacred hymn, and religion, and even God himself, is appropriated to the cause of destruction. It is also much too inelastic for a world where time and space have been practically annihilated. Race theories are found to be too shadowy and confused and, in any case, inconsistent with the territorial definition of patriotism. When we find Jewish statesmen like Benjamin Disraeli, Goschen, Montagu, Rufus Isaacs and others leading England and moulding its policy and outlook, and that a phrase like Greater Britain had to be devised to include Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, no logical basis remains for orthodox English nationalism. It is now but a bundle of relics of old traditions and hitory. All the circumstances point irresistibly to the necessity that the Imperial Conference should be given a constitution in which India will have an honoured and equal place.

The Leagae of Nations

Then, is the League of Nations without significance? At present the European nations are undoubtedly too predominant there, but that great benefactor of India, Montagu—who died with his face to the wall, because of so many of our latest politicians' ingratitude and short-sightedness—made India its original member; and when the worst features of nationalism will have disappeared, we can well look forward to the time when the League of Nations will become a greater League of Humanity. Germany will soon be taken into the League, and do you think it possible that Russia, Turkey, Arabia, and Egypt will long be kept out? You may call this optimism in the face of how France is dealing with the Riffs and the Syrians, of the inability of the League to deal with these cases or to settle the Mosul question in a manner calculated to advance the cause of peace among nations. But no great movement had reached its destined end without frequent setbacks and fluctuations. The League of Nations will undoubtedly mark a great step in the direction of establishing equitable relations between the different peoples of the earth as soon as the Asiatic and African nations are adequately represented on it.

Democracy in the Indian Context

Let us now try to understand why responsible government of the people by the people for the people has acquired such a hold on the mind of the world, or why the famous saying of Campbell-Bannerman, that good govern-

ment is no substitute for self-government, has become so popular. It is not because of its superior efficiency, for a monarchy or an oligarchy or government by foreigners may be more efficient. Its greatest value is educative, for on one day at least, each third or fifth or seventh year, every citizen, be he a labourer or a peasant, realizes that he stands on a footing of absolute equality with the prince, the politician and the financier in selecting men to administer the affairs of the country for the common benefit of all. This, however, can only be very partially and imperfectly attained in India for sometime yet to come, for it must be years before every Indian, man and woman, can have a vote; even the great majority of the present voters, who form but a small fraction of the population, do not realize the full value and effect of their votes. In this essential respect, therefore, we are far off from the ideal.

Nor is it possible, in present circumstances, to have one common general electorate without leaving the minorities absolutely at the mercy of the majority. We must admit that full responsible government has little meaning unless it is really responsible to the will of the majority; and whatever checks and counter-checks you may put into the constitution, they cannot and must not do away with this essential character of responsible government, though they may to some small extent modify its operation. Even such modification will depend on the general goodwill and toleration, self-restraint and far-sightedness of the majority. A majority wanting in these qualities can be far more tyrannical and oppressive than individual autocrats of the present day. In our country the majority and the minority are sharply determined among the general population by their respective religion, past history, differences of culture, civilization, social outlook and habits of life, in short by communalism and not at all by any political principles, such as have been associated, for instance, with the conservative, the liberal and the socialistic parties of England. The Hindu and the Muslim communities, which mainly compose the population, are roughly in the proportion of 4 to 1 in India as a whole. Even in Bengal and the Punjab, where the Muslim proportion is the largest, the two peoples are almost equally divided, the Muslims slightly preponderating. Again, whatever you do, votes are and will be largely affected by influence of various sorts exerted by men of the locality and by the different organizations in the country. In this respect also, the Hindus are in a position of great advantage throughout India, as money-lenders, bankers, lawyers and land-holders and as constituting the official personnel of the entire public administration, not merely in the various departments of Government such as the revenue, the executive, the police and the judiciary, but also in the municipalities, district boards, local boards, unions, in the universities, colleges and schools, in sanitary boards, hospitals and dispensaries almost everywhere. They are also far better organized.

The weakness of our political position is specially marked in Bengal, where the Muslim population amounts to more than one-third of the total

Muslim population of India and 55 per cent of the entire population of the Province. Half, or more than half, of the members now sitting in the Bengal Legislative Council owe their return to the influence, monetary help and organization of a section of Hindu politicians and are therefore at their disposal. I shall just give you a few illustrations of what I mean. At one time, in consequence of certain political divisions in the Council, there were two Muslim Ministers in charge of all the Transferred Departments, but they were turned out of office by a combination which commanded, among others, 20 Muslim votes. This was not, be it remembered, because of any unpopular policy of theirs in the Departments for which they were responsible. Now let us consider the attitude of these Muslim members towards some of the more important measures which were brought up before the present Council. You have heard of the Hindu-Muslim Pact of Bengal which, among other considerations, influenced so many Muslim members to join a political party entirely controlled by the astute Hindu brain and supported by their money and organization. When the Pact was mooted in the Council, these gentlemen effectively helped by their votes to postpone indefinitely the solution, so far as the Bengal Council was concerned, of a very important question which, not merely in Bengal, but throughout India, has so largely divided the two communities.

Only the other day, a Bill was put forward by Government to provide for a statutory grant to meet the current recurring expenditure of the Dacca University; and in the circumstances, there was no question that such a provision had become necessary if that University, which was full of possibilities and already doing excellent work, was to carry on its activities in an atmosphere of peace and security. The University caters for Eastern Bengal, where Muslims form the bulk of the population, and they naturally supply a substantial number of the undergraduates and graduates, though amounting only to one-third of the total number, and on its governing body, the Muslims are represented to the extent of about one-half. Its Muslim Hall is an institution most full of promise for the Muslims of Bengal, who are still backward in education. And yet, the Muslim Swarajist Members of the Council in a body voted against the measure, though none ventured to speak against it. One of them actually supported the measure in his speech, which will doubtless, in proper time, be brought to the notice of his constituents—and yet joined with the others in voting against it. In spite of these men, however, the Bill was passed into law and the Dacca University was saved.

The latest feat of these men and their party occurred only a few days ago. You may be aware that in Bengal agriculture is the pursuit of about 90 per cent of the population; and upon the labours of these cultivators, who do their daily work in malarial swamps, depend almost the entire wealth and resources of the Province. An important but extremely moderate measure, the object of which is to improve the working of the present Bengal Tenancy

Act, and give some little relief to the ryots as well, was placed before the Council at its last session. Of the personnel of the proposed Select Committee, the majority were large landholders of considerable influence, and some member of the Legislative Council moved to add three or four names of men who might be in a position to put forward the case of the dumb millions of cultivators of whom the majority are Muslims. For the first time in its history, the Swaraj Party of Bengal, in which there are, as I have said, about 20 Muslim members out of 40, trooped into the Government lobby to defeat the motion. Another motion which was carried with their help was to enlarge the quorum, so that if the influential landholders on the Select Committee so wished, the Committee would be unable to report in time, and the Bill would be automatically lost when the life of this Council is completed in the course of a year. The Swaraj Party in Bengal not only has many rich zemindars, within its fold but also receives considerable financial support from them. It is thus extremely doubtful whether they can ever be in a position to fulfil any of its responsibilities to the ryots and labourers in whose name they always choose to speak. The very first case in which, after two years ploughing of the sands, they have shown the new spirit of what is called 'responsive co-operation' in a measure of importance must be largely destructive of such hope. To please the capitalists and zemindars, their patrons, and also to serve the ryots and labourers is the impossible task which the Swarajists in Bengal have undertaken. The Swarajists as a political party are, at least in the Bengal Legislative Council, a mere futility; and their Muslim supporters are a hoax perpetrated on the Muslim electorates of Bengal.

Different Political Approaches

It does not require any extraordinary acumen for anyone to realize that the political position in India is full of complexities and difficulties. There are in it factors which are bound to create considerable division of opinion and divergence of action. It is no good ignoring this fact, nor the fact that in the circumstances, sentiments and passions are bound to affect differently the policies and conduct of men of different temperaments. At one extreme you have men who would be satisfied with nothing but a revolution, who honestly feel that revolution furnishes the proper and only solution. I do not know whether the revolutionaries have any political programme; if they have, they have not divulged it. Their immediate objective apparently is to overthrow the British regime, and with it the entire present system of government. We can, however, dismiss the revolutionaries summarily, both because there is not the least possible chance of their success and because we do not know what is the form of government which they would like or be able to substitute in the event of their success. We Muslims, whose history for 1300 years and more has been one of constant struggles and wars spreading over most countries of Asia, Africa and Europe, cannot but regard as extremely

foolish and insane the men who think that by throwing a few bombs now and then, or shooting one or two Englishmen from behind, or by raising and looting the houses of some unsuspecting and defenceless Indian villagers and by killing and torturing them, they are going to shake the foundations of British power in India. The only thing serious about the conduct of such men is that it is bound, if it persists for any time, to rouse the passions of Englishmen; and in so far as it contains a warning to the British, as the Swarajist champion of the political prisoners in Bengal put it the other day, is it seriously to be supposed that the English will be cowed by such a hollow threat? We Muslims cannot regard boys or men suffering from hysteria as serious politicians; and the fact is significant that not a single Muslim has joined them.

As for non-co-operation as a political weapon, I remember having put it to a high unbending English official in the Punjab, when I cross-examined him in the Public Services Commission and found that he would not move an inch in favour of Indian demands, what would happen to the administration if the Indians in the services combined and resigned. He had of course to admit candidly that the administration could not be carried on for a day. *A fortiori*, if not only Indians in the administration but all those who are engaged in various professions and businesses, by which the English connection is maintained and English commerce carried on, held aloof, as was the original objective of the non-co-operation movement, the British power in India would collapse. This is as simple as A B C. At the same time, it is, I believe, realized by all that the whole idea is impossible, for it takes no note of human nature. Apart from that, I do not think that it has been made quite clear what the positive political demands of the orthodox non-co-operators are. If we are told that it is *Swaraj* we are not much better off, for we have no definition of it from them, and cannot therefore discuss its merits. I do, however, understand the attitude of the true non-co-operators who are, I believe, also called 'no-changers', in so far as they want to keep aloof from active politics, because they find it more in consonance with their own self-respect and dignity, and as the custodians of the self-respect and honour of India, not to place themselves in a position where they will not be able to run the entire Government as they like, but have to act as colleagues of Englishmen and Indians who may not always see fit to agree with them. With such an attitude we have no quarrel. I do not know whether there are any people still left who believe in the possibilities of civil disobediance. In any case Mr. Gandhi himself recognizes that it is not possible. This much, however, I must emphatically say in this connection, that the leaders of non-co-operation should first of all see that the entire intelligentsia and well-to-do classes, lawyers and merchants, zemindars, Government officials of all grades, men practising Western medicine and the others, set the example before they call upon the poorer classes, such as the ryots, to practise civil disobedience.

The Swaraj Party is of a more complex character. It has in its com-

position three factors dominating its policy: a general distrust and hatred of the English people, which appeals to an overstrung section of the educated *bhadralog* class from which the revolutionaries of Bengal are drawn; conciliation of the Muslims, and securing their support by acceptance of their demands; and lastly a bid for the support of the general population by putting themselves forward as champions of the cause of the ryots and labourers. The first factor which is the source of this party's strength, such as it is, contains in it seeds of fatal conflict with the rest of the programme. The *bhadralog* class is composed of zemindars and capitalists whose interests are essentially opposed to those of the ryots and labourers, and the educated Hindu middle-classes are reluctant to share their position in the Government and the administration with the similar classes among Muslims. The real ambition of the *bhadralogs*, as a class, is to substitute themselves in place of the British official administrators. Unless the Swarajists make up their minds definitely to free their party from the influence of monopolists and capitalists, it is not possible for them to act as a genuine people's party. If they do, that would indeed be a step in the political advancement of the country; but it is more than doubtful that such a radical change will happen in the outlook of the party. As it is, they are neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring, and their activities are positively injurious to the country. So far as one can gather, responsible government with Dominion Status is also their goal; but it is difficult to understand how the Swarajists, who profess not to be revolutionaries or anarchists, can regard wholesale and continuous obstruction of the daily work of administration as a legitimate procedure, when it must necessarily in various ways injure thousands of people in their daily lives. Signs, however, are not wanting that they will have to abandon obstruction as a policy, even if they do not disavow it altogether. Then, it will be possible for them to put their house in order and embark on constructive work which the founder of the party, the late Mr. C. R. Das, had set up as its ultimate aim.

The rest of the political parties seem to agree that we have to seek political advancement of the country by all methods open to us under the Constitution and as a component unit of the British Empire; nor is there any disagreement among them regarding the ideal of self-government with Dominion Status. From what I have seen of the working of these groups in the Legislative Council of Bengal, the inference to be drawn is that they differ in the tone of their speeches, and also on some detailed questions of administrative policy. We must here note the fact that in the Swaraj Party, which is actuated by a desire for more or less revolutionary changes in the Constitution, and which has not yet applied itself seriously to any constructive programme of political work which could be tested by its bearing on the welfare of the people and its effects on the different communities, there is a certain amount of harmony between the Hindu and the Muslim members. But when you come to the parties who have interested themselves in concrete problems

of administration, the divergence between the representatives of the two communities becomes at once painfully conspicuous. The Swarajists, having taken over the administration of the Calcutta Corporation, must have found out how difficult the actual task of administration is even in municipal matters, unless the administrators are strong enough to resist all influence detrimental to public good and to act firmly and impartially towards the various communities whose interests are in their keeping. The Muslim members of the Corporation, with the exception, I believe, of one man or two, have severed their connection with the Swarajist group in the Corporation, making an excuse of the question of the burial, in the municipal market, of the so-called Pir, of whom you must have heard; and they have more than once thought of resigning from the Corporation itself. I believe that, in several places in the United Provinces, the Muslim members of municipalities and district boards have resigned by way of protest against certain actions of the Hindu majority.

Constitutional Issues

We have been called upon by the Secretary of State for India to put forward a constitution on which there would be general agreement, by which, I believe, he must mainly have meant agreement among the Hindus and Muslims. For that purpose, it is necessary to have a conference of the leading representatives of the two communities, and I hope that it may be possible to bring it about soon. There are, however, certain broad points on which there is absolute or, at least, practical unanimity among Muslims, which I have already indicated but which I might just as well summarize. No one can fail to be convinced by the history of the elective system in India, whether in the Legislatures or self-governing bodies like municipalities, district boards and universities, that no Muslims, except perhaps in places where they are in an overwhelming majority, would have a chance of being returned by a common electorate. Nor can there be the slightest doubt that this is only natural, having regard to the general attitude of one community towards the other. So no one need expect that Muslims will at present accept a general common electorate. The proposal to earmark a certain number of seats for Muslims to be returned by mixed electorates is even more open to objection. If the Muslims are not represented at all in the legislative and the self-governing local bodies, they would be wholly free to do whatever they could to resist measures injurious to their interests; but supposing Muslims are returned through mixed electorates, it is absolutely certain that these men will be entirely the creatures of a certain class of influential Hindus, and as such they will be helpless in the matter of faithfully representing the views and aspirations, and to protect the interests, of their community. As I have pointed out to you, even under the separate communal electorate system, the weaker constituencies, though entirely Muslim, are liable to be dominated by the influence of zemindars, lawyers and moneylenders, and even by men employed in the

local administration, the great majority of whom are Hindus. Under the present system, we have some Muslims in the legislatures who are in an independent position and are able freely to represent the needs and demands of their constituencies. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get such men at all through a mixed electorate. Separate electorates have been found necessary not only for the Muslims, but also for Europeans. How could anyone, under the circumstances, honestly deny separate electorates to Muslims, unless he is actuated by a desire to wipe off the community from the legislative bodies of the country?

Let me now summarize the general conclusions which I have already fairly clearly indicated in describing the present situation and the nature of the problems arising out of it.

We have to be satisfied, at present, with much less than the full ideal of responsible government for the following reasons: (a) It is not practicable for some time yet to come to extend the franchise to every adult man and woman, or to rely upon the general body of voters to understand their responsibility so as to make an intelligent use of their vote. (b) For the present, it would be impossible to institute a common general electorate for all classes and communities, without jeopardizing the interests of large and important minorities, and thus giving rise to serious trouble in the land. Besides other possible safeguards for the protection of minority interests generally, the two communities, Hindu and Muslim, should be represented in the legislatures in the proportion of their respective populations; and neither community should have less than 33 per cent of the seats in the Indian and provincial legislatures. (c) Not merely goodwill, but co-operation of Englishmen in the Government, the administration and the legislatures of the country is necessary until the people are sufficiently united among themselves and politically advanced and strong enough to resist outside aggression.

Subject to these limitations, the present Constitution should be so modified as to remove all difficulties in the way of representatives of the people securing unhampered progress for the country, politically and economically.

Indian opinion, I believe, is generally agreed that the Secretary of State for India should be relieved of all questions of executive administration, however important. He should be concerned only with those large questions of policy which affect the relations between India and Britain, the colonies or foreign powers, or which concern the Native States. The Viceroy is generally a British statesman of the first rank, and he is supported by the Commander-in-Chief, who is also a member of his Council, and by six other members of the Executive Council, three of whom are distinguished English officials, the other three being Indians. The Government of India is in constant touch with public opinion through the Assembly, the Council of State, the provincial legislatures and the local governments; and surely the Secretary of State,

however gifted, cannot, sitting in Whitehall, be in a better position to deal with the administrative needs of India, with the advice of a few superannuated Englishmen and Indians, whose knowledge of the conditions in India must grow fainter and less real month by month. The Secretary of State's Council might be safely abolished as an unnecessary burden on the taxpayers, especially as the High Commissioner has taken over many important duties which formerly devolved on the Secretary of State's Council. With rapid modern means of communication, the Secretary of State could be in the closest daily communication with the Viceroy and the Government of India; and, if necessary, on any important occasion, he could either himself come to India or ask the Viceroy, or any of his Councillors, to meet him at Whitehall. Again, the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations afford opportunities for consultation with delegates from India, which can be utilized to elucidate important questions of Indian policy. The Imperial Conference may be given a permanent constitution, with India represented on it on an adequate basis, so that it might be able to advise the British Parliament on questions relating to foreign policy, and on those affecting the relations between the different components of the British Empire.

The Government of India is concerned with what are strictly central subjects—such as the army, foreign relations, Native States, inter-provincial questions, communications and customs—and exercises general powers of co-ordination and supervision. However, at present, the rules are such that the local legislatures and the executives are unnecessarily hampered in dealing with matters which are really of provincial significance. They should be made autonomous in all provincial matters, in accordance with the intentions of the Government of India Act. I may here mention one glaring anomaly in Bengal, namely that the Calcutta High Court, unlike the High Courts of other presidencies and provinces, is treated as a Central Subject, so that arrangements for the administration of justice, in which the people are so intimately interested, are placed practically above the reach of public opinion.

The administrative task of the Government of India will be considerably lightened with further devolution of powers to local governments and legislatures, and the most important duties of the Central Government will be to deal with questions of general policy relating to military matters, commerce, tariffs, customs and fiscal measures, currency and Indian finance, and also internal problems of a general character. It has been suggested that an element of responsibility should be introduced in the Government of India, which would mean division of subjects into reserved and transferred. Whether that is possible, and if so, how the subjects should be grouped, and whether the Ministers would have sufficiently important departments in their charge, with reference to which responsibility to the legislature would be of any advantage at all to the country, are matters requiring serious consideration. It will also have to be considered whether the Ministers should be made

responsible to the Legislative Assembly alone, or to both the Assembly and the Council of State. Then another very important question arises—whether the Muslims of India or the British people would contemplate with equanimity the possibility of there being no Muslim in the Government of India.

The main question that is agitated with reference to the provinces is whether the local government should not be made entirely responsible to the legislature. This is a question of great difficulty, when one realizes its implications: for instance, whether it is intended that the Governor should be more or less a ceremonial dignitary representing the British Crown, or whether he should have any powers, and if so what powers, in the Government. The next important question is whether the provinces, or any of them, are prepared to do away with Englishmen in the Government; for that must be the inevitable effect, if the entire Government is made responsible to the legislature. In that connection, the position of Englishmen in the services will also require consideration: whether their services would be required, and if so, whether they would continue in the service after the English element has been removed from the Government. It has further to be ascertained whether there is justification for the doubt that has been raised on whether the English officers of the English and Indian regiments located in the provinces would support and, in case of necessity, take orders from the civil administration, when that administration has been denuded of its English personnel. It has to be considered whether, in the provinces, there is a fair chance of the legislature furnishing a stable Government; and if there is, whether the minority communities will acquiesce in the position if, as is likely, they are not represented in the Government at all or not to the extent they think it to be necessary to safeguard their interests. It is extremely probable that in the present circumstances only certain classes, such as landholders, capitalists and lawyers, will form the Government; and it requires consideration to see whether the activities of such a Government are likely to be beneficial or injurious to the interests of the ryots and labourers, who form the general population. If the latter, then it must be determined whether the extension of franchise will be a suitable remedy or what other remedies are possible. The above are some of the more important questions which will require considerable investigation, and which cannot be decided off hand. The result is that we require a strong committee, fully representative of the different communities and interests, to investigate the entire position, ascertain the opinion and desires of the people, on as large a scale as possible, in the different concrete political and administrative problems that may arise, and then recommend a constitution which will meet the requirements of the situation.

It is easy enough to define our political goal, and even to draw up a programme; but the most difficult thing is to secure the machinery and to get hold of the power with which to carry out our programme, so that we may reach the goal. I have indicated some of the more serious difficulties

that we have to surmount. They surround us on every side. They are such that it is not possible for a few individuals, however gifted or self-sacrificing, to achieve much by way of overcoming them. The united efforts of all of us are needed, and these efforts must be co-ordinated. There should be no waste of energy and no clashing. There is scope enough for a legion of workers in manifold capacities; we want a number of capable and earnest men to lead our activities in the different spheres of work. There need be no scramble for leadership, for I could immediately chalk out a programme of work worth anyone's ambition for a hundred and more Muslim leaders. Only let them not get unnecessarily into each other's way. In short, our first and foremost task is to organize; and if that has any meaning, it means division of labour.

The Muslim World Outside India

I have only barely alluded to the happenings in the Muslim world outside India. All Muslims feel it keenly whenever a Muslim country is in danger. But the question as to what we should and can do to help is full of difficulties and complexities.

Ibn-i-Saud, according to the latest information, is now master of the situation in Hedjaz and it is said that in the governance of Hedjaz he is going to seek the assistance of Muslims of different countries. If so, we should proffer our hearty co-operation. In Persia we find that Raza Khan has assumed the role of Shah. Should we rejoice over it on the ground that Persia has at last found a strong ruler who may be able to evolve order and national strength out of chaos and weakness, or should we mourn over the fact that democracy, or responsible government, or government by the people of the people for the people, has suffered defeat? The gallant Riffs and the brave Druses have our greatest sympathy and admiration; but if we are to translate that sympathy and admiration into any measures of relief, the best thing we can do is to collect money and send it to Syed Ameer Ali, who will see to it that such relief as can be secured with the amount reaches the sufferers. The most disquieting news is the League of Nations' award on the Mosul question. The decision is pregnant with sinister possibilities affecting relations between England and Turkey; and let us fervently hope that what seems to be the desire of the bulk of the English people—not to push matters beyond the limits of friendly negotiations—will prevail. It is difficult to understand how a Conservative Government could have forgotten their Party's old traditions of friendship with Turkey; nor is it conceivable how it can benefit England to have anything to do with a tract of country which will prove ten times more troublesome to them than the North-West Frontier of India. It would surely be wiser in England's own interest to help Iraq find its proper place in a confederacy of Muslim States, rather than extend the Mandate and make her position in the Near and the Middle-East still more complicated.

The Khilafat Committees led by Maulanas Mohammad Ali, Shaukat

Ali, Abul Kalam Azad and others have taken charge of this department of work; and I have no doubt that, with their special knowledge and experience, they are in a better position to grapple with it than most people.

Political Organization and Education of Muslims

The *Tanzeem*, whose object, I understand, is to organize the Indian Muslims on a large scale, so that they may work out their destiny in different spheres of life and protect themselves from the attacks of such movements as the *Sangathan* and the *Shuddhi*, has, I believe, been founded by Dr. Kitchlew, who is devoting his time and best energies to this important work. It is a great task which he has undertaken, one in which he would require the ungrudging support of all who desire to help the community to maintain its integrity and position in the difficult times in which we live. He will evidently need a large band of enthusiastic workers, and I hope he will get them.

I have already indicated to you the difficulties of the political work which is the main, if not the sole, objective of the All-India Muslim League. Men engaged in this class of work have to shoulder responsibility in the Government and the legislatures and to promote the political education of the community. All the three branches of work are important and none can be neglected without seriously injuring the rest. Nothing far-reaching can be achieved unless we seriously take in hand the political education of the people. In this sphere very little work is being done at present; and it is high time that we undertook the task in right earnest. What is most unsatisfactory, from the point of view of practical politics, is that we Muslims are an ill-organized body in the legislature, and if we cannot improve our position greatly in this respect, neither separate electorates nor Muslim Members and Ministers in the Government can save us. No time must be lost in forming a solid Muslim party in the Indian as well as the local legislature. That is the essential and foremost need of the situation. If we succeed in meeting it, much of the rest will follow; without it, our political ruin as a community will be brought about by our own men. I say this without hesitation, because I have seen how, time after time, we have, owing to want of an organization among the Muslim Members of the Council, failed to profit by opportunities which in the political world, as we know, do not occur every day. And whenever we have been able to combine, we have at once achieved our object. We were able to secure a separate electorate for the Calcutta Corporation simply because we were able to unite and thus obtain the sympathy and support of non-official European Members of the Council. The Swarajists had not come in then to divide the Muslims among themselves. Even when the Swarejists had weakened our strength by one-half, the rest of the Muslims acting together were able to save the Dacca University, with the help of the Government block, the European non-officials and a group of Hindu Members.

I have never—not even in the most discouraging circumstances—

wavered in my support of the principle of responsible government, because among its many advantages, it provides, under such proper safeguards as I have mentioned, the best possible forum where the needs, grievances and aspirations of weak communities can be publicly discussed and suitable redress obtained. But without adequate safeguards and a proper organization, responsible government in the present circumstances may well result in the political effacement of Indian Muslims. I beseech you therefore to organize your forces in the legislature to form a Muslim party with a reasonable and well-defined political programme. Have a leader in each legislature who will express the mind of the party. When you have settled your programme of work, give him instructions on every important point, but let him represent you as one united party before the world. We must choose a good man if we can find one, but even an indifferent man will do much with the party at his back. The essential need is that we should be united; and if we are, we have nothing to fear. A well-organized Muslim party will secure victory on whichever side it throws its weight. If, on the other hand, we cannot organize a united Muslim party in the legislatures, the very object of communal representation will be defeated; for it presupposes that the community as such has views on important questions which can be best represented by men selected by itself. We must also always bear in mind that communal electorates do not exist solely, or even mainly, in order to deal with purely communal questions, but because it has been found necessary that the Muslims should have a fair chance, along with other communities, to contribute their political thought and energy to the development of the country, and at the same time to protect their own special interests. The Muslim party will of course daily be acting with other political parties. They may at times form a coalition with them, but they cannot merge their identity in other parties without considerably impairing their status and usefulness as representatives of the community.

In choosing their political ally, they will have to find out which of the political groups will best help their measures; and the choice should be determined by a dispassionate consideration of all the circumstances, and not under the sway of passions and prejudices. Let not matters extraneous to your practical programme of work warp your plan of action in the Council. You will not expect that any other party will hold identically the same views as yourselves on the general questions or...in some matters which interest you greatly...If that were not the position, there would have been no need for a separate party, still less for a separate communal electorate. There must be considerable give and take, and it is here that the political wisdom and strength of the party and its skill and capacity to negotiate will be severely tested. But as we know, success in such negotiations will depend on our solidarity as a party and our influence in the country. The latter depends on the political education of the community; and I know for certain that whatever be the dissensions and divisions in the ranks, where men are engaged in a mutually

destructive and insane form of scramble for power, the Muslim community as a whole will far more readily respond to political training than any other community in India. It is there that our true, but almost unexplored, strength lies. We want a band of devoted patriotic workers to utilize that tremendous power. This work can only be done by the younger generation in whom all our hopes centre, with such advice and help as we of the passing generation can give them. But for God's sake do not make their task—heavy enough as it will be—more burdensome and difficult by bequeathing them a tradition of petty narrowminded squabbles. With even a fraction of our mass power, we can instantly stop that wild devil's dance in which some politicians are indulging, and then proceed smoothly with the great work of reconstruction in accordance with modern needs.

I have already indicated the important general problems in which we are as deeply and vitally interested as the rest of India's population. Some of them—such as those affecting the Constitution; the nature and extent of franchise; the allotment of seats in the legislature; the personnel of Government and the administration; constitution of self-governing bodies like municipalities, district and local boards; education in its various grades; relations between ryots and labouring classes, on the one hand, and landowners, capitalists and moneylenders, on the other; agricultural and industrial development, and so on—raise questions in which the interests of the Muslim community are either, more or less, in conflict with those of classes belonging mainly to other communities, or in which our community is more keenly interested than the others. Many of these special aspects of general political and administrative problems are of considerable importance to the community; and they require the careful attention, in the first instance, of Muslim legislators, for it is mainly through their help and advice that the legislature as a whole, and the Government, would be in a position to deal with them.

A Common Language: Hindi in the Arabic Script

Gentlemen, we must bear in mind that political measures are not the sole means of building up a nation. At present, we have not even a vernacular name for the people of India, including Hindus, Muslims and others, nor a common language. I submit to all for serious consideration whether we should not be advancing a substantial step forward if, for instance, we called the Indian nation *Hindi* and aimed at a *Hindi* common language. Here we must have a compromise. I suggest that while we call the common language of India Hindi, we should use the Arabic script, one great advantage of which will be that it will put India on terms of easy communication with her neighbours, living in countries which after all supplied the most advanced elements of the Hindi and Muslim population. The *Devnagri* script is actually confined to some portions of India, and at best provides a key to a classical language—the Sanskrit whose unexampled beauty we all admire, but which, all the same,

is a dead language. Some may use more Arabic and Persian words, and others more Sanskrit words; but that will make no difference. My suggestion should satisfy both Hindu and Mohammedan sentiments; but I am not basing it on mere sentiment. I have been emboldened to make it by an earnest desire to think in national terms and to bring about a harmony of outlook.

Gentlemen, you will permit me, in concluding, to make it absolutely clear that anything I have said in condemnation of some movements and tendencies is confined to a certain class of Hindu politician, and is not to be construed as intended, in any way, to reflect on the Hindu leaders generally or the Hindu community. I have numerous friends in the Hindu community all over India, and I may especially mention the happy recollection I have of the more than 12 years which I spent in Madras, the home of orthodox Hinduism, of the kindness, cordiality and affection that I experienced from them from the very day I arrived till I left the last station in that Presidency. I have striven to set up, both before the Hindu and the Muslim communities, a higher ideal towards which our political vision must be steadily directed. These are times big with the fate of nations, and mark a turning point in the fortunes of our great country and our community, both of which have claims upon your highest and disinterested patriotism. In such a time as this, all petty bickerings must cease; and if we differ in our opinion on any question, let us not forget that we do so in order to attain the selfsame goal. It is neither by the English alone, nor by the Hindus or the Musalmans acting singly, but by the earnest and united efforts of all that the 300 millions of India's population can be led to a higher destiny.[1]

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SEVENTEENTH SESSION

I. Whereas the speedy attainment of full responsible government is one of the declared objects of the League, and it is now generally felt and recognized that the conception of *Swaraj* should be translated into the realm of practical politics, and whereas it is the declared policy of the Brfish Government also to enable the people of India to take a decisive part in the moulding of their own destinies, which is marked by the declaration of August 1917 and the enactment of 1919, which formed a definite epoch in the history of India as a herald of the time when India will possess full autonomy and will rank as an equal with the Dominions and with the United Kingdom itself, as a member of the British Commonwealth, the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the present Constitution of India must be amended, and urges that for this purpose the Government should undertake the revision of the Government of India Act 1919, and without any delay, appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indians Constitution on a sound and permanent basis, with provisions

1. Official Report. Pamphlet Printed by Karim Bux Brothers, Calcutta, pp. 1-52.

for automatic progress to establish full responsible government in India, and thereby secure stability in the Government and the willing co-operation of the people,

Provided, however, that for any scheme of the future Constitution of India, the All-India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declares that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed, viz:

(1) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality.

(2) The representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate.

(3) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province.

(4) Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(5) No Bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community, or in the alternative, such an other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

Discussion

After Sir Ali Imam had proposed, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan had seconded and Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad had supported the resolution, the President directed its further discussion to be postponed, and the following resolution (II) to be taken up and disposed of first. The discussion is, however, summarized below.

Maulana Mohammad Ali, who had handed in the following proposal, rose to speak: "Whereas *Swaraj* is our birth-right, and the existing Government of India provides a Constitution for India which falls far short of *Swaraj* and is extremely unsatisfactory, the All-India Muslim League calls upon the Government to invite a round-table conference of the representatives of all communities and political parties in India, in terms of the demand made in February 1924 by the Legislative Assembly, for the purpose of framing the constitution of a *Swaraj* government to be brought into force in the manner provided by the resolution of the Legislative Assembly passed in this behalf on that occasion. The League trust that the constitution enacted in this manner

would be based on the following principles for the protection of the minorities: (1) that all communities shall have representation in all elected bodies as far as possible in proportion to their numbers; (2) that minority communities shall have their representation secured to them in every elected body by means of separate electorates, provided that it shall be open to a minority in any elected body at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorates; (3) that no territorial redistribution shall affect the existing majority of any community in any province without its own consent; (4) that religious liberty, i.e. liberty of religious belief, worship, observance, association, propaganda, and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities; and (5) that no Bill or resolution, or any part thereof, shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community, or part thereof, oppose it on the ground that it would injuriously affect their community."

Maulana Mohammad Ali, commenced to read the above, after stating that he moved it as an amendment in place of the resolution under discussion. The President, however, ruled it out on two grounds: first, that it was not in the form of an amendment, but that of a substantial proposition in itself; and secondly, because it had not been brought up for discussion in the Subject Committee.

Maulana Mohammad Ali then spoke against the original resolution, urging the points stated in the proposals which he had handed in.

In the discussion that followed, the original resolution was supported by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Mr. Malik Barkat Ali and Moulvi Wahid Husain, while it was opposed by Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. Abdur Rahim and Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohammad Saqi. Mr. Yaqub Hasan supported the spirit of the resolution, though he would neither support nor oppose it in its present form. Being put to the vote, it was carried by a very large majority.

II. The All-India Muslim League once more urges upon the Government the imperative need to give effect to the majority report of the Frontier Enquiry Committee without any further delay, and requests the Member of the Central Legislature and the Punjab Council to make all efforts, and press the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Frontier Enquiry Committee. (Proposed by Mr. Abdul Aziz, seconded by Sir Ali Imam and supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali, Qazi Mohammad Aslam, Mr. Noor Bux and Dr. L.K. Hyder.)

III. The All-India Muslim League hereby appoints a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, to frame a scheme of constitutional advance to be placed before the Royal Commission when appointed, with due regard to the protection of the Muslim interests, with power to the committee to invite the co-operation of the other political organizations in the country, in order to bring about, as far as possible, a proper adjustment

of the differences of views existing among them in regard to the details of such a scheme, and to submit the scheme thus framed for the consideration and approval of the Council of the League.

The following were appointed as members of the Committee (after Resolution XVII):

Punjab: Sir Mohammad Shafi; K.B. Abdul Qadir; Lt. Sirdar Sikandar Hayat Khan; Malik Barkat Ali; *N.W.F.P.*: Nawab Sir Abdul Qayum; Mr. Abdul Aziz; Kazi Mohammad Aslam; Mr. Aurangzeb Khan. *United Provinces*: Hon'ble Syed Riza Ali; Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan; Hafiz Hedayat Husain; Syed Zahur Ahmad. *Bihar*: Sir Ali Imam; Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan. *Bengal*: Sir Abdul Rahim; Mr. Fazal Rahman; Khwaja Nizamuddin Mohammad Ali Khan. *Central Provinces*: Sheikh Abdul Qadir; Mr. Mohammad Shareef. *Bombay*: Mr. M.A. Jinnah; Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad; Mr. Ghulam Husain Hediatullah; Thakore Nazrullah. *Madras*: Mr. Abbas Ali Khan; Dr. M. Jilani. *Burma*: Mr. A. Wali. *Delhi*: Mr. Asaf Ali; Hafiz Abdul Aziz.

(The resolution was proposed by Syed Alay Nabi; seconded by Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan; opposed by Mr. Tassaduq Ahmad Khan Shervani; supported by Mr. M.C. Chagla and Hafiz Hedayat Husain.)

IV. The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that, although the present Constitution is unsatisfactory, Muslim representatives in the various legislatures should utilize the reforms as far as they go; and in view of the appeal of Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy, H.E. Lord Reading, should show a spirit of co-operation in all measures that are calculated to advance the welfare of the people of India, pending the enquiry and investigation by the Royal Commission, whose appointment the League has already urged. (Proposed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah; seconded by Mr. Asaf Ali; opposed by Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohammad Saqi; supported by Nawab Mohammad Yusuf.)

V. The All-India Muslim League emphatically declares that Iraq is a part of Jazirat-ul-Arab, and as such should not be left under non-Muslim control of the British as the Mandatory Power. The Muslim League protests against the recent decision of the Council of the League of Nations which offers the British an extension of their mandate over Iraq for 25 years. The Muslim League further protests against the Mosul decision of the Council of the League of Nation as a glaring injustice to Turkey. The Muslim League hopes that Britain will yet recognize the right of Turkey to the Mosul Vilayet and settle the question by peaceful negotiation. In the event of war breaking out, the Muslim League considers that the feelings of the Musalmans of India are calculated to be inflamed beyond control throughout the country and may prove a great and serious disaster. (From the Chair).

VI. In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League, it is imperative for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to take speedy

and suitable steps to secure the appointment of an adequate number of Musalmans in the various departments of administration, so that harmonious progress and development of the general population may be ensured and the administration may enjoy the full confidence of the entire community. (From the Chair).

VII. While it is necessary to fix a suitable standard of educational qualifications for the different services and appointments, the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that it is extremely undesirable in the best interests of the people to place undue emphasis on the principle of competitive examinations at the expense of other considerations having an important bearing on the needs of administration. (Proposed by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed and seconded by Dr. L.K. Hyder.)

VIII. The All-India Muslim League views with great alarm the deplorable bitterness of feelings at present existing between the Hindus and Musalmans in different parts of the country, and strongly deprecates the tendency, on the part of certain public bodies, to aggravate the causes of difference between the two communities, thus doing incalculable harm to the national cause; and while placing on record its firm conviction that no political progress is possible in this country unless it is based on a solid substratum of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that the interests of the country demand mutual sacrifice and an intensive spirit of give and take on the part of all the communities, the League makes an earnest appeal to all public bodies to discontinue all activities favouring aggression and to concentrate their efforts on the question of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis. (Proposed by Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad; seconded by Moulvi Mohammad Yaqub, and supported by Mr. Tasaduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani.)

IX. The All-India Muslim League whole-heartedly supports the Indian settlers of South Africa in their just and honourable struggle against the consolidated forces which threaten their very existence, and extends its most cordial welcome to the South African Indian Deputation now in India. The League views with the greatest apprehension and enters its emphatic protest against the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill which the Government of the Union of South Africa proposes to pass during the next session of the Union Parliament.

The League further urges upon the Government of India to make a strong representation to the Union Government, and secure a Round-Table Conference before any further action is taken by the latter in respect of the proposed Bill; and should this reasonable proposal be declined and the bill forced through the Union Parliament, the Muslim League appeals to the Imperial Government to withhold its assent and disallow the measure. (Proposed by Mr. Asaf Ali and seconded by Malik Barkat Ali.)

X. In view of the fact that the Province of Delhi is without a legislature of its own, the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the

necessity of alloting Delhi two seats in the Assembly, one of which should be reserved for the Musalmans; and one seat should be alloted to it in the Council of the State, such residents of the Province of Delhi as are qualified being put on the electoral roll for the Council of State. (From the Chair.)

XI. The All-India Muslim League disapproves of the Tax on the Sea-Passenger Bill and the Burma Expulsion Bill passed by the Burma Legislative Council, as they are directed against Indians and will cause irrepairable loss to them, and the League therefore appeals to the Governor-General in Council not to accord his assent to it. (Proposed by Mr. Mahmudullah Ibn Sarbaland Jang and seconded by Mr. Gul Mohammad Khan.)

XII. Whereas inter-communal unity is extremely necessary for the welfare and progress of the people, and whereas conditions, political and religious, unfortunately exist in the country, on account of which a recrudescence of inter-communal differences takes places every now and then, and it is most desirable that means should be adopted to meet such cases, the All-India Muslim League considers that Conciliatory Boards, consisting of representatives of all communities, should be constituted in different districts with a Central Board in the capital of each province, (1) to settle all matters likely to create communal differences and (2) to deal with all cases of conflict, and investigate and enquire into acts of aggression on the part of any particular community. (Proposed by Mr. Masud-ul-Hasan and seconded by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.)

XIII. Whereas there is no ground, ethnological, geographical or otherwise, for the inclusion of Sindhi within the Presidency of Bombay, and whereas past experience has shown that such inclusion is in the highest degree detrimental to the best interests of the people of Sindh and to the development of that part of India, the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that Sindh should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province. (Proposed by Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad and seconded by Gul Mohammad Khan.)

XIV. The All-India Muslim League protests against the Government attempt at the colonization of Mopla prisoners in the Andamans, and urges that all the Mopla prisoners convicted during the Mopla revolt of 1921, including those political offenders who are now serving out their terms of imprisonment in that Island, should now be set free. (Proposed by Abdul Hamid Khan, and seconded by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.)

XV. The All-India Muslim League strongly supports the Musalmans of Bihar and Orissa in their demand for option to present their pleadings in the courts in that Province in the Urdu script. (From the Chair.)

XVI. In view of the appalling expropriation of the Muslim zemindars and exploitation of Muslim agriculturists and artisans, it is imperative that Muslim leaders and associations should make every effort to induce Musalmans to form co-operative societies and start Muslim co-operative stores and land

mortgage banks. (Proposed by Mr. A. Rahim and seconded by Mr. Masud-ul-Hasan.)

XVII. The All-India Muslim League fully supports the demand of the Musalmans of Bihar and Orissa for the extension of the system of separate electorates to all local bodies in that province. (Proposed by Mr. Ather Husain, seconded by Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohammad Saqi, opposed by Dr. Mahmood, supported by Mr. Ghulam Imam.)

XVIII. The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen Mother Alexandra, and tenders its hearty condolence to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor and the Royal Family. (From the Chair.)

XIX. The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad and untimely death of Syed Nabiullah of Lucknow, one of the Vice-Presidents and Ex-Presidents of the League, and feels that in him the Musalmans of India have lost one of the greatest patriots, politicians and disinterested servants of the community, and desires that this expression of sorrow on behalf of the community may be conveyed to his family. (From the Chair).

XX. The All-India Muslim League tenders to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad its hearty condolence upon the sad and untimely death of his daughter. (From the Chair.)[1]

1 Brief Minutes of the proceedings by Syed Zahur Ahmad, Hon. Secretary. Printed by M. N. Sivapuri Press, Lucknow.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
EIGHTEENTH SESSION

DELHI, DECEMBER 29-31, 1926

First Sitting

The Eighteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League was opened in the afternoon of December 29 outside Ajmere Gate, Delhi, in a spacious and profusely decorated *pandal*. The attendance, including about 80 delegates, was in the vicinity of 500. Among the distinguished participants were Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Sir Mohammad Abdullah and Sir Rahim Bux.

The Address of Welcome was given by Khan Bahadur Pirzada Muhammed Hussain, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who, in the course of his speech, among other things, said:

"It is only (a) when we are accused of planning the restoration of Musalman rule in India, which we take to be an astute move on the part of interested parties to subject us to suspicions of the rulers and concomitant disadvantages, (b) when we are denied our fair share in the government of the country, (c) when we find the hypocritical plea of efficiency raised by Hindu friends to maintain their monopoly of officers, (d) when we find that the majority community is carrying on an intensive campaign for communal organization in the hope of establishing Hindu Raj in India—it is but human that we should think of protection against such aggressiveness." Continuing, he said that all Indians must strive to build up a composite culture, a happy and progressive Indian (as distinguished from Hindu) nation which should draw upon what is best in each of the several cultures which have found their

way into the country.

With regard to the question of music before mosques, he said that Government had taken a correct view of the problem in such questions, and had settled it by executive order. Had the Hindus followed Mahatma Gandhi's advice and left the question of routes for sacrificial animals to be determined by the goodwill of Musalmans and not asserted an aggressive attitude, this minor issue would never have arisen. By abandoning the correct attitude suggested by Mahatma Gandhi and following a course of provocative aggressiveness, Hindu zealots had themselves postponed the settlement of this issue. Now that the question had been reduced to insistence on civil rights, the executive decision of Government had, once again, put the contending parties in their correct position. He would, however, draw the attention of Indian Musalmans to the advisability of maintaining a perfectly calm atmosphere for the exercise of their rights, which must not be tainted by resentment.

If India was to be a self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth, and a representative system of government suited to the genius of the people was their goal, each constituent of the Indian Empire, in federal development or otherwise, must know the exact position of India. Neither unanimity of purpose nor prosecution of a common object would be possible without it. A clear statement of Muslim demands, based on accepted principles of representation and self-determination, must be placed on record for the acceptance of both the Government and other constituents of the Indian Empire. With this question in view, he put forward the following suggestions for discussion:

1. Each compact group with common interests, bound by ties of common religion, language and culture should (as far as possible and practicable) be parcelled out into separate provinces to determine its own future in harmony with the larger common interests of the entire continent. The present distribution of provinces had a history of haphazard development behind it, and had no rational basis to rest upon.

2. All provinces must work out their destinies as far as their distinct interests were concerned and contribute their share in common to the Central Government.

3. There should be proportionate representation in the legislature and services.

4. An irreducible minimum of representation in legislatures by Musalmans elected by exclusively Muslim constituencies should be guaranteed.

5. The question of the proportion of Muslim seats in provinces where they were in a minority would be solved automatically. When the first suggestion was given effect to, it would be only fair and just that where any community was in an effective majority, it should retain its effective power, and where it was in an ineffectual minority, adequate safeguards should be provided to protect its legitimate interests.

The basis of co-operation with either the Hindus or the Government, said the speaker, was the recognition of the irreducible minimum of Mohammedan constitutional demands. He deplored the differences of opinion between Muslims over foreign politics, which unfortunately and unwisely were prevalent in India.

In view of the forthcoming Royal Commission in 1929, he considered it most appropriate for the League to issue an invitation to the Central Khilafat Committee and other organizations claiming a representative character for the formation of a coalition which would formulate the Muslim demands to be placed before the Commission. Should the Indian National Congress find it worth its while to call a Round-Table Conference for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of formulating a Constitution acceptable to all communities, the League should hold itself in readiness to respond to its invitation.

Finally, he expressed grief at the loss of Swami Shradhananda.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the outgoing President, next invited Sheikh Abdul Qadir to take the Chair, and briefly reviewed his connection with the League from 1919, when he was first made its President.

In introducing Sheikh Abdul Qadir to the audience, Mr. Jinnah said that the latter was a man who distinguished himself in various branches of life, and rendered great services to the community and the country. There was no doubt that Mr. Qadir would guide them right, and that under his presidentship, the League would complete its session successfully. Sheikh Abdul Qadir then rose to deliver his Presidential Address.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SHEIKH ABDUL QADIR

I am deeply indebted to you for the great honour you have done me in electing me as the President of this important Session of the All-India Muslim League. This is a position which has been occupied by some of the ablest sons of India and one may feel a legitimate pride in receiving such a mark of confidence from one's community, but there is something in the intricate political situation of the country at present which makes the weight of this responsibility overwhelming, and it is with considerable diffidence that I have ventured to accept this onerous duty. We are passing through a momentous period of our political history and unfortunately the political organizations of our country are more or less in a state of chaos. The National Congress and the Muslim League, which had made up their mind years ago to co-operate, so far as possible, for the advancement of the general interests of the country, have now drifted very much apart from one another. That is not all. The Congress itself has been divided into several parties, and the Muslim League has suffered very much by differences of opinion within the community. The

1. *Source*: *The Indian Quarterly Register, 1926*, Vol. II, pp. 369-370.

recent elections to the Provincial Councils and the Legislative Assembly have divided even the Swarajist Party of the Congress into two hostile camps and the Hindu Mahasabha has tried to oust the Swarajists from the influential position which they occupied a few years ago. This is a very distressing spectacle for any one interested in the welfare of the country; and the main question before us is to devise means of restoring normal conditions and of enabling various classes and communities in India to stand shoulder to shoulder with one another and to march onward together.

The fact that the All-India Muslim League has been invited this year to hold its annual sittings in this historic town, which is the ancient as well as the present capital of India, is an indication that the Muslims of Delhi are at last awakening to a sense of their great responsibility with regard to taking their due share in the political life of the country. I spent two very interesting years of my life in Delhi, at an early stage of my career as a lawyer, and had the privilege of coming in contact with some of the best men here and I have since taken a lively interest in the progress of this town. When the seat of the Government of India was transferred to Delhi, I felt, in common with many of its well-wishers, that Delhi was being given a unique chance of regaining its lost importance, but at the same time I felt that the level of intellectual activity here was not then sufficiently high to enable Delhi to take that part in guiding the policy of the country as befits its position, though the Hindus of Delhi were comparatively better prepared than the Muslims for taking part in politics. From the events that have been taking place since Delhi became the seat of Government, it is clear that the expectations as well as the fears referred to above have been realized. In point of importance and business prosperity, Delhi has undoubtedly gained; but its poverty in the sphere of intellectual and political development has been seriously felt as a drawback. Its enhanced status has brought with it new facilities for intellectual progress, and it is gratifying to see that Delhi has been given a University of its own, which has begun to function and has made quite a fair start. I am not sure that the Muslims of Delhi, most of whom are now engaged in trade or business, care sufficiently for education; and I must take this opportunity of impressing upon them the need of education, not only for the purpose of maintaining their present position in the commercial world, but also for taking their proper place in the domain of politics. Let us hope that the Mohammedan Educational Conference, which has just concluded its sittings in Delhi, under the able guidance of Sir Abdul Rahim, will stimulate education among the Musalmans of this place and will help to equip them for taking part in political work. No community can proporly appreciate political problems without there being a sufficiently large number of well-educated men in it, capable of giving a sane and sober lead in politics. The Musalmans of Delhi should make the fullest use of the opportunities before them by taking an adequate share in the work of their University, and thereby equip themselves for taking an intelligent interest in politics.

The All-India Muslim League, when it started in 1906, had before it a clear-cut policy, which had been decided upon by some of the best thinkers of the Muslim Community in India, who combined a desire to safeguard the interests of their community with a patriotic fervour to serve the cause of the country in general. Some of those distinguished leaders have since passed away. I refer to men like the late Nawabs Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk. We have still fortunately with us a towering personality like His Highness the Agha Khan, whose wise leadership proved very helpful in the early progress of the League. He was one of the eminent men who conducted the negotiations which finally resulted in the famous *entente* between Hindus and Musalmans, which is known as the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Owing to the numerous engagements of His Highness out of India, the League has not had, for some years past, that intimate touch with him which it had before. This is regrettable, but let us hope that the League will try to secure once more, not only the active interest and powerful support of H.H. the Agha Khan, but will strive to rally round its banner all that is good and great in Muslim India.

League and Congress Relations

The policy which had been adopted by the eminent founders of the League was that it should help the political advancement of the country along with preserving the existence of Musalmans as one of the most important communities in India. There are many things in the Muslim religion, history and literature of which the Musalmans feel justly proud, and they would like to miantain their great heritage at any cost. The Muslim League has been trying to maintain the existing status of the Musalmans and at the same time to take part in advancing the general interests of the country. The League has supported from its platform many demands made by the Congress, which it recognized as conducive to the common good; but with regard to matters on which there was any conflict of interests between Hindus and Muslims, it advocated the interests of Musalmans. Whenever any matter was pressed strongly, both by the Congress and the League, a favourable impression was at once made on public opinion in this country as well as in England, and this united strength proved quite effective. I think if this line of action had been adhered to, both the Congress and the League would have been the better for it, and there would have been less friction among the two than there is today. Some of our prominent workers, however, tried to bring about a closer, though somewhat artificial union between the two, and began to have the sittings of both at one and the same place. This resulted in weakening the League without strengthening the Congress. It often happened that after the Congress had passed a number of resolutions on the questions of the day and its sittings were over, the League sat to draft a similar set of resolutions and to go through the formality of passing them with a much smaller

attendance than the Congress. This reduced the proceedings of the League to a most uninteresting farce, and for some time it remained nothing but a feeble echo of the Congress.

The Congress itself found it more useful to co-operate with the two new associations which came into existence among the Musalmans when the question of preserving the Caliphate in Turkey became acute, namely the Khilafat Committee and the Jamat-ul-Ulema. The basis of this co-operation, however, was not sound. The Muslims, who were keenly involved in the Khilafat question, thought that the Congress could help them in saving the Khilafat, while a large number of Hindu politicians, who professed sympathy with that cause, tried to utilize the upheaval of Muslim sentiment for their own purposes, without desiring any lasting or business-like co-operation with Muslims. It was commonly believed that Turkey would not any longer be a Power that would count for anything, and Hindu politicians freely expressed their sympathy with what they believed to be a lost cause. But when Turkey emerged out of the struggle in a fairly strong and healthy position, though with its dominions considerably reduced, a change came over their feelings, and their usually hostile attitude towards Muslims, which had been in abeyance under the potent influence of Mahatama Gandhi, began to reassert itself. The Mahatama, I think, had a genuine sympathy with Muslim sentiment and firmly believed that no political progress was possible without Hindu-Muslim unity; but a large number of his co-religionists did not share his views, and there has been a strong reaction against Mahatama Gandhi's policy. As a consequence of this reaction, the *Shuddhi* and the *Sanghatan* movements came into being. The Mahatama tried for some time to stem the rising tide of unhealthy communalism; but so far from succeeding in that effort, he began to lose his popularity and has had to seek a premature retirement from public life. Even those of us who do not agree with all his opinions or his methods of political work cannot but feel that the country is the poorer for the absence of his peace-loving influence from its politics. It is further regrettable that a broad-minded leader, like the late lamented Mr. C.R. Das, has been taken away from us by the cruel hand of death at a time when India stood sorely in need of the services of men of his type. He too, like Mahatama Gandhi, believed in the necessity of bringing the two great sections of the Indian people together.

Thus the work that was carried on by these two high-minded patriots has been interrupted and has been replaced by a counter-movement led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai, which is taking us back to a state of things, which we thought, we had permanently left behind. The attitude of hostility to Muslims on the part of the followers of the retrograde policy of the Hindu Sabha is very short-sighted and harmful to the cause of country as a whole. It is clear, however, that as long as this attitude continues there cannot be much hope of any real co-operation between Hindus

and Muslims. I have every hope that it will not last very long; but as long as it does last, there is only one path open to the Indian Muslims and that is an organized defence of their rights. An organization like the Muslim League, necessary as it was before, becomes doubly so when it appears to be essential for the preservation of our legitimate rights. We must take care, however, that any thing in the attitude of the Hindu Sabha towards us should not generate a spirit of narrow-mindedness among us, and we should continue to share and support all the legitimate aspirations of the people of India for attaining *Swaraj*, which has been recognized, both by the Congress and the League, as the common goal of our national ambitions.

Attitudes to Reforms

The word *Swaraj* has been shouted from numerous platforms for many years past, since the memorable year 1917, when the Scheme of Reforms was foreshadowed, and more particularly since 1920, when the Reforms were actually introduced. As you are all aware, a school of political thought condemned the Reforms, when they came, as absolutely inadequate, and decided to boycott the new Councils. Another school, while practically sharing the views of the former as to the inadequacy of the Reforms, urged that they should be worked for what they were worth. The voice of the latter was, however, overpowered by their more articulate brethren, and the results have been rather unfortunate for the country. The two sets of politicians, instead of showing a united front to the bureaucracy, from whose hands they wanted to snatch the greater part of the power hitherto enjoyed by it, began to quarrel among themselves. The extreme wing of the Congress denounced those who wanted to work the Reforms and insisted that we should at once have full autonomy like the other dominions of the British Empire. They were not willing to serve the proposed probation before getting any further steps in autonomy. At the first elections to the newly constituted Councils, the boycott appreciably affected the situation. When the second elections came, the non-co-operators relaxed their ban to some extent, but insisted that those going to the Councils should go there in order to wreck them. This, however, did not succeed, and now many of them have come in as responsivists. My purpose in drawing attention to these three stages of what has been known as the 'Non-co-operation Movement' is to show that in the hopeless endeavour to accelerate the pace of the reforms, some of our leaders have actually retarded their progress. If the ablest men of the country had from the outset put their heads together and had united to work the Reforms, notwithstanding their inadequacy, the country would have been in a much stronger position to demand self-government. The Royal Commission, which is expected to re-examine the question of the Reforms in 1929, may commence its work even earlier, but the spectacle that we should present to the Commission is that of differences and divisions,

of struggles and strifes, of internecine quarrels and inter-communal riots and disturbances. I do not wish to blame any particular party or individual for all this, I am afraid we are all to blame, more or less. I have referred to this matter simply to ask all my countrymen to effect some improvement in the existing situation before it is too late. If between 1927 and 1929 we do not behave more reasonably than we have done during the past six years, the future appears to be very gloomy. If, however, we spend the next three years in doing constructive, instead of destructive work, in uniting the various communities in India instead of disuniting them, and in reforming our own social and economic conditions, we will stand a fair chance of getting a substantial advance in our rights and privileges.

Proposals for Round-Table Conference

The first thing to do for the Congress and the Muslim League, as the two leading political associations of the country, would be to arrange a Round Table Conference of the selected representatives of both, at some central place, as was done in 1916 when the Lucknow Pact was sealed. I have no doubt that the first instalment of Reforms that we got was materially helped by the agreement that had been arrived at between the two communities. This is evidenced by the fact that the proportions which had been agreed upon at Lucknow, by Hindus and Musalmans with mutual consent, were adopted mainly as the basis of decision by those responsible for framing the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. There has been a feeling since, on both sides, that in certain respects the Lucknow Pact requires revision or modification, and if we come together again there should be no difficulty in making any necessary readjustments. It is obvious that a new understanding, or a confirmation of the principles underlying the old understanding with some modifications, would considerably facilitate the introduction of further reforms, while without any such *entente* there would be no end of troubles before us. Though it is difficult to anticipate how the Congress will receive such an offer, I feel it to be my duty, as an Indian and as a Musalman, to express from this platform the readiness of Musalmans to confirm or renew the Pact, as may be decided after due discussion, and to stretch the hand of fellowship and friendliness towards my Hindu countrymen, in the hope that they will see the advantage of grasping it and negotiating terms in a neighbourly spirit of give and take.

The most important question that will have to be discussed at the Round-Table Conference, if it is held, will be that of adequate representation of the Musalmans in the Assembly and the Councils and other public bodies. The Muslims are in a minority in India; and so far as the Legislative Assembly is concerned, their representation can scarcely be regarded as adequate or effective. They are also in a minority in most of the provinces of India, where they were given a representation somewhat above their proportion in the population, as a result of the understanding arrived at in Lucknow. The

increased proportion cannot help them to carry out their wishes, but creates contentment. There are only three provinces in which the Musalmans constitute the majority, namely Bengal, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. Of these, the last named is still waiting for the introduction of reforms. Under the Lucknow Pact, Bengal got much less than its share, according to the proportion of Muslims in its population; and a part of its share and that of the Punjab was taken away to raise the proportion in other provinces, where the non-Muslims were in the majority. There is a strong feeling in the Punjab, and I believe in Bengal as well, that if a readjustment of proportions is made, the principle adopted should be that the majorities and minorities in every Province, whether they consist of Hindus or Musalmans, should have equal chances everywhere. If non-Muslim majorities in most Provinces have the chance of an effective control of their affairs, there is no reason why the same privilege should not be extended to Provinces where the Muslims dwell in larger numbers. There should, of course, be proper safeguards to protect the interests of the minorities everywhere, so that there may be as little temptation as possible for the majority to take undue advantage of its numbers or to abuse its powers. I do not think that there can be any honest difference of opinion as to the fairness of this proposition; and I think both the communities would really be well advised if they adopt this principle as their guide.

There is one difficulty, however, in the way of this readjustment, which has to be faced. The Hindus urge, and not unreasonably, that in case there is a revision on the line suggested above, the increased representation that was given to provinces in which Musalmans form a minority, will have to be taken away. I think we must recognize that if an all-India settlement is to be brought about, we cannot justly insist on retaining that increase, when asking for our due proportion in provinces where our population is greater. There is now a growing volume of opinion in favour of the view that the small increase in representation which we get in Provinces like Bombay, Madras and the U.P. leaves us very much in minority still and does not prove of much practical assistance, while it tends to reduce our majorities in Bengal and the Punjab to the level of minorities. It will be for the Muslims in the minority Provinces to decide whether they are prepared to sacrifice the increase that they got under the Pact of 1916 for the sake of helping their brethren in the majority Provinces, and enabling them to take the benefit of their numbers, or would prefer the existing state of things to continue in spite of the detrimental effect it has on large Muslim populations. If they agree to a revision of the existing proportions, it would be to the advantage of the Muslim Community as a whole to have them revised. But if they are not prepared to give up the nominal advantage secured by them, then we should made up our minds, in a manly way, to stand by the decision arrived at in 1916 and make the best of our position on the basis of existing

circumstances.

Joint and Separate Electorates

While it is generally recognized by all sensible Hindu leaders that Muslims are entitled to a fair representation, the prevailing opinion among them is that such representation should be given through mixed or joint electorates. They say that a certain number of seats in a particular Province may be reserved for Muslims, but they may be elected by a joint electorate of Muslims and non Muslims. It is argued by them that this arrangement would be more conducive too the building up of a common nationality and will have the result of putting in men who will command the confidence of both the communities. I must concede that in theory this proposal appeals to one better than the system of separate electorates for Hindus and Musalmans, on which the Musalmans as a class are so keen. English people who are in sympathy with Indian aspirations also find this view more acceptable and often observe that separate electorates can at best be described as 'a necessary evil'. Their attitude on this point is due to their not being sufficiently acquainted with conditions in India. They judge things by the standard prevailing in England, where for centuries there has existed the ideal of a common nationality. That ideal is further cemented by a common language and by a strong tie of a common civilization. In India a nation, in the true sense of the term, has yet to spring up; and before it does so, we have to solve numerous problems caused by diversity of castes, and differences of religion and culture, and by varieties of dress and food. There are not only several languages, divided into numerous dialects, used in different parts of the country, but the votaries of each language and dialect are insisting on the use of their own favoured tongue everywhere and for all purposes.

Under such circumstances, it is idle to expect abstract theories of the West to apply to the hetrogeneous mass of humanity in India. I can assure Western idealists that the Musalmans of India yield to none in their desire to assimilate all that is good in Western politics and to introduce truly representative institutions in their country; but as practical men they cannot adopt all Western notions without examining whether they are suitable or not to the peculiar conditions of this country. As regards our Hindu countrymen I cannot understand their prejudice against separate electorates. It has been found by experience that in the conditions prevailing at present, joint electorates very often give only one-sided satisfaction, and in some cases give rise to serious quarrels within an electorate. On the other hand, separate electorates have the obvious advantage of avoiding unnecessary bitterness between Hindus and Musalmans at the time of election, and of confining the rivalries of a contest to circles within the community concerned. The Muslims gain no such advantage by separate electorates which the Hindus cannot share with them. To my mind the best solution of this problem would be that

both communities may agree to retain separate electorates till there is a mutual desire to give them up or till any particular local area asks for a joint electorate. I am not one of those who think that separate electorates will be necessary for all time to come, but I am certainly of the opinion that they must be retained as long as the present atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion continues and calls for this practical device for preserving peace between various communities.

It has become a fashion in some quarters to attribute all our troubles to separate electorates and to describe them as one of the causes of the present tension. There could be nothing more misleading than that, and I hope the question will be coolly and dispassionately considered by all well-wishers of the country, whether they are Europeans or Indians, officials or non-officials, and a correct judgment will be formed after a close scrutiny of the facts of the case. Some recent utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy have caused some apprehension among Musalmans as to his attitude towards separate electorates. I want to take this opportunity of impressing on the Government of India and the Government in England the necessity of recognizing that Muslims are firmly convinced of the fact that their interests can be safeguarded in the present circumstances only by continuing separate electorates for them till the time when their Hindus countrymen begin to treat them with such fairness and equity that they may themselves apply for the removal of this and other safeguards which are absolutely necessary in the period of transition through which we are passing.

Muslim Share in the Administration of the Country

The discussion of Muslim representation in Councils and other bodies brings me to a consideration of another vexed question, on which the position of Musalmans is very much misunderstood, sometimes by officials, sometimes by our Hindu countrymen, and very often by both. The Musalmans claim their proper share in the administration of the country. This is essentially the same demand which the Congress has been making for years on behalf of the people of India as a whole, with reference to their proportion in the higher services as compared with that of European officials. The reply of the bureaucracy to the Indian demand used to be that the larger proportion of Europeans in the higher offices of the State was due not only to any preference on the ground of race or colour, but because of the higher ability and efficiency of the European officials. The Congress challenged the correctness of this view, and it is now being recognized that India has no dearth of ability or talent and can supply efficient and capable public servants for every department of service.

It is a strange irony of fate that after trying for nearly half a century to establish the capability of Indians, some of our Hindu countrymen, even among those professing the Congress creed, should turn round and say that

ability is confined to one section among the Indians themselves, and that predominance of Hindus in offices of State should continue because the Musalmans lack ability and efficiency. It is true that there is much larger number of educated Hindus than Musalmans, and when there is any vacancy in any Government department, the number of Hindus applying for it is larger than that of Musalmans. The causes of this are obvious. The Hindus are more numerous in the population. They have more men who can afford to get higher education, and they have had the advantage of an earlier start, so far as Western education is concerned; but in most of our universities Muslims have shown that, man to man, they are not intellectually inferior to any of their Hindu compatriots, and they have held their own in competition with them in various subjects of study. Therefore, if the principle of giving them a fair play was frankly recognized, much of the resentment and heart-burning that is to be found to-day and which is one of the most potent causes of friction would vanish. Let the standard of qualifications for a particular position in public service be fixed, and let the proportion of Hindus and Musalmans and members of other communities in particular departments, or in a particular province, be also determined according to the requirements of that department or Province, and then let an earnest effort be made to give each community its due, if it can produce candidates possessing the required qualifications. In judging the relative merits of candidates, regard should be had not only to their position in examinations, which no doubt furnishes one valuable test of their capacity, but attention should also be paid to other qualities which are not of lesser value in actual life —for example, character, family traditions and physical fitness.

It may not be out of place in this connection to refer to a commonly prevailing misunderstanding on the question of State service. Some newspapers as well as some politicians try to make out that it is not patriotic to lay any stress on proportionate representation of various classes in the Public Service. It is argued that service cannot give employment even to one per cent of the population, and we should look to the interests of the 99 per cent, who earn their livelihood without taking any service under the Government. This argument was once put forward from this very platform some years ago, in this very town, by one of my predecessors. Perhaps he has since had occasion to modify his opinion on this subject; but if he has not, I must say, with due deference to him, that I beg to differ from this view. The question of employment under the State is not merely a question of loaves and fishes, as is usually observed. It is a question of power and opportunity and of training. The officials in this country have been wielding and, in spite of the changing times, still continue to wield great power, which they can use to the advantage of one party and to the disadvantage of the other, and on such occasions it becomes a matter of very vital interest to the communities concerned whether the persons in powers, at a particular time or in a particular locality, belong

to one community or the other. They have opportunities of rendering services to those whom they want to help; and if one community has a much larger number of helpers than the other, it makes a difference not only to its present but to its future. Moreover, even as a pure question of bread and butter, it is not one to be despised or to be treated as affecting a very small portion of people. Very often one individual in India who is the bread winner of a family supports a large number of relatives and dependents; and therefore, for every thousand men who may be in service, there are several thousands who are being cared for. The vitality of this question gains still greater force in the case of Musalmans, because some other avenues of work, particularly in the line of trade or commerce, are practically beyond the reach of most of them for want of sufficient capital, as well as on account of the greater aptitude of the Hindus for those walks of life acquired by heredity. It is, therefore, necessary that the Government as well as our fellow-countrymen may recognize the justness of our demand for a fair share of employment under the State.

Religious Differences

Besides the two important matters which have been dealt with above, the question of religious differences is one which requires the most careful attention. Instead of being the means of peace and goodwill among men, which every religion professes to be, it has often proved a source of trouble in the world, and India is not the only country which has sufiffered through religious differences. There have been attempts made from time to time to reconcile the jarring elements of religion in India, but the attempts have often resulted in failure. There have been dreamers among Muslims who conceived it possible that Islam might become the universal religion of India. There are now dreamers among some sections of the Hindu community who think that if they make sufficient efforts they might convert all the followers of Islam in this country to Hinduism and thus create a new nation. But I think it must be frankly recognized on both sides that these two great religions have got to live side by side and cannot destroy one another. The vast majority of Musalmans love their faith much too well to give it up for any worldly considerations; and similarly the Hindus, with the modern awakening among them and the revived consciousness of the beauties of their own ancient philosophy, are not likely to change their religion for any other. The only rational course open to the two parties is mutual toleration and respect for the feelings of one another. Many of our recent troubles would have been avoided, if we had a spirit of toleration. The question of music before the mosques, which has caused so much bitterness of late, furnishes a striking instance of intolerance on both sides. One can understand the excitement of the masses on a question of this nature, but it is difficult to understand leaders of political thought among Hindus insisting that Hindus have a right to play music before mosques, *including prayer times*, and similarly Muslim leaders saying that a

procession with music may not pass before a mosque *at any time*. Such Hindus should realize that, apart from any question of usage or law, mere decency dictates that if you pass a place of worship you have to pass it reverently, especially when there are people engaged in religious devotion. A European walks on tip-toe, so as to avoid making a noise, if he passes a place where a few people are holding a meeting and, for the matter of that, so does the educated Indian, if he has received the least training in manners. There is no law that enjoins this, but the man who does so shows his own good breeding and elicits respect from those who witness such a move on his part. The Hindus should therefore adopt this spirit and treat a congregation assembled for prayers with at least as much regard as they would pay to a meeting assembled to transact worldly business. The Muslims, on the other hand, should learn to abandon that attitude of tetchiness which characterizes them now-a-days, of smelling an insult even when no insult is meant and of becoming easily provoked. The Sikhs of Delhi set up a very admirable example the other day, in this respect, in connection with the procession which they had organized and have thereby earned the thanks of the Muslims here and everywhere. The school of thought that believes that any good can come out of these unseemly squabbles which arise when one party insists on making the maximum of noise before a place of worship and the other wants to stop it by force is entirely in the wrong, and the sooner we can get away from the influence of such ill-advised wire-pulling the better it would be for all concerned.

Another problem which has been longer with us than the problem of musical processions is that of the protection of cows. As you all know a large number of Hindus are very sensitive on this point. I am not concerned here with the merits of the question, but wish only to point out that if cow-killing cannot be prevented on 364 days of the year, it passes one's comprehension why it should be so provoking on the one day when Muslims resort to it in certain places as a part of a religious ceremony. The Hindus may reasonably insist on due precautions being taken to respect their feelings and on avoiding any exposure of the meat or the public sacrifice of cows, but there should be no reasonable objection to Muslims performing their ceremony of sacrifice inside their houses and with proper safeguards.

Before I pass on to other subjects, I may pause to mention one more topic connected with Hindu-Muslim relations. It is generally observed by writers in the Hindu Press, and by some speakers among them, that the Muslims are not sufficiently interested in the affairs of their motherland because of their extraterritorial sympathies with their co-religionists abroad. They go even further and say that a number of Muslims desire to bring the Afghans or any other of the neighbouring Muslim people into India and to introduce Muslim Rule in the country. I do not know a single Musalman in any responsible public position who entertains any such fantastic idea or believes in its possibility. In fact, there are many who think that such a possibility

would be fraught with danger to the whole country and would adversely affect the interests of all communities residing in it. This theory seems to be the product of the heated brains of a few faddists, and is propagated in order to wean Hindus from nationalism and to work upon their fears for party purposes. This tendency should be deprecated with all the emphasis at our command, and I hope all sensible Hindus will refuse to be misled by such mischievous propaganda. As to the sympathy of Muslims with the members of their faith in other countries, it is no different in its nature to the sympathy which some Christian nations in Europe show towards other Christian nations in their troubles, and is only natural. It does not interfere with the equally natural affection which the Indian Musalmans have for the land of their birth and which is further strengthened by strong bonds of self-interest. I hope our countrymen will accept our assurance of our devotion to the interests of our country with the same sincerity with which we offer it.

Forthcoming Commission on Reform

I have dwelt at great length on some practical aspects of inter-communal relations, because I think that it is essential that some way out of our present difficulties may be found. I shall now refer briefly to some other matters of importance, which await consideration. I shall at first take up the forthcoming Commission on Reform. I think it must be recognized by all parties that the Reforms have probably come to stay, whether we like them or not. At the time when they were about to be introduced, the bulk of the Musalmans were apprehensive that the results would not be very conducive to their welfare, because they were not as well prepared to work them as were some of the more advanced sections of their fellow-countrymen. Experience has shown that the apprehensions were not unfounded, and that Muslim interests have suffered even in Provinces where the Muslims were in the majority. The Muslims of Bengal can hardly feel that they are the better for having obtained an enlarged Council under the new scheme. The Musalmans of the Punjab, though commonly believed to have a strong position in their Provincial Council, are not, in reality, any stronger than they were before the Reforms. In fact in some respects their position has been very much weakened. Though the Hindu press in the Punjab has been endeavouring to make out that they have serious grievances in this Province, yet there is more of skilful and significant propaganda behind that statement than any real or substantial grievance. A change that has been brought about by the new scheme in the Punjab is that the Sikhs have definitely put forward a claim to be regarded as a community distinct from the Hindus. I well remember a time when the expression of any such sentiment was objected to by the Hindus of the Punjab, and the Government used to be accused of trying to separate the Sikhs from the Hindus in order to weaken the latter. The more advanced among the Sikhs also used to declare that they were one of the many sects that have sprung up

from Hinduism, but this should not mean that they can be detached from the Hindus. This is not less true to-day than it was before, but the advantage of having separate representation in the Council and the prospect of having a more than substantial share in the administration, independently of their numerical proportion, have induced them to set up their new claim. They have found the Government willing to recognize it for its own reasons and the Hindus willing to agree to it for their own purposes, because it virtually adds to the strength of the Hindu position in the Punjab. This has complicated the situation, vitally affecting the interests of Musalmans. A strange commentary on the so-called strength of the Muslims of the Punjab is furnished by the fact that during the year that is just ending the Punjab has remained without a Muslim Minister, simply because a tried administrator of the capacity of the Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain was chosen by Government as an Executive Councilor in place of Sir Sundar Singh of Majtha, who had occupied that position for five years. Exception was taken to this by many Muslim Associations and newspapers, but their voice remained unheeded. It is further regrettable that in the newly formed Council also the transferred subjects are probably going to be administered without Muslims having a share in that administration. In spite of such disadvantages, however, I think that we cannot but take our chances under the circumstances which now exist, and should work on the hypothesis that it is impossible to go back to pre-Reform conditions. We should therefore try and prepare ourselves for fighting our battles constitutionally to secure our rights in these reforms.

I believe that the main responsibility for the losses sustained by us is our own. We are not sufficiently organized or united, and as long we allow these sources of weakness to continue, we cannot expect to hold our own against stronger and better organized communities. We should thoroughly overhaul our organization, and ask the Commission to give us an adequate share of any advance in autonomy. We should also ask for a restoration of our majority strength in provinces where our numbers are larger than those of others. We should emphasize the necessity of reforms being introduced in the N.W.F. Province, which, by the homogenity of the greater portion of its population, is in a better position than most other provinces to work the reforms satisfactorily.

Organization and Overcoming Differences in the Muslim Community

Organization is not an easy task. Though the All-India Muslim League and some of its Provincial Branches have managed to retain their existence in spite of the adverse circumstances through which they have passed, it must be admitted that most of their branches in districts have been practically defunct. It should be our first duty, on our return to our homes, after the conclusion of this Session of the League, to form active branches of it everywhere. We must raise funds to carry on, not only the routine work of the League and its branches,

but also to pay the expenses of conducting its propaganda on an extensive scale. No movement can thrive now-a-days without an adequate propaganda to push it, and we cannot afford to neglect this necessary work any longer. After the requisite repairs of the machinery of the League, we should turn to the task of co-ordinating the work of some kindred institutions like the Khilafat, the *Jamiat* and the *Tanzim*. An All-Parties Conference of public workers among the Muslims was convened at Amritsar in the summer of 1925, through the efforts of our friend Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, and it came to a very sensible decision that different associations among the Musalmans should give up unhealthy rivalries and should help one another, each working in its own particular line to ameliorate the condition of the community. It was understood that the Muslim League should continue to be responsible for organizing the Indian Muslims politically, while the Khilafat should devote itself mainly to the relations of Indian Musalmans with their brethren in faith in foreign lands. The existing Educational Associations were to remain in charge of educational work, while the Jamiaat was to concentrate on religious progress. The task of organizing the community socially and economically was to be entrusted to the newly constituted *Tanzim* movement. I think it would have been fortunate for the community if the leaders assembled at Amritsar had in practice carried out this decision; but tresspassing on the dominions of one another has not ceased, and the leaders have allowed their individual ambitions and personal inclinations to over-ride the interests of the community, till things have come to such a pass that the Central Khilafat Committee and some of its Provincial Branches are estranged from one another. What is still worse is that the workers of the Central Khilafat and of its Punjab Branch are abusing one another in the columns of newspapers. There is another extremely regrettable quarrel going on in Delhi itself between some prominent leaders. I am sure most of us have been grieved to see the abusive writings which this regrettable controversy has produced. Some of the expressions printed in black and white are such that even the man in the street should feel ashamed of uttering them. I appeal to the parties concerned to have some regard for their own position, if not for the morals of the readers of their papers. Each one of them says that he wants to crush the other in public interests, but I am afraid that it is the public that will suffer by this fratricidal fight. Perhaps it may be useful if an influential deputation or a largely signed written representation be sent to these gentlemen, on behalf of the community, to request them to stop internal strife and to devote themselves to the cause of the community, which stands in great need of solid work and can ill-afford indulgence in fruitless quarrels.

It must be said to the credit of Dr. Kitchlew that ever since he realized the necessity of constructive work and started the *Tanzim* movement, he has kept his ideal before him and has not taken any part in the game of mutual destruction that is going on in some quarters. It is a pity, however, that the

Tanzim has not made the progress that was expected of it, because people are not sufficiently trained to appreciate quiet and solid work and because Dr. Kitchlew has been practically single handed in his efforts. And many of those who were enthusiastic about him when he was advocating the process of revolution left his side when he began to preach evolution. One more movement may be specially noticed, and that is the *Tabligh*. It has always existed in theory, but it came into action as a measure of defence when the *Shuddhi* movement gathered strength. It has received plenty of lip-homage from Musalmans, but the financial support has not been at all commensurate with the amount of talk that has been indulged in. To this movement I venture to offer a word of advice, and that is that if they wish to convey the message of Islam to the world, they should make it a true message of peace, and should try to attract people by laying before them the beauties of their own religion rather than by exposing the real or imaginary weaknesses of others.

Having said something about different movements among the Musalmans in this country, I may refer in passing to one of the extenral events that have stirred the Muslim community during the current year. This year has been the rise in supremacy of His Majesty Amir Ibn Saud in the Kingdom of Hedjaz. Ordinarily one should have expected that the Muslims of India would be gratified at any prospect of a settled government in Arabia, which would enable them to perform their pilgrimage with safety and ease, but unfortunately the domes of some sacred tombs were injured by the solidiery of Ibn Saud, and this excited the feelings of Muslims in this country. This divided the Muslims of India into two hostile camps, one expressing indignation at the sacreligious demolition of domes, and the other supporting the action of Ibn Saud on religious grounds. This controversy is still raging and the division between the Hanafis and the Ahl-i-Hadis on this point has become more accute than it has ever been since the beginning of the new century. Within the last few months the tension has assumed another form; and now there is a difference of opinion as to whether Indian Musalmans should go to perform their pilgrimage when the supreme power is in the hands of Ibn Saud. Propaganda is being carried on by some that this year the pilgrimage should be abandoned. All this is very unfortunate. I do not desire to take the side of any party in this quarrel; but I have no hesitation in saying that I regard all pressure on intending pilgrims by one party or the other as an undue interference with the liberty of individuals. The pilgrimage to Mecca, like any other religious duty enjoined by Islam, is a matter of conscience, and every Muslim should be left free to arrange his pilgrimage according to the dictates of his conscience, with due regard to his convenience and circumstances. Unless it can be made out that any regime in Arabia is placing difficulties in the way of pilgrimage or is not giving due facilities to pilgrims, those outside Arabia have hardly any business to condemn it. To my mind the Musalmans of India should realize the limitation of their rights and privileges with regard

to other Muslim countries, and should not assume the role of dictators of policy to nations with whom their only tie is that of kinship in religion. They must also learn to understand that their first duty, as Musalmans, is to their co-religionists in this country, and any Indian Muslim, who neglects to do his duty by them on the pretence that he is more enthusiastic for the welfare of his brethren in faith abroad can be neither a patriotic Musalman nor a true Indian. I implore all who are engaged in these controversies to devote their energies to something more profitable and more likely to yield tangible results. There is plenty of work to be done in this country for the uplift of India and for the improvement of Musalmans, and while that is suffering for want of devoted workers, it is hardly right that some of our most energetic men should be spending their time and money, and incidentally the time and money of the community, on fostering strife and spreading dissensions.

Economics and the Need to Pay More Attention to it

Among the problems that are agitating the mind of the country just now is a very difficult economic question of currency, relating to the fixing of the rate of exchange of Indian and English money. Most of you must undoubtedly have followed the discussions that have been going on in the press and on the platform since the publication of the report of the Currency Commission and the minute of dissent by Sir Parshotamdas Thakardas. I am not, unfortunately, an expert in economics, and in a case where experts differ so acutely, it will be imprudent on my part to offer any opinion as to the views advanced on either side. Currency Leagues are being founded by representatives of Commerce in various centres of India to support the non-official view, while the opinion of the majority of the Commission is receiving strong support from Government, and Sir Basil Blackett, the Finance Member of the Government of India, is vigorously advocating the advantages to India of adopting the rate recommended by the majority of the Commission. It is for those among us who have made a special study of economics, and who are in a position to weigh the relative advantages and disadvantages of the two proposals, to form an opinion on the subject and to make some useful contribution to the solution of the problem. We should have a branch of this League devoting itself particularly to a consideration of economic questions, which are often tied up with political problems, and are an essential part of modern politics. Musalmans as a class have not, so far, given that attention to economics which the importance of the subject deserves, and unless they make a special effort to improve themselves in this respect, both in theory and practice, any effort to secure their advancement in the sphere of politics, pure and simple, will fail to do them much good.

There is a topic connected with economic progress which I should like to touch before concluding my speech, and that is industrial development. There is universal agreement as to the need of such development. Hindus as

well as Musalmans stand in need of it. In fact Musalmans require it even more urgently than others. There has been some development in this direction during recent years, but it has been mainly brought about by official initiative. The people or their political leaders have done comparatively very little in this direction. Agriculture is the principal industry in this country, and a large number of the poorer agriculturists, especially in my province, are Musalmans. The movement which is calculated to help the agriculturists is the Co-operative Movement, and it has been remarkably successful in the Punjab. It is giving the zemindars a valuable training in the management of their own affairs. I understand that it is doing well in other provinces also, and notably in Bombay, but the Movement should become much more universal, and its work should be intensified before we can derive from it all the benefits that it is capable of yielding. I should urge the adoption of the co-operative idea by private societies and by classes other than agriculturists, such as the poorer class of townsmen and artisans.

One of the main industries, which has for ages supported hundreds of thousands of people in India is the handloom industry, and a very large number of artisans engaged in it consist of those professing the Muslim faith. It is surprising that very few Musalmans have given any thought or attention to helping this industry. The Congress, under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, laid great stress on popularizing the use of *Khaddar* (home-made cloth) by the public. I have always been of opinion that this was one of the most useful things advocated by Gandhi, but I am afraid the way in which the propaganda in its favour was conducted was not conducive to bringing about any permanent result. Mahatma Gandhi, in his zeal for Swadeshi goods, carried his idea too far when he preached that, in this advanced age of machinery, people should make a creed of plying the spinning wheel. He insisted not only that women may once more adopt the old and favourite occupation of their grand-mothers, but that men should also engage for some time every day in spinning as a measure of discipline. This brought about a reaction, and a large number of even those who had passed a resolution to this effect in the Congress began to revolt against the adoption of this idea in practice. Similarly the use of *Khaddar*, as to which many eminent leaders of the Congress and the Khilafat set an example worthy of imitation, began to lose in popularity, because those wearing *Khaddar* made the mistake of forcing people to adopt its use, instead of persuading them to do so and also made *Khaddar*-wearing a sort of ritual. At one time a man could hardly be admitted to a political meeting without a *Khaddar* uniform, and a *Khaddar* shirt or a *Khaddar* cap became a garment which several hypocrites began to use—'the white apparel that can cover seventy sins', as the proverb in India goes. This resulted in weakening the *Khaddar* propaganda instead of strengthening it. But now it is high time that those who believe in the forces of persuasion proving, in the long run, stronger than the forces of coercion, may

come forward and place the popularity of home-made goods in India on a rational and business-like basis. This is the work which the Congress as well as the League, and for the matter of that, all other public movements in the country, may combine to undertake.

Conclusion

Gentlemen, I have taxed your patience very much, and am grateful to you for giving me your attention. I do not want to detain you much longer and will sum up what I have said. First of all, both the Congress and the League should each put its own house in order and try to bring within their respective fold all the sheep that have gone astray. Then they should both come together and devise ways and means of acting in harmony wherever possible, and of agreeing to differ in a friendly way when such difference becomes inevitable. Having accomplished this, they should stand together before the coming Commission on Constitutional Reforms and make a united and vigorous demand for complete reforms. In the meanwhile, as a preparation for that, they should work hand in hand in spheres of intellectual, economic and industrial progress. If we succeed in doing all this, we shall be proving to the outside world that we are capable of managing our own affairs and achieving that ideal which the late Mr. Gokhale, one of the soundest politicians that India has produced, used to express in very simple words by saying that all that Indians desire is that we should be in our country what other nations are in their own.

Before I resume my seat, it is my melancholy duty to refer to the tragic event which has not only cast its gloom on Delhi, but has occasioned great indignation throughout the country. I mean the outrage of which the late Swami Shradhanand was a the victim. This deserves to be denounced in the most unmistakable terms by every right-thinking Indian, whether he is a Hindu or a Musalman, and I do so most emphatically on behalf of you all as well as on my own behalf. We have assembled here under the shadow of this serious tragedy which must act as a damper on the spirits of even the optimists among us. The first impression that is made on one's mind by an occurrence like this is that of despondence; but while deeply regretting the dastardly murder of the Swami, I venture to ask all my countrymen, and particularly the members of the Hindu community, to control their feelings and to keep the general question of relations between the communities separate from this cowardly deed of a misguided individual. There were many Musalmans who had differences with Swami Shradhanand over his religious propaganda, but I am sure they will be as sorry as others to find that a co-religionist of theirs should take it into his head to put an end to his life. The man could not have rendered a greater disservice to Islam or lent a stronger impetus to the *Shuddhi* propaganda than he has done by this foul deed.[1]

1. Official Pamphlet. Printed by the Rifah-i-Am Steam Press, Lahore, pp. 1-29.

Second Sitting

Seven resolutions were unanimously passed when the League reassembled on December 30, when the attendance was slightly larger than on the previous day.[1]

RESOLUTION I

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of grief at the death of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami, a veteran Muslim leader, and one of the foremost workers in the cause of the community, and offers its condolence to the members of his family in their bereavement. (From the Chair.)

RESOLUTION II

The All-India Muslim League expresses its sorrow at the death of Khawaja Yousuf Shah, who was an old member of the Muslim League, and in whom the Muslim community has lost one of its tried public men, and sympathizes with his bereaved family. (From the Chair).

RESOLUTION III

The All-India Muslim League places on record its expression of profound regret at the horrible outrage committed upon the life of Swami Shardhanand, and denounces it most emphatically and offers its sympathy to his bereaved family. The League also deplores and condemns the wanton assault made by some Hindus immediately thereafter upon some Musalmans, one of whom has since unfortunately succumbed to the wounds inflicted upon him, and expresses its sympathy with the injured and the bereaved family of the deceased. The League, however, trusts that such incidents will in no way affect the desire and the ideal of the League that more unity and friendship should be brought about between the two communities. (From the Chair.)[2]

RESOLUTION IV

Sir Abdur Rahim then moved the fourth resolution which ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League deplores the disabilities under which Indians in South Africa are already placed by anti-Indian legislation, and further regrets the proposal for fresh legislation, which, if sanctioned by the South African Parliament, will make the position

1. *Ibid.*, p. 372.
2. *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League from May 1924 to December 1936*. Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

> of Indians intolerable in South Africa. The League earnestly hopes that the proceedings of the Round-Table Conference now in progress will result in a just and equitable settlement, and establish a lasting and friendly understanding between India and South Africa and thus remove the cause of the most serious conflict between the two countries.

The mover said that it was inadvisable to utter anything which would tend to strain the relations between Indians and South Africans and thus make the work of the Round-Table Conference difficult. Their attempt should be to smooth and pave the way for favourable settlement of the question. He, however, was of opinion that a favourable settlement might be arrived at, and the serious and disgraceful disabilities which were imposed upon Indians in South Africa removed. No one could deny that justice required that they should have all the rights of citizenship which other South Africans enjoyed. Concluding, Sir Abdur Rahim said, "We cannot allow our men to be treated as so many primitives."

Malik Barkat Ali, supporting the resolution, trusted that the Round-Table Conference would find an acceptable solution of the most serious question.

Syed Habib pointed out that in the Imperial Conferences it was repeatedly said that there was no colour differentiation amongst the inhabitants of the various British Dominions. This was the case only in theory, not in practice. Englishmen wanted that the Chinese should allow them to live and trade in China. They wanted this from a foreign country; but they could not vouchsafe the same privilege to a section of the people of their Empire. He was, however, inclined to think that the Round-Table Conference would not succeed. If it did not, he would ask the Indians to rise to the occasion by doing some practical work.

The resolution was then put to the vote, and carried without opposition.

RESOLUTION V

Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan moved the next resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League emphatically declares it to be necessary that there should be adequate Muslim representation in the Central and Provincial Governments in India, and demands that wherever such representation does not at present exist, the defect should be made good at the earliest possible opportunity.

The mover opined that unless Mohammedans were properly represented in the Cabinet of the country, and unless they had their proper representation in the higher services, it would not be possible for them to make that advance which it was their right to make. He declared with emphasis that Muslim efficiency was second to none. Therefore, if they were given chances to hold

higher offices, their efficiency would as a natural course increase.

The resolution was seconded by Khan Bahadur Masudul Hasan and supported by Moulvi Mahboob Alam and Mr. Abdul Aziz. It was then carried amid acclamation.

RESOLUTION VI

Sheikh Din Mohammad moved the sixth resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League deplores the absence of a Muslim from the Punjab Ministry and urges the necessity of having at least one Muslim Minister in the administration of Transferred Subjects in that Province.

He explained how, in spite of an adequate number of seats in the Punjab Council allotted to Muslims, the Hindus managed to combine with the Sikhs to form a majority. Thus, it was impossible for the Muslims in the Council to either defeat the Hindus or the Government. As they were in this very weak position, it was incumbent upon the Government to safeguard their interests by appointing a Muslim Minister. He alluded to the interests of the Muslims being sacrificed by the outgoing Ministry. In this connection, he instanced the appointment of five non-Muslim Indian medical servants from the Punjab. He recommended that out of the two Ministers one should be a Muslim.

Sir Abdur Rahim said that when as many as 36 men of one community made a unanimous demand that a representative of their community should be in charge of one of the portfolios in the Transferred Departments it seemed to him that the Local Government would find its hands forced to recognize the demand. The law was sufficiently elastic, and the Governor could appoint a Muslim Minister in addition to the two already existing. This would be far better, as the three communities of the Province, namely Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, would be represented in the Ministry. He was sure that Sir Malcolm Hailey would not like the experiment of Bengal to be repeated in the Punjab.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan said that his argument in favour of the appointment of a Muslim Minister was not one of loaves and fishes; it was that of restoring the confidence of a community in Government. He, therefore, trusted that no one would object to the resolution. The resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION VII

The last resolution of this day was moved by Mr. M. E. Chagla, and read as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League urges upon Government to release the Bengal detenues or to put them under trial without further delay.

Mr. Chagla said that in England the question of elementary and fundamental rights of the people was regarded as most sacred, yet it was denied in a part of its Empire. There was not a single responsible organization in the country which had not put forward this demand. In defence of their action, the Government had two reasons. One was that since the detention of these prisoners, dacoities in Bengal had disappeared. His reply to this was that the argument was a most dangerous one. The Government could the next time arrest all the leaders to do away with communal strifes, and yet put forward the same argument. The second argument was that no one would come forward to give evidence against the detenues. This difficulty existed in other countries, including England; but they had not detained men in this way. British politicians wanted Indians to co-operate; but to their disappointment, they did not find many co-operating with them. The Swaraj Party was not for obstruction. Let the Government either release the detenues or give them a trial.

Mr. Mohammad Yaqub said that there were a large number of high officials in the C.I.D. who enjoyed fat salaries from public money, but they had not been able to make up a case against these detenues. This showed that all the boasted efficiency of the Department was a farce.

The resolution was eventually carried without dissent, and the meeting adjourned.

Third Sitting

The League reassembled for the third time on December 31 in the morning, and adopted three resolutions. The attendance was smaller than on the previous day, but a large number of prominent Mohammedans were present.

RESOLUTION VIII

Moulvi Mohammad Yakub moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government that the Report of the Sandhurst Committee be published without delay so that the Legislative Assembly may have the opportunity to consider it in the Delhi Session, and trusts that the Government will take an early action in the direction of accelerating the Indianization of the Army.

Mirza Ijaz Hussain, supporting the resolution, said that Mohammedans were more concerned about Indianization of the Army, because they were more fit for this kind of service.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION IX

Malik Barkat Ali next moved that the Muslim community should be

properly represented on the Statutory Commission when it was appointed.

The mover, in a long speech, dealt with the necessity of appointing a Muslim who could command the confidence of the whole community. The resolution was passed without much discussion.

RESOLUTION X

Dr. Kitchlew proposed the following resolution which was seconded by Khwaja Gul Mohammad, and carried:

> The All-India Muslim League expresses its gratification at the enactment of the Agricultural Relief Act by His Highness Maharaja Bahadur of Kashmir with a view to ameliorate the present deplorable condition of the Agricultural population of the State.

RESOLUTION XI

Mr. Abdul Aziz next moved a resolution urging on the Government to introduce reforms in the North-West Frontier Province immediately:

> The All-India Muslim League regrets that the Government have not as yet taken any action regarding the question of reforms to be introduced in the North-Western Frontier Province, in spite of repeated demands of the Musalmans of India for several years, and the considered opinion of the Legislative Assembly embodied in its resolution which was carried in March 1926 without a division. The League urges once more that it is now high time that the Government gave effect to the recommendation of the majority report of the Bray Committee, and thus allay the feelings and misapprehensions of the Musalmans, not only of N.W.F.P., but of all India, regarding this matter.

The mover said that in the India Office and in England, a wrong notion was spread that the inhabitants of the Province were Afridis. This was entirely wrong, and had taken an opportunity of explaining this to Lord Morley. He pointed out that the demand had been made by the Muslim League, the Assembly and other organizations more than once; yet the Government had not taken any action. The people of the North-West Frontier Province, he emphasized, were in no way inferior to the inhabitants of any other province. They were, on the other hand, remarkable in their physical strength.

Sayid Kaim Shah, supporting the resolution, said that the inhabitants of the Province, in general, and Kashmir, in particular, would not be satisfied if the reforms were not introduced forthwith. He maintained that they were not educationally inferior to any other province. The Punjab was not prepared to take them in. Therefore, the only course was to fight for Reforms.

Mr. L. K. Hyder said that it was not desirable to amalgamate the Province with the Punjab. There must be a Frontier Province. He referred

to the notion amongst certain people that, if reforms were given to the Province, they would look beyond the Khyber pass. This, he said, was entirely wrong. If ever there was a Province in which there was homogeneity of language, religion and race, it was in the North-West Frontier Province. Therefore, from all points of view, it was the only Province for reforms. Another argument put forward by the opposition was that the financial resources of the Province were not sufficient to withstand any foreign invasion. But defence, he said, was a non-provincial question—it was an All-India question which could not be met from the finance of any particular province.

Sir Abdur Rahim said that, as there was unanimity of opinion amongst the Muslims that the Frontier Province should get reforms, he hoped that the Government of India would consider the question carefully.

Malik Barkat Ali and Mirza Ali Mohammad, voicing the sentiments of their co-religionists in their respective provinces of Punjab and Bombay, emphasized the necessity of giving reforms to the North-West Frontier Province immediately.

The resolution was eventually put to vote, and carried.

The Session was then adjourned for lunch.

Fourth Sitting

When the League met again after lunch, the most important resolution of the Session was moved by Mr. M.A. Jinnah as follows (upon the lines of a similar resolution passed in the 1925 Session):

RESOLUTION XII

The All-India Muslim League has repeatedly defined its position with regard to real advance in the future constitution of India in its sessions in 1924 and 1925, and reaffirms the resolution passed at its session at Aligarh in December 1925 to the following effect, namely that:

whereas the speedy attainment of full responsible government is one of the declared objects of the League, and it is now generally felt and recognized that the conception of *Swaraj* should be translated into the realm of practical politics,

and whereas it is the declared policy of the British Government also to enable the people of India to take a decisive part in the moulding of their own destinies, which is marked by the declaration of August 1917 and the enactment of 1919, which formed a definite epoch in the history of India as a herald of the time when India will possess full autonomy and will rank as an equal with the Dominions and with the United Kingdom itself, as a member of the British Commonwealth,

the All-Indian Muslim League is of opinion that the present Constitution India must be amended, and urges that for this purpose the government should undertake a revision of the Government of India Act 1919, and without any delay, appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian Constitution on a sound and permanent basis, with provisions for automatic progress to establish full responsible government in India and thereby secure stability in the Government and the willing cooperation of the people,

provided, however, that for any scheme of the future Constitution of India, the All-India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declares that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed, namely:

(1) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on a definite principle of adequate and effective representation of the minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or to an equality. (2) Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate. (3) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal, and North-West Frontier Province. (4) Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities. (5) No Bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such another method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such a case.

The League hereby appoints a Committee of the following gentlemen as the Central Committee in order to formulate a scheme, so far as possible in consultation with a committee or committees that may be appointed by other political organizations, and to report the same to the Council of the League for the consideration of the League and for submission to the Royal Commission when it is appointed. The League also appoints provincial committees, with power to add to their number, to prepare and define a scheme of future reforms to be submitted to the Central Committee for their consideration.

Members of the Central Committee: (1) Mr. M.A. Jinnah, (2)

Sir Abdur Rahim, (3) Mr. Abdul Aziz, (4) Sir Muhammad Shafi, (5) Sheikh Abdul Qadir, (6) Moulvi Mohammad Yakub, (7) Sir Ali Imam, (8) Mr. Mohammad Hussain and (9) Sir Abdul Qaiyum.

Provincial Committees:

N.W.F. Province: Nawab Sir Sahebzada Abdul Qayum, Mian Abdul Aziz Sirdar Aurangzeb Khan, Qazi Mir Ahmad Khan, Mr. Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, Sheikh Mohammad Shafi, Syed Qaim Shah, Mr. Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Mr. Fateh Mohammad Khan, Mr. Mohammad Sarwar Khan, Haji Jan Mohammad.

The Punjab: Sir Mohammad Shafi, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq, Syed Mohsin Shah, Sheikh Din Mohammad, Pir Tajuddin, Malik Barkat Ali, Khawaja Gul Mohammad, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Syed Ghulam Bheek, Moulvi Mahboob Alam.

Delhi: Khan Bahadur Pirzada Mohammad Husain, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mirza Ijaz Husain, Mr. Mohammad Tamizuddin Khan, Sheikh Mohammad Siddiq, Mr. Mohammad Azmatullah.

The U.P: Munshi Ehtisham Ali, Syed Zahur Ahmad, Chaudhri Niamatullah, Mr. Masudul Hasan, Khan Bahadur Syed Alay Nabi, Sheikh Abdullah, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Hafiz Hedayat Husain, Moulvi Mohammad Yakoob, Mian Maqbool Alam, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan.

Bengal: Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Ghuznavi, Moulvi Abdul Qasim, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haq, Prof. A.F. Rahman, Moulvi Fazal-ul-Haq, Mr. S.M. Masih.

Bombay: Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Mr. M.C. Chagla.

The C.P.: Anisuddin Ahmad, M. Abdul Qadir, Mr. Natiq, Mr. Mohammad Yaseen, Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin.

Madras: Seth Yakub Hasan, Chaudhri Abdul Hakim, Syed Murtaza Bahadur, Mr. Mohammad Shareef.

Other Provinces: As the Council of the All-India Muslim League will determine.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Jinnah, made a detailed speech. He said that the resolution laid down, as the first proposition, that the League felt that the Government of India Act 1919 must be amended and that definite advance of a democratic character must be made. The Musalmans were not in agreement with any policy of non-co-operation with the Government, nor did they sanction the policy of obstruction or of making the Reforms impossible. From the last elections, it was clear that the Muslims wished to work the Reforms for what they were worth. They were anxious to see that their future position in the country was thoroughly defined and secured.

Reverting to the Lucknow Pact, he said that it was not made at their request: the initiative came from the National Congress. And although there were differences of opinion, he thought that the Pact was the finest temporary solution of the difficulties. He then referred to the Congress point of view on the subject of the Muslim position in the country, and said that it was far from reassuring. No responsible Congressman or Hindu leader had come forward with a concrete proposal with regard to the future of the Muslim community. Individual pronouncements were, however, made by one person or another; nothing definite was forthcoming. There was no escape from the fact: communalism did exist in the country. Mere talk and sentiment could not remove it. Nationalism could not be created simply by having a mixed electorate. Indeed, the history of Canada showed that a system of separate electorates did not prove an obstacle in the progress of representative government. He earnestly appealed to the leaders of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabba to accept the Muslim hand of friendship and fellowship to meet, confer and exchange views in real seriousness to find a solution. A resolution to the same effect of that which he was moving to-day was sent in 1924 to the Secretaries of the Congress; but no encouraging reply was received by the League. He appealed to the Muslim and Hindu leaders to let the past be forgotten and the hatchet buried, and to meet in a spirit of friendship and fellowship to formulate a common demand. "We desire nothing but justice and fairness", Mr. Jinnah continued, "and I assure you that if we, the two communities, can settle our differences, it will be more than half the battle for responsible government won. But if, unfortunately, there is going to be a failure, and it is our misfortune that we cannot come to a settlement, the next course open to the Mohammedans is that we must prepare our case, for placing before the Royal Commission, and fight the battle." If the Royal Commission did not satisfy the Mohammedans, they could carry their struggle to the highest tribunal. They would maintain that a principle which was sacred and a matter of life and death to them must be secured; but he hoped that there was a brighter future for the Muslims. He hoped that the better minds amongst Muslims and Hindus would realize that the only course for Indians was to battle in friendship, harmony and co-operation. He hoped that Indians would rise to that nationhood to which they were aspiring.

A number of speakers then voiced the same sentiment as that of Mr. Jinnah. Dr. Kitchlew said that once the principle of the resolution was accepted by the Hindus, all mistrust amongst the two communities would disappear. On account of their numerical strength, it was for the Hindus to rise to the occasion and, by pleasing the Muslims, win their hearts.

Sir Abdur Rahim said that it was impossible to imagine that the Muslim community in India should be satisfied with being relegated to a position of political insignificance under any Government. With regard to the question of the electorate, he said that the principles which were applicable to the

conditions in England or other Western democratic governments were not applicable to the peculiar conditions in India. In some quarters, it was stated that Mohammedans returned to the Council through separate electorates were less patriotic and nationalistic in outlook. He instanced the case of Bengal, and said that the fear was an erroneous one. Musalmans in the Councils were as earnest a set of workers in the cause of political advancement of the country as anybody else. If representative government was required in the country, it was only essential that separate electorates should be continued. Otherwise the Legislatures would no longer be representative. A Government official exercised great influence on the progress of his community. If 70 million Muslims were denied a proper share of the administration, it was not possible for them to protect their interests and to advance their cause. Concluding, the speaker emphasized that it was the unanimous desire of the community to have adequate representation in the services and have their own electorate.

Three more speakers expressed their views, and the resolution was eventually carried amidst cheers.

The following other resolutions were proposed and passed before the proceedings of the Session came to a close:

RESOLUTION XIII

The All-India Muslim League reaffirms the resolutions Nos. 6,7,8, 10,12,13, and 14 passed at its last Sessions at Aligarh. (Proposed by Syed Mohsin Shah and seconded by Khwaja Gul Mohammad. The first two of these related to Muslim representation in the public services, the third and fifth to inter-communal conflicts, the fourth to Muslim representation of Delhi in the Assembly, the sixth to the separation of Sindh from Bombay, and the last to the release of the Moplah prisoners.)

RESOLUTION XIV

In view of the fact that the term of office of the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League is about to expire, the All-India Muslim League appoints Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew as the Honorary Secretary of the League. (Proposed by Syed Zahur Ahmad and seconded by Moulvi Mohammad Yaqub.)

RESOLUTION XV

The All-India Muslim League resolves that the headquarters of the League may be transferred to Delhi, and appoints Mirza Ijaz Husain, Advocate, and Mr. S.M. Abdullah of Delhi to be Honorary Joint Secretaries of the League. (Proposed by Khan Bahadur Mr. Masudul Hasan and seconded by Mr. Abdul Aziz.)

RESOLUTION XVI

The All-India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the splendid work done by the retiring secretaries of the League (namely Syed Zahur Ahmad, Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Masudul Hasan and and Mr. Khaliquzzaman, Joint Secretaries) during their period of office, 1919-1926, and is deeply grateful to them for the ability and devotion with which they served the League through the rough and stormy period of their office. (Proposed by Sir Abdur Rahim and seconded by Moulvi Mohammad Yakoob.)[1]

1. *Sources*: *The Indian Quarterly Register*, *1926*, pp. 369-376; Briet Minutes of the Proceedings by Syed Zahur Ahmad, Hon. Secetary, printed by M.N. Sivapuri Press; *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League from May 1924 to December 1936*, published by Nawabzada Liquat Ali Khan.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

NINETEENTH SESSION

I. JINNAH GROUP [1]

CALCUTTA, DECEMBER 30, 1927—JANUARY 1, 1928

(For some time past fears were entertained about a split among the Muslims over the question of the venue of the All-India Muslim League. Several efforts at compromise were made but all these failed, and two sessions of the League were held at the same time: one in Calcutta, according to the decision of the Council of the League held at Delhi on December 11, and another at Lahore, in pursuance of the former decision of the same Council held on November 20. At the meeting of the Council at Delhi, the attendance was poor, as out of 300 members only 23 were present; but rival sections had secured a substantial number of votes by proxy. Among those present, the Punjab was strongly represented, and others comparised members from the United Provinces and Delhi. A couple of hours before the appointed hour, an informal exchange of views started and compromises were suggested to secure unanimity. His Highness the Aga Khan's statement had created a difficult position for his supporters, as most of the votes secured by proxy proceeded on the assumption that His Highness the Aga Khan would agree to his election. They, however, still hoped that if the Council of the League invited His Highness the Aga Khan, he might yet reconsider his decision and respond to the call of the community. The compromises informally discussed were: a session at Calcutta with Sir Muhammad Shafi as President or a session at Lahore with His Highness the Aga Khan as President. Both parties, however, were doubtful regarding the votes that the other had up its sleeves, because the issue depended on those votes. The following is the official report issued by Dr. Kitchlew, General Secretary of the League:

According to notice, a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League was to be held in the office of the League, but as Hakim Ajmal Khan was unable to attend on account of illness, the meeting was, at his request, held at his residence. Twenty-three members attended. Hakim Ajmal Khan presided. Malik Feroze Khan Noon asked for a statement from the General Secretary as to the circumstances in which he had called the meeting. Dr. Kitchlew

explained that he had received letters and telegrams from Bengal, Madras and other places, expressing the disappointment of leading men of those places at the venu fixed and the President-Elect, and asking for reconsideration of both these points. He further added that he had called the meeting under Rule 19 of the Constitution of the League, which gave him full powers to call a meeting if he thought it necessary. The President of the League, Mr. Jinnah, had been consulted in the matter, and so the meeting had been called.

Objection was taken by Maulana Mohammad Ali and others at the manner in which Malik Feroze Khan Noon had taken pains to cross-examine the General Secretary, and it was pointed out that if any objection was to be taken, it should be taken in the form of a regular point of order.

Accordingly, Mr. Noon raised the point that the meeting was not in order.

This elicited a lengthy and interesting discussion, in the course of which it was pointed out by Malik Barkat Ali and others that Rule 19 gave full powers to the Secretary to call a meeting when he thought it necessary, that the facts and circumstances quoted by the secretary clearly showed that reconsideration was necessary, and that the meeting could not, in law, go behind the discretion vested in the Secretary. He further declared that the point that the matter having once been decided should not be reconsidered under any circumstances had absolutely no foundation under the Constitution of the League. In fact, the Council of the League was a body with plenary jurisdiction, and it had inherited powers to reconsider its decision.

After this discussion and in accordance with the sense of the meeting, the President ruled that the meeting was quite in order and perfectly legal.

The discussion of the items on the agenda was then proceeded with. The question of venue had to be taken first under the rules of the League. A very lengthy discussion took place in which Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Malik Barkat Ali, Pir Tajuddin, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. Ziauddin, Sheikh Abdullah, Mr. Abdul Aziz and others took part. After considerable discussion, votes were taken, and it was found that 84 votes were in favour of Calcutta and 54 in favour of Lahore. Out of these, 74 and 41 votes, respectively, for Calcutta and Lahore, were of absentee members, who under the rules of the League had sent in their written opinion.

The President then declared that Calcutta had been selected as the venue of the next session of the All-India Muslim League.

After this discussion, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and a few other gentlemen from Lahore left the meeting.

The question of President-Elect was then taken up. It was stated that 79 votes of the absentee members had been received for His Highness the Aga Khan and 44 votes of the absentees for Sir Muhammad Shafi. But it was pointed out that His Highness the Aga Khan had declined to replace Sir Muhammad Shafi under any circumstances, and therefore the question of reconsideration of the matter of presidentship did not arise. This objection was accepted by the President, who ruled that the matter of reconsideration of the President's election should not, therefore, be taken up.

It may be mentioned here that, before the meeting began, certain members from the Punjab had offered a compromise to Mr. Noon and his party, according to which Calcutta should be the venue and Sir Muhammad Shafi the President, but this compromise was not accepted by Mr. Noon and his party, who wanted the venue to be Lahore and His Highness the Aga Khan as President.[1]

First Sitting

In pursuance of the decision of the Council of the League, the Nineteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Calcutta, in the

1. *Source: The Indian Quarterly Register, 1927*, Vol. II, pp. 438-439.

spacious Town Hall, on the evening of December 30, 1927. The attendance was fair and the dais was occupied fully by prominent leaders and distinguished visitors. The latter included Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Major Graham Pole, Mr. Garret, Mr. T.C. Goswami, Mr. S.C. Mitter, and Mr. N.R. Sarkar.

Mr. Majibur Rahman, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address which advocated the boycott of the Simon Commission and favoured separate electorates for Musalmans. In referring to the Simon Commission, he said:

I should not like to enter into any question of abstruse political theory; but to me, it seems a matter of bare justice and elementary common sense that the people for whom a constitution is intended should have a paramount and exclusive voice in the drafting of that constitution. I take exception to the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919, which lays down that it is the British Parliament that will be the judge of the time and measure of every advance towards the realization of responsible government in India. Moreover, the total and the deliberate exclusion of Indians from the Commission is not merely 'a calculated affront to India'—that may be the language of sentiment and wounded susceptibility—it is a denial of elementary political justice. It is a negation of India's right to have a paramount voice in settling her own Constitution. It indicates a subtle and deep determination to prejudice the issue and forcibly to cram down the throat of our people a constitution, the details of which have been settled and readymade beforehand.

While boycotting the Commission, we must accept Lord Birkenhead's challenge and evolve a Constitution for our country. I must frankly say that if we cannot do this much, we do not deserve a better government than what we have at present. I am not, however, a pessimist and I do hope that the leaders of the different political parties and communities will put their heads together and then frame a Constitution, and thus show to the world that we mean business.

Turning to the question of separate electorates for Muslims, Mr. Rahman said:

It seems to me that many of those who are against the boycott of the Simon Commission are labouring under an unspoken fear that boycott of the Commission, on the part of the Muslim community, will injure the cause of separate representation. For the assurance of such gentlemen, let me tell you in plain and unequivocal terms that, in the present state of our national life, I look upon separate representation through separate electorates as the corner-stone of Muslim politics. When each community is assured that its interests and privileges are safe in the hands of the common State that we have succeeded in evolving, there will be, I believe, no necessity and no cry for separate electorates. The day we long for is yet to come. Between the two

great communities of India, there is still 'doubt, hesitation and pain'. Let us recognize, honestly and frankly, the existence of mutual jealousy and suspicion; let us agree to be represented through the medium of separate electorates. As the edge is taken off the acerbity of mutual suspicion, so, day by day, we shall advance nearer towards that *rapprochement* which in the fulness of time will make communal representation take its rank among the evil necessities of life.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MOULVI MOHAMMAD YAKUB

Moulvi Mahommad Yakub was applauded when he rose to deliver his Presidential Address extempore in Urdu. He appologized for not delivering a written address because of the short notice. He would speak in his mother tongue (Applause). He expressed gratitude for this opportunity to serve his community, particularly because Calcutta was one of the foremost cities of the world, and was also the home of his ancestor who held the position of a vizier over a century ago.

The session was meeting under the gloom cast by the death of Hakim Ajmal Khan. Hakim Sahib had worked whole-heartedly for Hindu-Muslim unity; and just before he died, he had observed a ray of that unity emanating from Madras.

Their homage to Hakim Sahib should take the form of pursuing the object of unity, which the late Hakim had so much at heart. From the time of the inception of the League, he had been one of its leading lights and had twice presided over League sessions.

The President also mourned the death of Syed Alay Nabi.

League Session Controversy

Proceeding, the President said that for over two weeks a controversy had been going on concerning the question of whether the session should be held in Lahore or Calcutta. He said that, according to the League's Constitution, voting could not be by proxy nor could it be through telegrams addressed to a third person. The first meeting voted for Lahore through votes obtained mostly by proxy, and in this connection Malik Feroze Khan Noon had played a leading part. Dr. Kitchlew, the Secretary, felt obliged not to accept the illegal decision; and even if he had not recorded the request for a revision from Madras and Calcutta, Dr. Kitchlew would, in accordance with the sacred provisions of the Constitution, have been justified in calling another meeting. This second meeting was called; but the dispute had made it difficult for the self-respecting Aga Khan to accept the presidentship. The second meeting gave the final decision, and Calcutta was decided upon as the venue of the Session.

Moulvi Yakub said that Mr. Jinnah had urged every one not to commit himself on the question of the Simon Commission, but the Lahore Muslim

League was the first to give its views, under Sir Muhammad Shaffi's chairmanship. How then, could Sir Muhammad Shafi be expected to change his views, unless he acted as he did in respect of his views on the Muddiman Committee, which he changed after he became a member of the Government.

The President next read out the Constitutional Provision that the annual session shall be held as decided by the Council of the League. How, then, could the Council's decision to hold the session in Calcutta be disobeyed? As regards uniting Muslim opinion, what guarantee was there that such unity would be forthcoming ? If unity was not attainable in spite of honest efforts, a self-respecting community must not shirk disunity on fundamental matters. If Muslims held that religion could not be divorced from politics, then the lead in favour of a boycott of the Commission given by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema at its Peshawar Session and by the Khilafat Conference at Madras should be acceptable to them. How could the Muslim League keep its mouth shut in view of the self-respect of the community, which demanded a courageous lead?

The Simon Commission

He did not think that he should give his views on the Simon Commission elaborately, as these had been widely circulated. The President recalled that in 1924, 1925 and 1926, the popular representatives in the Assembly had, by an overwhelming majority, passed resolutions asking for an advancement of the enquiry, but the Government was adamant. Now the Government had given them a commission unasked. The reason was apparent: the Government felt convinced that unity between the two communities was least likely at this juncture and that, therefore, the time to appoint a Commission had come. Indians had been excluded because they would not have agreed on a common report. Was there any basis for his fear? There was the case of the Skeen Committee which dealt with the most delicate problem of the country's defence. Not only were all the Indian members unanimous in their recommendation, Mr. Jinnah made the European President also sign the unanimous report. Mr. Jinnah had conducted the cross-examination in London so brilliantly that the Government had decided not to risk a similar performance and a unanimous report. Moulvi Yakub declared that he was not a non-co-operator, but had always been a co-operator; and it was as a co-operator that he would urge the Muslims to co-operate with the Government in the manner the Government had co-operated with them. Thus, as the Government did not want their co-operation on the Commission, so they would withhold their co-operation and would not go near the Commission. His religion did not teach one to turn the other cheek, but to retaliate judiciously.

Hindu-Muslim Differences

Turning to Hindu-Muslim quarrels, he did not wish to apportion blame;

but the Prophet had left an example for their guidance when he came to a settlement with the Jews of Medina in a spirit of give and take. This spirit of give and take should now regulate the conduct of Indian Muslims. Unity would not mean the absorption of one community by another. Indians should, like in the Hindu joint-family system, work out their differences within the home, and divide the property between themselves. Such action would win them the respect of the outside world; but if they took to litigation and to decisions by a third party, the world would condemn them for casting a blot on the fair name of their ancestors.

The Madras Congress settlement would be acceptable to 90 per cent of the enlightened and educated Musalmans. The League should consider this settlement, and declare its opinion on it, showing where it was acceptable and where they wanted it to be modified. They had been challenged to produce a Constitution, and had been taunted that if they were sincere in their declaration in favour of *Swaraj*, they should produce a joint agreement. This challenge had to be accepted, and the Congress settlement should be examined and passed with whatever changes were deemed desirable; for, after all, it was not unchangeable like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. When an agreement was reached on the settlement, it would be entrusted to a special committee of Hindus and Muslims to draw up a Constitution on the basis of the settlement. Thereafter a special meeting of the League could be summoned to ratify the *Swaraj* scheme.

The Need for Muslim Newspapers

Moulvi Yakub felt that the Muslim community was left at a disadvantage by not having a single daily newspaper in India, while the Hindus and other communities had a large number of daily papers in every major town. To fight political battles without a newspaper was like going to war without weapons. If they could not even establish newspaper how could they demand *Swaraj*? The Maharaja of Mahmudabad's efforts in this direction should be supported by every Muslim—indeed, this was their primary duty.

Conclusion

The President then declared that the country was faced by an intense storm. The Leagues' vessel was being steered through troubled waters. He would try to pilot it safely, but for success he would need the fullest assistance of the crew.

He warmly thanked Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for attending the Session. The ninety-year old Annie Besant was younger than their young men; could the 7 crores of Muslims not emulate the strength of this 90-year-old lady? He expressed particular gratitude to Mrs. Naidu for the efforts she had made to achieve the Madras unity settlement.

The President's address lasted 45 minutes; and he resumed his seat amidst loud and prolonged applause. The meeting then adjourned.

Second Sitting

On December 31, the Muslim League reassembled in the morning. The attendance was thinner than the previous day, being confined to delegates only. The discussion among delegates showed that the general desire was not to take any definite decision on the question of electorates, and to welcome the Madras settlement only as paving the way for unity, without committing themselves to its detailed provisions.

The first two resolutions were moved from the Chair and were passed, all standing.

RESOLUTION I

The All-India Muslim League mourns the irreparable loss to India caused by the sudden death of Masih-ul-Mulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan. His selfless devotion in the cause of India's freedom, his untiring efforts in welding together the various communities into a united nation, and his invaluable services to the nation, in general, and the Muslim community, in particular, had made him a national asset. The country has lost in him a profound scholar and one of the greatest exponents of the art of healing; and every one in need has been robbed by this death of a true friend and generous benefactor.

The All-India Muslim League places on record its profound sense of sorrow at the passing away of an illustrious Muslim patriot, and conveys its sincere and heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family, and prays to the merciful Allah to bestow eternal peace on the soul of our departed leader.

The League calls upon all who mourn his loss to make a united endeavour to commemorate his life's work by placing on a sound financial basis the Jamia Millia Islamia and the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia College, which owed their origin to him and were maintained through his untiring efforts.

RESOLUTION II

The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of loss at the sudden and premature death of the Hon. Syed Alay Nabi, who was associated with the League from its very inception, had throughout worked for it and stood by its principles. The League offers its sincere condolences to the members of the family of the deceased, and prays to Allah to bestow peace on the departed soul.

RESOLUTION III

On behalf of the Subjects Committee, Sir Ali Imam then moved the Boycott Resolution, which, the President declared, was the principal resolution of the morning. It ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League emphatically declares that the Statutory Commission and the procedure, as announced, are unacceptable to the people of India. It therefore resolves that the Musalmans throughout the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form.

Sir Ali Imam said the Simon Commission had become the subject of deep concern and anxiety to the people of India. The procedure was already known and did not require a detailed exposition. It was clear, firstly, that Indians were excluded from the Commission and, secondly, that the procedure reduced them to the position of witnesses. The resolution dealt with both these points.

His Majesty's Government had given excuse after excuse for the exclusion of Indians. The statutory bar had been first brought forward, viz., that the Act conceived of a purely Parliamentary Commission, though it did not say so in plain terms. As Indians were not represented in Parliament, the exclusion of Indians was inevitable. A meaning had thus been placed which the statute did not imply. The legal excuse could not, therefore, be taken as placing a just and reasonable construction on law.

Sectarian interests were trotted forth to justify the exclusion of Indians. He did not believe that British statesmanship and intellectuality, which stood at such a high water mark, could not find representative Indians. The British Cabinet could have taken the simple step of asking the Provincial and Central Legislatures to elect a panel from among their members or non-members , out of whom five could have been selected—two Hindus, one Muslim, one European non-official, and one High Court Judge. But all of these would first have been elected by the popular legislatures. The British Government would then have been absolved from any criticism about Indian representation.

As regards the accusation of prepossessions, there was no individual in the world without a prepossession. "But if there are prepossessions, once the oath of office is taken, whether he be British or Indian, he (the person taking the oath) looks upon the discharge of his duties as an official who has got to be dispossessed of his prepossessions. And I venture to think that there are many Indians who will act on that Commission with a sense of responsibility and not allow their prepossessions to come in, just as much as any Britisher. Has a single Indian judge of a High Court been found to show communal bias and not dispense impartial justice? Was the membership of the Commission more honourable and onerous than a High Court judge-

ship? Are you going to submit to this indignity? I am a moderate of moderates. I was called a sun-dried bureaucrat. But my conscience finds it impossible to accept this Commission."

Their opposition to the Commission, said Sir Ali Imam, was not merely sentimental. He would not stand out on that ground alone. The real issue was what was the relationship between India and England? Ours was that of serfs who would gratefully pick up the crumbs falling from the table of British statesmanship. There was another relationship to which they had been lavishly treated during the war. "We were called partners. We were told of the change in the angle of vision. Our blood had mixed in the battlefields of Flanders. I frankly tell you I fully believed that there was a change in the angle of vision, but I have been disillusioned. We are now told we are not fit to sit at the same table. Are you going to go down? I, for one, an ex-sun-dried bureaucrat, refuse to take the insult lying down."

Sir Ali Imam next examined the procedure of the Commission. The position of the select committees would be that of witnesses. "Is that partnership? Mr. Baldwin has called the committees colleagues of the Commission. Misuse of language cannot go farther. They are no more colleagues than petitioners in a court of justice. We cannot agree to this scheme which deprives us of the position of partners so long as we are treated as petitioners. The delegations to London will also be petitioners. Are you going to subscribe to this arrangement? It is the thin end of the wedge. Indians must remember that their place in the Empire is subordinate. We Indians to-day assert our right to be treated as equal partners within the Empire; and if we do not succeed to-day in enforcing this assertion, we shall succeed to-morrow or the day after. Do not be misguided by the thought that our claim will not be heard. The claim that has not behind it the assertion which I am urging will never be heard; but the claim that has behind it the force of assertiveness, that claim in the long run will succeed. Therefore, do not be demoralized by any consideration as to whether this thing would be heard or not. If it is not heard to-day, the time is coming when it will be heard. If still it is not, we shall not care whether it is heard or not."

Continuing, Sir Ali Imam said the resolution had been purposely drawn up in terms which would be acceptable to all parties—to those who denied any voice to Parliament, to those who stood for a round-table conference, and to those like him, who would have been satisfied with Indian members on the Commission. The resolution would meet the wishes of all those who had not only self-respect, but had the necessary patriotism to assert, without hesitation, that self-respect demanded that they must participate on equal terms in the framing of the Constitution of future India. (shouts of Hear! Hear!)

Mr. Jinnah said, "That is the minimum."

Sir Ali Imam agreed, "Yes, that is our minimum. You as a responsi-

ble body of members of the All-India Muslim League will not hesitate to give your unanimous support to the resolution couched in terms not intemperate but sober. There was no feeling of resentment in the resolution, concluded Sir Ali Imam.

Mr. Yakub Hasan said that his experience of the failure of the boycotts organized by the non-co-operators had made him sceptical about the success of another boycott. But he was glad that the country's attitude had proved him to be wrong. The views of the Muslim ex-members of the Government were for boycott by three to one, with the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Sir Ali Imam and Sir Abdur Rahim, on one side, and Sir Muhammad Shafi, on the other. Unless the session laid down the outlines for the future Constitution, the boycott would not be as fully effective as they would like it to be.

By this time, attendance had grown very considerably; and Dr. Ansari was given an ovation as he entered the hall.

Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din opposed the resolution. He agreed that the exclusion of Indians had wounded Indian vanity, but he also asked when before, under British rule, had Indians been given the right to participate. Only a commission with a majority of Indians would have been acceptable. 'We have not been able to coerce England to appoint such a commission.' It was said that India had won the right of equality during the war; but since then, non-co-operation had been launched and failed. There were two schools of thought in India. Those who would take nothing from England would logically boycott the Commission (Mr. Mohammad Ali: Hear! Hear!), though such a course would be of no avail. But there were others who believed that the British Government, out of the fear that India might, at some future date, go out of the Empire, was anxious to concede its legitimate aspirations. These men should take advantage of the fresh opportunity offered to them sincerely.

The non-Brahmins and the depressed classes would go before the Commission. The Muslims were also a depressed class, under economic slavery to the majority community. Could Muslims boycott, when the other depressed classes did not do so? "It will do some harm to the whole of India, and from the Mohammedan point of view it will be suicidal. Do not fritter away your energies in a boycott. If you can agree upon a Constitution and can compose your differences, that will be a fitting reply to Lord Brikenhead's challenge...If England goes back upon her promises, then it will be time to consider what steps to follow to bring England down upon her knees, if that is at all possible. If you boycott the Commission now, you will be putting the cart before the horse. England has given you a challenge to draw up a Constitution. If we can agree, there cannot be any purpose in a boycott."

Maulana Mohammad Ali, replying to Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din, asked if someone were a better household manager, would Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din entrust him the task of his household management? So it was that no nation could accept that another nation had the right to rule over it. The Germans were

better organizers than Englishmen. Would Englishmen therefore surrender their country to German rule?

"I admit", Mr. Mohammad Ali continued, "that I am unfit to wrest the rule back from English hands, but I do not concede any ethical basis to the British purpose in India. I challenge the Preamble of the Act of 1919. My quarrel is not with the jury. Even if it had consisted of Indians exclusively, my objection would have remained. If a matriculation standard paper is put on India to the 700 Members of Parliament, not 70 will pass the test, and these will be those who are untrue to India's salt."

Miss Mayo, continued Maulana Mohammad Ali, had been supplied information by Imperial service men. He had proof with him of a letter written by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed to Mr. Coatman, requesting a subsidy for the *Aligarh Mail.* (Shouts of "Read it".)

The speaker said that it ran as follows: "I introduce to you Mr. Jaffry, Editor, *Aligarh Mail.* Will you please pay him from September to January? ("Shame!") Will you please give him general advice and give him also practical tips. Yours Sincerely, Ziauddin."

Maulana Mohammad Ali said, "It is this class of people who come to tell us not to boycott the Commission in the interests of Muslim solidarity."

Reverting to the subject of the Statutory Commission, Maulana Mohammad Ali said the British Government had already made up their mind on the subject of changes in the Constitution. No Hindu was going before the Commission. So there was no fear of their gaining at the expense of Muslims. The Britishers' game was only to grant something to one community against another. The resolution before them was a tame one. He did not believe that, for a little gain, the Muslims would sacrifice the glory of Islam. If they did, with what face could he go to men like Major Graham Pole and ask them to adopt the Muslim faith?

Mr. Jaffry, ex-Editor of *Aligarh Mail*, testified to the letter quoted by Maulana Mohammad Ali having been given to him by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, and his having resigned when this subsidy was not forthcoming from the Government.

Mr. Barkat Ali, Secretary, Punjab Muslim League, said, even assuming that the final responsibility lay with Parliament, the inclusion of Indians on the reporting body could not have interfered with that responsibility. Place-hunters might declare otherwise, but the League as a self-respecting body must not accept a course incompatible with national honour and self-esteem.

Mr. Chagla, Secretary, Bombay Provincial Muslim League, asked whether Muslims had fallen so low as to lend themselves in the market-place to the highest bidder between the Government and the Hindus? They must join the Hindus to make the boycott universal and effective.

Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed asked whether British rule had made Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din sink so low as to call Muslims depressed classes.

Maulana Zafar Ali declared that with the exception of those who worshipped official pottage, the whole Punjab was with them. When what they thought to be the reactionary Mahasabha element had surrendered itself to the Congress, would the Muslims hesitate?

Mrs. Annie Besant then addressed the gathering. She said every invader before the British had identified himself with the people of India and had settled down and become Indian. The Britishers had, however, remained foreigners. They extended their domains sometimes by resorting to fraud and sometimes by setting Indian against Indian. The Britishers had wielded authority, but had never become Indians. During the war, Mr. Asquith had stated that foreign yoke would be intolerable, and had called upon Indians to help.

Mrs. Besant said that since she entered public life 53 years ago, she had claimed home rule. "No one nation has the right to govern another. The life of a people may change, but the nation remains indestructible. It is as eternal as God Himself, and to deny a nation the right to self-government is treason against humanity as a whole. Those who live in India should identify themselves with her life and national struggle. My own fundamental objection to the Commission is that it is a step backward."

Mrs. Besant recalled how the King had, through the Duke of Connaught, sent a message to the people of India on the reforms being the beginning of *Swaraj* within the Empire, and how this exclusively foreign Commission was appointed and how it was to go back even on the existing reforms. "We have the right to rule ourselves, and it is in the assertion of this right that I voted in the Congress for national independence." The Prince of Wales had wisely called the British Empire a Commonwealth of Nations. Domination must disappear, and every nation must be a willing partner in the commonwealth on the basis of mutual service.

Continuing, Mrs. Besant declared that this resolution was such that all could join to support it. She was not sorry that two or three Indians were not appointed on the Commission, as that might have made them linger on by accepting half a loaf instead of a full one. Concluding, she made an impassioned appeal for a boycott of this foreign Commission.

The resolution was put to the vote, and was declared carried, amidst acclamation, by an overwhelming majority, only two dissenting.

RESOLUTION IV

Mr. Barkat Ali next moved a compromise resolution[1] on behalf of the Subjects Committee, which read as follows:

The resolution is based on the Delhi proposals of the Muslim Conference held at Delh on March 20, 1927, of which the text runs as follows:

Whether, in the forthcoming revision of the Indian Constitution, elections to the legislative bodies should be through joint or separate electorates has been the subject of anxious discussion among Hindu and Musalman leaders in Delhi. The Hindu members of the Congress

The All-India Muslim League authorizes the Council of the League to appoint a subcommittee to confer with the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, and such other organizations as the Council may think proper, for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for India, in which the interests of the Muslim community will be safeguarded, having regard to the following proposals, which the League approves of and adopts, and subsequently to take part in the National Convention which is going to take place in Delhi in March next, as suggested by the Indian National Congress:

(1) that Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate autonomous province;

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1. *Conuinted from page 118*

Party and the Nationalist Party, having already decided in favour of only a joint electorate with the reservation of seats to Mohammedans, either on the basis of the Lucknow Pact or the existing population in each province, the Mohammedans met in informal conference to-day under the presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, who had issued invitations to representative Mohammedans in all parts of India.

After a protracted discussion, the Conference agreed to the institution of joint electorates under certain conditions. It was unnaimously resolved that the Mohammedans should accept a settlement on the basis of the following proposals, so far as representation in the various legislatures in any future scheme of Constitution was concerned:

(1) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.

(2) Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India.

If this is agreed to, Mohammedans are prepared to accept a joint electorate in all provinces so constituted, and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Mohammedan minorities.

In the Punjab and Bengal, the proportion of representation should be in accordance with the population.

In the Central Legislature Mohammedan representation shall not be less than a third, and that also by a mixed electorate.

The proposals are subject to ratification by the Mohammedan organizations concerned, but it was hoped by those present at the Conference that the Hindus would accept and the Mohammedans would ratify them.

The question of the services, and other questions with regard to safeguards concerning any Bill or resolution which might affect the religion or the customs or the usages of either community, or affecting inter-communal interests, were also discussed by the meeting, but postponed for further consideration. They will be taken up if, on the main proposition, there can be unanimity of opinion.

The following attended the Conference: Mr. Jinnah, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Mr. Mohammad Ali, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Mohammad Yakub, Nawab Mohammad Ismail, Syed Alay Nabi, Lieut. Sardar Mohammad Nawaz Khan, Mr. Suhrawardi, Mr. Shah Nawaz, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Farooki, Mr. Abdur Rahman, Sir Abdul Qayum, Shah Mohammad Zubair, Syed Ahmed Shah (Imam of the Juma Mosque, Delhi), Moulvi Syed Murtaza, Mr. Mohammad Shafee Daoodi, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhari, Mirza Abdul Qadir, Syed Abdul Jabbar (Ajmer), Mr. Ehtashamuddin, Syed Abdul Rahim, Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, Dr. Hyder, Mr. Arif and Mr. Ijaz Husain. (From the Proceedings of the Conference published by Ijaz Husain, Hon. Secretary-General, All-India Muslim League.)

(2) that reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan, placing them on the same footing as the other provinces;

(3) that in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country through separate electorates is inevitable, and that the Muslims will not accept any scheme involving a surrender of this valuable right, unless and until Sind is actually constituted a separate autonomous province and reforms, as aforesaid, are actually introduced in the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan provinces. When these requirements are fully satisfied, the Muslims will be prepared to abandon separate electorates in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats, fixed on the basis of the population of different communities, subject to what is stated hereinafter:

(i) in Sind, the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, the Muslim majority shall make the same concessions with regard to the proportion of seats reserved to the Hindu minority that the Hindu majority in other provinces would make to Muslim minorities over and above the proportion of the provinces, which shall be the minimum basis.

(ii) in the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.

The League further resolves (a) that in the future Constitution of India liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no Legislature, Central or Provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with the liberty of conscience ('Liberty of conscience' means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association, and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others, and without interfering with the similar rights of others); (b) that no Bill, resolution, motion, or amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any Legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of the community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, resolution, motion or amendment ('Inter-communal matters' means matters agreed upon as such by the joint standing committee of both communities of the Hindu and Muslim members of the Legislatures concerned, appointed at the commencement of every session of that Legislature).

This League resolves that without prejudice to the rights that the Hindus and Musalmans claim, the one to play music and conduct processions wherever they please, and the other to slaughter cows for sacrifice or food wherever they please, the Musalmans appeal to the

Musalmans to spare Hindu feelings as much as possible in the matter of cow slaughter, and trust that the Hindus will appeal to the Hindus to spare Musalman feelings as much as possible in the matter of music before mosques, and this League calls upon both the Hindus and Musalmans not to have recourse to violence or to law to prevent the slaughter of a cow or the playing of music before a mosque.

This League further resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or re-convert another by argument or persuasion, but that no individual or group shall attempt to do so or prevent its being done by force, fraud or other unfair means, such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardians by persons of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time and manner about any conversion or re-conversion, nor should there be any demonstration or jubilation in support of any conversion or any re-conversion. Whenever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or re-conversion that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud or other unfair means, or wherever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators appointed jointly by the two communities.

Mr. Barkat Ali said the resolution repeated their old position, with this important exception that for the first time in the history of the League there was a change in its angle of vision. "We are offering, by means of this change, a sincere hand of fellowship to those of our Hindu countrymen who have objected to the principle of separate electorates." If the Hindus joined the Muslim demand..., Sind could be separated and the Frontier Province and Baluchistan could be given reforms. But unless these conditions were fulfilled, Muslims would not be able to give up separate electorates.

Maulana Shaukat Ali congratulated the League on the resolution before it. He said the Congress Committee had sat till 2 a.m., and Hindu fought Hindu to come to a settlement. No occasion arose for the Musalmans to speak. It was now for the League to adopt the settlement and earn the everlasting gratitude of the Muslim community.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that lakhs of Muslims over India were crying out against the proposed abandonment of separate electorates. A time would be coming when the need for such electorates would cease to exist. But they must wait for that opportunity. The speaker urged that the principle of adult suffrage should be made another condition to the abolition of separate electorates. Muslims were economically poorer, and adult suffrage would be the only remedy.

Mr. Wahid Hussain testified from his knowledge to the return of Muslim commissioners in Chittagong and elsewhere by an overwhelming number of votes. This had happened in spite of the zemindar and mahajan influences, because the Muslim consciousness had now been roused. Here was a chance for the best men to be returned. "Some say the separate electorate is our Magna Charta. I deny that. We have a right to exist, and on that right we stand. Let us give a lead to the masses."

Mr. Aziz-ul-Haq proposed that the discussion on the matter be deferred for a month.

Mr. Nurul Haq supported Mr. Barkat Ali, but contested the statements of Mr. Wahid Hussain; and declared that with the exception of two municipalities in East Bengal, there was no other municipality with a Muslim majority. The fate of the Bengal Pact had shaken his faith.

Mr. Akram Khan warned the delegates against the adult suffrage proposed by Mr. Zafar Ali, which would, according to the census, reduce the Muslim majority in Bengal.

At this stage, Mrs. Besant announced her acceptance of the proposals. The Commonwealth of India Bill provided for general electorates with reserved seats. She, however, accepted the condition proposed in the resolution regarding the creation of autonomous provinces of Sind, the Frontier Province and Baluchistan and would see that this change was made in the Bill; otherwise she would not work for its passage in the House of Commons. She, however, foresaw no difficulty in getting the Bill so amended.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad declared that by the Lucknow Pact they had sold away their interests. The Delhi proposals of last March opened the door for the first time to the recognition of the real rights of Musalmans in India. The separate electorates granted by the pact of 1916 only ensured Muslim representation, but what was vital for the existence of the community was the recognition of its numerical strength. Delhi opened the way to the creation of such a state of affairs as would guarantee them a proper share in the future of India. Their existing small majority in Bengal and the Punjab was only a census figure; but the Delhi proposals, for the first time, gave them five provinces of which no less than three (Sind, the Frontier Province and Baluchistan) contained a real overwhelming Muslim majority. If the Muslims did not recognize this great step, they were not fit to live. There would now be nine Hindu provinces against five Muslim provinces; and whatever treatment Hindus accorded Muslims in the nine provinces, Muslims would accord the same treatment to Hindus in the five provinces. Was not this a great gain? Was not a new weapon gained for the assertion of Muslim rights?

Mr. Jinnah said that those who adopted the Delhi proposals considered them just and reasonable, but did not get the support which they expected from their Hindu friends till the Congress Committee met in May at Bombay and revived the dead body of the Delhi proposals.

"These proposals", continued Mr. Jinnah, "are the outcome of many heads. You cannot expect every one to commit himself to every word and every clause of this long resolution. But so far as the spirit of the proposals is concerned it is undoubtedly just and fair to both communities. We have got a majority in this House, but shall we be able to carry the majority in the country? Nothing will please me more, but at the same time, it will be fair to say that I am not so sure that I am satisfied that the majority of Musalmans throughout the country are in favour of it. That remains to be decided; and it will be our business to try our best to make the people understand and to convince them, to carry them with us, because on merits, I am convinced that this proposal is the finest thing that can happen to Musalmans and to India."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had struck the only note that was necessary, namely, that they should not look at the settlement in the petty spirit of traders. The Indian National Congress was not a sectarian body. It adopted the Muslim proposals because they were so just and so reasonable, and not as the price paid for Muslim co-operation in the national struggle. She would ask them to see that the great democratic spirit of Islam and the great metaphysical spirit of Hinduism should mingle to make for Indian nationhood.

Major Graham Pole, on being called upon to address the gathering, said he belonged to a group that held, in the words of Mr. Lansbury, that God had not made any nation fit to rule another nation. Good government was not a substitute for self-government. Every people had something to contribute to the world's progress, if allowed self-determination. As for Lord Birkenhead, he had heard hard things about them. But Lord Birkenhead had been the greatest unifier of India for generations. On his return, he would tell the Secretary of State so. The speaker said that, by coinncidence, he had attended the Lucknow Congress and also the Madras Congress, at both of which Hindu-Muslim settlements were arrived at. The Madras settlement was even greater than the Lucknow settlement. The one thing wanted was that every Indian should be proud of being an Indian, so that he could say: "I am a citizen of India and that is enough." He was sorry to see Indians read so much British history. He felt humble when he read India's history, which should make Indians tremendously proud of themselves.

Finally, Major Graham Pole assured the audience that the Labour Members of Parliament were sincerely anxious to do their best for India; and if, due to the long distance, there was not a proper understanding of the Indian situation, Indians should also not misunderstand India's friends in England, who were doing their best, every day, to bring about a better understanding, and to work for that *Swaraj* which, he hoped, many like him would see India attain triumphantly in their lifetime. Both the amendments (with respect to adult suffrage and to deferment) having been withdrawn, the resolution of Mr. Barkat Ali was put to the vote, and declared carried

unanimously, amidst cheers.

A small sub-committee was appointed to recommend changes in the rules, and the Session was then adjourned till the next day.

Third Sitting

The League resumed its Session in the town hall on the afternoon of January 1, 1928. First the following three resolutions were passed:

RESOLUTION V

That all the words after 're-election' from 'provided' to 'consecutively' in Rule 10 of the Constitution be deleted. (Proposed by Moulvi Wahed Husain and seconded by Mr. Azizul Haq.)

RESOLUTION VI

That Mr. M.A. Jinnah be elected the President of the All-India Muslim League for the next three years. (Proposed by Moulvi Abdul Karim and seconded by Moulvi Syed Zahur Ahmad.)

RESOLUTION VII

The All-India Muslim League deems it necessary that the Constitution and Rules of the League should be revised; the League therefore appoints a Subcommittee consisting of four members, viz., the President, the Secretary, Maulana Mahammad Ali and Mr. Asaf Ali, to go through the Rules and make suggestions for modifying and improving the existing Rules of the Constitution. (From the Chair.)

Next the meeting adopted the following resolution on the action of Sir Muhammad Shafi:

RESOLUTION VIII

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League severely condemns the action of Sir Muhammad Shafi and his colleagues in rebelling against the authority and the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League to hold the Session of the League at Calcutta, and purporting to hold a session of the League at Lahore in contravention of the Constitution of the League. The League is further of opinion that the responsibility for causing a split among the Musalmans at this critical juncture in the history of the community must rest entirely upon Sir Muhammad Shafi and his colleagues. (Proposed by Mr. Azizul Haq and supported by Moulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin.)

Continuing to deal with this subject, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan proposed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION IX

The All-India Muslim League regrets that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League has flagrantly defied the authority of the parent body of the All-India Muslim League, and deems it essential, as a matter of disciplinary principle, that the Constitution and the authority of the League should be maintained and upheld. In the circumstances, the only course open to the League is to disaffiliate the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, and it resolves that the Punjab Muslim League be disaffiliated, and further calls upon the Muslims of the Punjab to constitute a Provincial Muslim League truly representative of the Punjab.

Speaking on the resolution, Maulana Mohammad Ali said that it was painful to ask for the disaffiliation of a body like the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, and he should have liked that an opportunity be given to Sir Muhammad Shafi to justify his conduct; but the way he had behaved left no other course open.

The resolution was carried.

The President then moved the following resolution in support of the development of the Muslim press, which was passed.

RESOLUTION X

This meeting of the League realise the urgent and immediate necessity of founding an All-India Muslim newspaper and calls upon the Musalmans of India to lend their fullest support to the project of the Maharajah of Mahmudabad and others in starting a daily Muslim paper at Lucknow.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS PASSED

XI. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its abhorrence of the conduct of Mr. Blandy, late District Magistrate of Barisal, in ordering fire, without the least justification, upon a crowd assembled in the compound of a mosque at the village Kulkati, and thus causing the death of no less than 19 Musalmans and injuries to some others. This meeting strongly condemns the conduct of the Government of Bengal in refusing to institute an independent public inquiry into the occurence, in spite of the insistent demands of the Musalmans for such an enquiry.

In view of the fact that the Government of Bengal has been showing callous indifference to the grievances of the Musalmans, in regard to the Kulkati tragedy and other matters, the All-India Muslim League

urges upon the Muslim Members of the Bengal Council to offer persistent constitutional opposition to the Government, so long as the grievances of the community are not redressed. (Proposed by Moulvi Abdul Karim, seconded by Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan and supported by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.)

XII. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the action of the authorities in refusing passports to Mr. Shapurji Saklatvalla, M.P., to return to his own country.

This meeting of the Muslim League fully appreciates the bold fight put up by Mr. Shapurji Saklatvalla, and his British comrades in Parliament, against the Simon Commission. (From the Chair.)

XIII. This meeting of the Muslim League resents the action of the C.P. Government in its refusal to issue reports of Mr. Avari's health, as also in refusing permits to public men to see him even from a distance. (From the Chair.)

XIV. The All-India Muslim Legue strongly disapproves of the action of the authorities in depriving partriotic young men of their personal liberty under Regulation 3, or under any other such law, and demands that those who are being detained in jail without trial for an indefinite length of time be immediately set free or be placed on trial in a court of law. (From the Chair.)

Concluding Remarks

At the request of the President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia addressed the meeting. In an impassioned appeal for unity, he said that the responsibility for the present state of affairs in the country rested mostly upon their own heads. Their quarrels in every instance related to the question of cow killing or music before mosques; and the Pandit thought that it was yet possible for them to sit down together and arrive at some conclusion to settle the matter. As it was, their opponents were taking advantage of these differences and mirsepresenting them to the civilized world outside; and it was by their own action, Indians were perpetuating their serfdom. The Pandit recalled Plassey, and asked them to unite and prevent these deplorable occurrences in order that they might usher in a new era of prosperity and power.

Referring to the Simon Commission, the Pandit characterized it as a God-given opportunity to rouse them to a sense of duty and responsibility; and exhorted all Indians to make its boycott as complete as possible.

Concluding, the Pandit appealed again to those present, asking them to be united, with only one desire, namely, to be just to each other and to have confidence in each other, always remembering that they were Indians first and Hindus and Musalmans afterwards. If they could do that, there would be nothing to stand between them and *Swaraj*.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. Jinnah declared: "A constitutional war has been declared on Great Britain. Negotiations for a settlement are not to come from our side. Let the Government sue for peace. We are denied equal partnership. We will resist the new doctrine to the best of our power. Jallianwalla Bagh was a physical butchery, the Simon Commission is a butchery of our souls. By appointing an exclusively white Commission, Lord Birkenhead has declared our unfitness for self-government. I welcome Pandit Malavia, and I welcome the hand of fellowship extended to us by Hindu leaders from the platform of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. For, to me, this offer is more valuable than any concession which the British Government can make. Let us then grasp the hand of fellowship. This is indeed a bright day; and for achieving this unity, thanks are due to Lord Birkenhead."

In declaring the Session closed, the President described it as a success, with regard to both the quantity and the quality of the work done.[1]

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1. *Sources: The Indian Quarterly Register, 1927*, Vol. II, pp, 539-452; *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League from May 1924 to December 1936. op. cit.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

NINETEENTH SESSION

II. SHAFI GROUP

LAHORE, DECEMBER 31, 1927—JANUARY 1, 1928

First Sitting

The Shafi Group of the All-India Muslim League commenced its session on December 31, 1927, at Lahore in Habibia Hall, Islamia College, at 11.25 a.m. The hall was crowded.

Welcoming the delegates, Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said he could not refrain from saying that he observed with a feeling of sadness that some of their prominent brethren who should have been present at the meeting were absent. The small body of Muslims holding its meeting at Calcutta had proved itself incompetent to understand the seriousness of the time and the intensity of the present situation.

Referring to the boycott of the Simon Commission, he said that the decision of an overwhelming majority of Musalmans to co-operate with the Commission was not hastily adopted. It was the result of the profound knowledge and painful experience of the treatment meted out to them by the Hindus. There was no other course open to them, but to come to this conclusion. The Muslims as a minority community must vindicate their rights; and the only chance under the circusmtances was to approach the Simon Commission with manly composure and seek justice from it.

Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan then enumerated the following Muslim demands:

(i) separate representation in the various legislatures and local bodies on a population basis; (ii) a system of separate electorates; (iii) separation of

Sind from Bombay; (iv) reforms for the Frontier Province and Baluchistan; and (v) an adequate Muslim share in the services.

Referring to the last demand, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan said, "We declare it most emphatically that, while we have no desire to infringe on the rights of others, we strongly resent our rights being infringed on by others. We shall wait to see what notice Government take of our complaint in this connection. If I were literally to interpret the sorrows of Muslims in this matter, I would say better a terrible end than terror without end."

Concluding, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan said that if further reforms were made in the provinces, the Punjab should not be denied provincial autonomy, as a strong desire for autonomous government thrilled their very soul. It was mostly the valour of the Punjabi soldier which saved modern civilization from utter ruin. Was it possible that with such a record and equipment for self-government, the Punjab was to be denied the right to have autonomy? He did not think that the British people would be so insensible to the demands of gratitude as to ignore their right to this high privilege.

Appealing to his Hindu fellow-countrymen, he said, "It is not yet too late to adjust our differences. Everything depends on our unity. Utter the magic word that we are united, and the world will bow before you. Keep silent, and you remain in bondage. Together, we can master even a hostile fate. But if you do not accept the friendship we offer to you, the blame will rest with you."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI

Sir Muhammad Shafi, who was presiding over the Session, then delivered his Presidential Address.

"I am sincerely convinced", he said, "that in the existing political conditions in this country, joint electorates, whether with or without reserved seats, would be certain to furnish a periodical cause of friction between the two communities, and would, in consequence, be in the highest degree injurious to the cause of Indian nationalism." Ridiculing the suggestion that separate electorates had been the cause of inter-communal friction, Sir Muhammad Shafi pointed out that separate communal electorates were first introduced as a result of the Minto-Morley Reforms, and for a period of years after their introduction, the two great communities had lived in an atmosphere of mutual co-operation and goodwill. One of the basic principles of the modern system of democratic government was that the legislature should be really representative of the people. The system of electorates in India must, therefore, be so framed as to give the fullest scope to the real representation of the population, including the Adi-Hindus and labour.

Referring to the Simon Commission, he said that what concerned the Muslim community was the provision in the Reforms Scheme of 1921 that the present Commission was to consider the working of the franchise

and the constitution of electorates, including the important matter of retention of communal representation. He, therefore, requested all to settle their political differences, and then present a united Indian demand regarding the next step in the Constitutional advance. A unanimous demand thus made would be irresistible, no matter what the constitution of the Royal Commission might be.

The Muslim League, therefore, should call upon the sister communities to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of inter-communal political controversies, and to prepare a scheme of constitutional reforms which, while satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Indian political intelligentsia, would, at the same time, ensure that the Muslim community and other minorities in India enjoy their just rights and the satisfaction of their reasonable aspirations.

He urged the appointment of a committee to collaborate with the committees appointed by other organisations to evolve a satisfactory scheme and to bring about unanimity of public opinion.

Sir Muhammad Shafi demanded the introduction of constitutional and administrative reforms in the North-West Frontier Province and the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency. The speaker discussed the future reforms, and said that the existing control of the Secretary of State in departments dealing with internal affairs was not conducive to the best interests of administration. He suggested that the Government of India be relieved of the irksome chains with which they were bound in this respect.

Detailing his suggestions for immediate reforms in the central and provincial machineries, he urged, *inter alia*, that the Foreign and Political Department be placed in charge of one member; that an additional civilian member for the Army be appointed to take his place within the Indian Cabinet; and that membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council be increased to eight, four of whom should be Indians. He also felt that, in the Central Government, the member or members in charge of Transferred Subjects should be selected from among the elected representatives of the people in the Central Legislature and should be made responsible to it for their administration. As for diarchy in the provinces, Sir Muhammad Shafi remarked that this interesting experiment should now be abandoned, and one should revert to the principle of unitary provincial governments.

He then dwelt on the question of the legality of the meetings of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at Delhi on November 20 and December 11, respectively. He said he was elected President of the League by both the Council meetings, and the Punjab Muslim League duly approved of his election. The Council of the All-India Muslim League thus became *functus officio*. As far as the questions of venue and presidentship of the annual meeting were concerned, it was obvious that where the validity of a decision depended on the agreement of two parties, no one of them had any power

to set it aside after the necessary agreement by the two had been arrived at. Dr. Kitchlew's pretence for calling the meeting of December 11 was Sir Muhammad Shafi's statement to the press that he would relinquish the presidentship in favour of the Aga Khan, should the latter be willing to support separate Muslim electorates.

That, said Sir Muhammad Shafi, was obviously a matter between the Aga Khan and himself; and until he had finally tendered his resignation of the presidentship, there was no occasion for calling another meeting of the Council to decide what had already been finally settled on November 20. Therefore, the meeting held on December 11 was entirely illegal; and he did not know under what rule and authority Maulvi Mohammad Yakub was elected President of the Calcutta Session of the League, held the day before. This election took place without even sending any intimation to members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, who were in Lahore. Therefore, said Sir Muhammad Shafi, he, as the truly elected President of the All-India Muslim League, declared the meeting in Calcutta to be illegal.

The Session then adjourned, after forming a Subjects Committee to discuss draft resolutions.

Second Sitting

The Session resumed its sitting at 3:30 p.m. to consider the draft resolutions reviewed by the Subjects Committee.

RESOLUTION I

Mr. Ghaznavi moved the first resolution which ran as follows:

> This Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League invites the leaders of all non-Muslim communities in India to come to a satisfactory settlement with the Muslim community, before the Royal Commission begins its work regarding the future Constitution of India and the rights and interests of the Muslim community, as embodied in the foregoing resolutions, with a view to the joint preparation of a Draft Constitution for India, adequately safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of all communities, for presenting the same before the Statutory Commission or the British Parliament or both.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Ghaznavi advised the audience not to boycott the Commission, which would be prejudicial to Muslim interests. Points of order were raised by Mr. Afzal Haq and Raja Ghaznafar Ali khan that the speech the mover was reading had no relevance to the subject under discussion.

The President, however, allowed the speaker to continue.

After a few minutes, Mr. Aurangzeb Khan also rose to a doint of order and asked the President to inform the House on which

resolution the mover was making the speech.

Maulana Akhtar Ali Khan asked the President whether there was any time-limit for the mover of the resolution.

Amidst constant similar interruptions, Mr. Ghaznavi had to hurry through his speech.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, seconding the resolution, said their experience of the non-co-operation days showed that a boycott of the Commission would not succeed. They should, therefore, put their heads together and frame a Constitution for India, which they should place before the Simon Commission; and if that was not accepted, there would still be time for a boycott. He did not think that they had been insulted by the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. The insult was in the appointment of the Commission itself. He therefore advised that they should not talk of boycott at the present stage.

Chaudhri Afzal Haq (Khilafatist) next rose to speak and was greeted with loud shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar* by the Khilafatists, who had turned out in greater strength for the afternoon sitting. He said that, if a mutual understanding with sister communities in India was their objective, they should devote their attention to that question; why should they bring in the Royal Commission at all in the resolution?

At this stage, the speaker was again greeted with loud cheers by the Khilafatists; and the President made an appeal for order. On this, more confusion followed. Dr. Muhammad Alam and Malik Lakshan, both Khilafat leaders, came to the dais and appealed to the audience to stop all shouting. Within a few minutes, order was restored; and Chaudhri Afzal Haq, continuing, said that the fact that the boycott programme during the non-co-operation days failed provided no reason why they should give up boycotting the Royal Commission. He believed that no programme in the world was ever carried out completely or successfully to the satisfaction of all. As Musalmans, it was their duty to convert the whole world to Islam. Had they been able to do it? If they had not, should they give up Islam? After 50 years of begging, all that the Government had given them was separate electorates. Was that the be-all and end-all of Muslim aspirations ? From his own experience in the Punjab Legislative Council, he could say that they, the Musalman members of the Council, had gained nothing by co-operating with the Government. For six years, the Government took advantage of the Muslim co-operation, and when it found that the Hindus and Musalmans were fighting with each other and the Musalmans' co-operation was no longer necessary, it did not care for them any more.

He wanted to move an amendment to the resolution; but as he had exceeded the time-limit, the President asked him to resume his seat.

Mr. Masudul Hasan, supporting the resolution, saidthe boy cott would do great harm to the Muslims, who were ruining their interests by swallowing

poisonous pills in the shape of Indian nationalism.

Dr. Muhammad Alam moving an amendment proposing the deletion of the last portion of the resolution, said that the resolution was really divided into two parts, both of which asked them to beg, and led them no where. He could, however, understand the sense of the first portion of the resolution, whereas the second portion, in his opinion, was meaningless. They should not welcome the Commission, as by sending an all-white Commission, the British Government had insulted them. He would refuse to beg and accept alms, even if the whole of India were offered to him. (Shouts of "Hear, hear!") They would not gain anything by bowing before the Commission and kissing the feet of its members.

Mian Shah Nawaz, supporting the resolution, said that he refused to believe that all Musalmans were flatterers of the Government and possessed a slave mentality. Musalmans, in times of need and crisis, had sacrificed even their lives. What they wanted, the speaker continued, was that in framing a Constitution for India, the interests of the 7 crores of Muslims should be safeguarded.

Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, supporting the amendment of Dr. Alam, said he was entirely in favour of the first part of the resolution and did not think that any Musalman would oppose it, but the second part of resolution tended to divide them and raise controversial issue. If the League was anxious to pass a resolution regarding the Commission, it could do so in the form of a separate resolution. The acceptance of the amendment did not prevent them from bringing a fresh resolution on the Commission; and it would still be open to them either to welcome or boycott it. He had wired to Mr. Jinnah that the boycott question should not be brought forward at the Calcutta Session of the League. He appealed to the audience not to be misled by the idea that because many prominent Musalmans present in the gathering were in favour of welcoming the Commission, they should suspend their own judgment. They should not forget that equally capable and self-sacrificing Muslims had gathered in Calcutta to discuss this very question, and they should not ignore their views.

Mr. Aurangzeb Khan said he knew full well that the Commission would not bring any special blessings for them, but if it was boycotted, Muslim interests would suffer.

Mr. Anis Ahmad said that Muslims would not gain anything from Hindus, who treated their own brethren—the depressed classes—as untouchables.

Mr. Ali Bahadur Khan said that for five years, he was connected with the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements, but he could not understand the policy of Mr. Jinnah and the boycotters.

Mr. Mazhar Ali Azhar supported the amendment. He was sorry to see that they were all blaming the Hindus; the fact was that more of their rights

were taken away by the British Government than by the Hindus. Muslims would gain nothing by begging. The Sikhs in the Punjab got whatever they wanted by their determined agitation. He wished that the Muslims would turn their attention to the numerous wrongs done to them by the British, and not blame the Hindus.

Mr. Zafarullah Khan said that, if they wanted to end the British domination, they should either rise in an armed revolt or submit to the Parliamentary Commission. The first was not possible, and therefore, they should accept the Parliamentary Commission and submit their views before it, especially as the Hindus were engaged in active propaganda, placing their views before the British public in England.

Sheikh Hissamuddin supported the amendment, and said that, if the Musalmans could stand on their own legs, no power on earth could destroy them, and that there was no necessity for them to beg before the Commission at this stage.

Dr. Alam moved the closure of the debate, which was accepted by the President. But before he put the resolution to the vote, the President indicated that he also wished to speak on the resolution. He said that by keeping away from the Commission, they would invite an *ex-parte* decree against them.

At this stage, Chaudhri Afzal Haq rose to a point of order and asked whether the President, being the Chairman of the meeting, could speak for the resolution.

Dr. Alam also asked whether it was fair for the President to do so.

The President said that he had every right to speak, as his presidential position was not to be confused with the position of the Speaker of the House of Commons.

The amendment of Dr. Alam was then put to the vote, and declared lost by the President.

Dr. Alam and Mr. Afzal Haq claimed a division. The votes were counted by provinces. It was found that Bengal, the U.P., Bombay, Delhi, and the Frontier Province were against the amendment; and of the Punjab delegates 63 were in favour of the amendment and 101 against.

Dr. Alam challenged the counting of the Punjab votes. The President refused to re-count the vote; and he declared the amendment lost and the original resolution carried, amidst loud applause. Confusion and uproar now followed, which continued for some time. The Khilafatists, headed by Dr. Alam, left the hall, shouting, "Shame, shame", at the President and the organizers of the Session.

RESOLUTION II

Order being restored, the following resolution moved by Mr. Yamin Khan was then passed unanimously.

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League declares that neither the proposals formulated by some Muslims in their individual capacity at Delhi on March 2, 1927, in their original form, nor in their amended form as passed by the Congress at Madras, are acceptable to the Musalmans of India.

RESOLUTIONS III, IV, V

The following three resolutions were put from the Chair and passed unanimously.

The first urged the introduction of constitutional reforms in the Frontier Province and Baluchistan; the second urged the separation of Sind from Bombay, with a reformed constitution of its own; and the third appointed a committee of 27 members, with Sir Muhammad Shafi as *ex-offico* member, to devise a scheme of constitutional advance and to collaborate with the committees appointed by other Indian organizations to frame a Constitution for India on the principles adopted by the Lahore Session.

RESOLUTION VI

Sir Muhammad Iqbal moved a resolution protesting against the existing arrangements whereby the Muslim community in Bengal and the Punjab was deprived of its majority rights in the Provincial Councils, and urged the Government to remove this injustice done to the Muslims in 1921.

This was also passed unanimously; and the Session then adjourned.

Third Sitting

The Session reassembled on January 1, 1928, at 12:30 p.m. The attendance was thin, and the Khilafatists were not present. The President read two messages which he had received from Bengal. The first message, signed by 10 Muslims of Calcutta, including Mr. A.H. Ghaznavi, Dr. Suhrawardy, Khan Bahadur Imdad-ud-Din Ahmed, Sahibzada Ali Naqvi and others, stated that Muslim opinion in Bengal was behind the Lahore Session and wished it success, and asked Mr. Ghaznavi to move a resolution on the Statutory Commission. The second message was from four Bengali members of the All-India Muslim League, who regretted their absence, but recognized the Lahore Session, and asked the President to count on their votes for the Statutory Commission.

RESOLUTION VII

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan moved the first resolution of the day, which asked the Government to earmark a reasonable share of the bonuses and grants-in-aid meant for various nation-building departments for the purpose of the Muslim community. He said his experience of the United Provinces and that of Musalmans in other provinces was that a very large part of the grants earmarked for education was not spent on Muslim education. Whenever

they had tried to ask for more money for Muslims, they had been dubbed reactionaries. Therefore, they had no other alternative but to demand that the Musalmans should be given an adequate proportion of grants, otherwise they would be deprived of those advantages which they were entitled to get from the Government.

Mr. Shuja-ud-Din supported the resolution, which was then carried.

RESOLUTION VIII

Mr. Masudul Hasan moved a resolution authorizing the President to call a round-table conference of Muslim Leaguers of all organizations to bring about unity of thought in political ideals amongst the Muslims of India. He said that they should make every effort to unite the various differing elements among Muslims. It was extremely unfortunate that they were so hopelessly divided, especially at this juncture, when one set of resolutions was being discussed at Calcutta and another at Lahore.

Mr. Gul Mohammad, seconding the resolution, said that their differences would be exploited by a third party, and that they would gain nothing from the Government if they went on fighting.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan rose to a point of order, and asked the President whether it was relevant to the subject under discussion to refer to incidents that took place outside.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

RESOLUTION IX

Sheikh Abdullah next moved a resolution authorizing the Council of the All-India Muslim League to appoint a committee to draft a new and suitable Constitution for the League, as the present Constitution had become quite out of date.

The resolution was passed without discussion.

RESOLUTION X

Sheikh Abdullah next moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League hereby elects Sir Muhammad Shafi as its President, Sir Muhammad Iqbal as its General Secretary, and Maulana Hasrat Mohani as its Joint Secretary. The League also authorizes the Council to appoint Joint Secretaries for various provinces and to make suitable arrangements for the collection and expenditure of the funds of the League and to engage such paid servants or office-bearers as are necessary in the opinion of the Council for carrying out the work of the League.

Mr. Ghaznavi, seconding the resolution, paid tribute to the many qualities of head and heart of the President, and said that he had great pleasure in welcoming Sir Muhammad Shafi as President of the League. Turning to

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, he said that Sir Muhammad Iqbal was not only known throughout India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin but throughout the world. He had therefore equally great pleasure in seconding Sir Muhammad Iqbal as Secretary. Speaking about Mr. Hasrat Mohani, he said that Mr. Mohani needed to introduction at his hands. When a man like Mr. Hasrat Mohani had come to their side, after revising his previous opinion, it was a proof that there was right and reason on their side.

Mr. Fateh Mohammad supported the resolution.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan opposed the resolution, and said that he did not understand how they could support such a resolution, when they had appointed a round-table conference to bring about unity among the various sections of Musalmans. They could not ignore the fact that another All-India Muslim League Session was being held at Calcutta, and that in the circumstances, they should not adopt such a course. He had nothing to say against the personality of Sir Muhammad Shafi or Sir Muhammad Iqbal; but they should not adopt this resolution in the name of the All-India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah was already the President of the All-India Muslim League.

At this stage, the President, interrupting the speaker, said, "No, Mr. Jinnah is no longer President. He had ceased to be President from June, 1927, when his term expired" The President read the Rules of the League on this point.

Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq said that he had been sitting as a neutral since the previous day, listening to all the discussions; but the present debate on the resolution before them compelled him to speak out his mind. He was pained to find that objectionable remarks were made by some members about Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and that such speakers were not stopped by the President. When the Khilafatists were present in the hall the previous day, all the supporters of the President were sitting quiet; to-day, taking advantage of their absence, they were in a merry mood and passing all sorts of resolutions. This reminded him of the proverb, 'When the cat is away the mice are at play'. He had met Dr. Kitchlew last December 14 at Amritsar, when the latter said that he had not resigned the secretaryship of the League. They should not take advantage of the absence of Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Kitchlew and other Muslim leaders from the present Session and appoint office-bearers. The time would soon come when they would have to meet in conference over the Statutory Commission and the framing of a Constitution for India, when they would have to explain their actions. If they appointed the office-bearers now, they would have to face trouble at that conference. He asked Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Mr. Hasrat Mohani not to accept the offices offered to them. After concluding his speech, Mr. Sadiq left the meeting.

That part of the resolution which related to the election of Sir Muhammad Shafi was put to the vote by Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Chairman of

the Reception Committee, and it was carried amidst acclamation.

RESOLUTION XI

Mr. Hasrat Mohani moved the last resolution of the Session:

This Session records its sense of deep regret that the Hindus, as a community, should have rejected the decision of the Calcutta Unity Conference, regarding the question of cow slaughter and music before mosques, by means of unanimous resolutions passed at the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the All-India Aryan Congress, and now at the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress, in a form not acceptable to Muslim.

The resolution was passed, and the session then concluded.[1]

1. *Source: The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 369-376

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTIETH SESSION

CALCUTTA, DECEMBER 26-30, 1928

The Twentieth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened on December 26, 1928, at the Albert Hall, Calcutta. The attendance was confined to delegates and a few select visitors only.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Quran, after which Moulvi Abdul Karim, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered a long speech of an hour and a quarter.

In the course of his speech, the Chairman said, "At the dawn of a new and significant orientation of the conception of India's political and economic freedom, and on the eve of momentous changes in the Constitution and administration of India, it is not a light task to stand under the portals opening on to the future destiny of our country, and point an unerring finger at the right and straight road which India should take in order to achieve self-determination and national well-being in the speediest and surest manner."

Upon the results of their deliberations, he said, depended the future of the Muslims, and to a large extent the destiny of India itself. It was therefore to be regretted that some forces were at work to divide the political strength of the Muslims of India at a time when vital interests, both of the community and the country, required that there should be solid unity.

He was afraid that people had been fighting over a shadow instead of getting to the substance. Until the required political rights were actually secured, the question of their division could not arise. Franchise and electorates were only to be considered with reference to responsible self-

government. They had no value or significance of their own until this was attained. The primary and joint aim of all parties for the present should therefore be the attainment of government of the people by the people for the people. When this was secured, he did not think there would be any insurmountable difficulties regarding the adjustment of the claims of the different communities.

Moulvi Abdul Karim warned that failure to create inter-communal harmony meant a perpetuation of India's bondage. Referring to the political aspirations of the intelligentsia of India, he asked, "Was it too much to hope that the British people would realize their responsibility and avert, before it was too late, the dire consequences of their policy, and raise India to the position of a self-governing colony; or would they drive them, in utter despair of British good sense and good faith, to set themselves to work to find means, active or passive, open or secret, to get rid of their European rulers?"

The Chairman gave a detailed description of the process by which Britishers were exploiting India and draining her of her wealth, and said that a change of Government was also necessary to relieve the economic pressure on the masses brought about by this exploitation.

Referring to the Simon Commission, he said that British policy in India was definitely committed to a progressive realization of responsible government; but he feared that it would be a calamity if the Commission pronounced its sentence on India's political destiny without recourse to a proper representation of her case. It was too late in the day to doubt India's fitness for democratic institutions, especially when Turkey and Persia had already attained them without Western tutelage for a century and a half. He did not agree either with the people who thought the Nehru Report to be sacrosanct or with its detractors. He thought that it was a good basis for final deliberation and an effective presentation of India's joint demand. But resolutions and constitutions could not achieve anything unless they were backed by a real and abiding unity of hearts and singleness of purpose.

Proceeding, Moulvi Abdul Karim observed that for economic and cultural autonomy, Dominion Status gave India, as it had given all other Dominions in the British Commonwealth, all the scope they needed for the present. It would therefore be unwise to fritter away their limited national energy at the mere name and chimera of independene.

Speaking on the communal aspect of the Nehru Report, the Chairman said that Musalmans wanted adequate and effective representation in the legislatures; for their past experience had shown that, unless reserved and special electorates were provided for, an adequate number of able Musalmans could not be returned to the Council, and that they would be swamped in a common joint electorate. Adult suffrage would of course ensure electoral fairplay; but if this was not provided, the Muslims of Bengal would demand representation in proportion to their population.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRES OF THE MAHARAJA OF MAHMUDABAD

The Maharaja of Mahmudabad was cheered as he rose to deliver his Presidential Address. He spoke for about 17 minutes and was heard with respect and attention. He said:

Gentlemen, an annual session of the All-India Muslim League was never held, in the last two decades, under conditions of greater possibilities than to-day. The air is thick with expressions of views from all quarters. Differences of opinion there are and there will be; but no school of thought desires to stand still. The differences relate to the degrees of changes only. In the circumstances, our business in the present Session is to decide and decide wisely as to what these changes should be. I invite you to concentrate your attention on this and bring to bear upon it your best endeavour to put before the country a policy which may be acceptable, not only to yourselves, but to the whole of India.

Before proceeding to an examination of the subjects before us I desire to refer to the great loss our community has suffered in the demise of the late Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali. Whatever his political views might have been, no Indian could deny that his was a towering personality, and that he ranked amongst the giants of India's sons. His deep learning, his marvellous literary ability, his burning patriotism, and his fervent devotion to the Islamic cause leave behind imperishable memories. We mourn him to-day, but his example of a life of great usefulness and service remains a living force.

The President also expressed his condolence and sympathy at the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, and said that his death at the present political crisis of the country was an irreparable loss. He then continued as follows:

Gentlemen, I do not propose to enter into a minute examination of the various views that have been advanced touching the changes that should take place in the system of the government of our land. I will content myself with some of the cardinal principles. To my mind these stand out under three heads. There is a party that demands 'Independence', that is to say, the severance of the British connection. Then there is a larger group that pins its faith on Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth. The third issue is a question of supreme moment that materially affects the realization of either of the two political concepts mentioned above. I mean the conflict of communal basis (*sic*) and prejudice. I refrain from using the expression 'communal interests' advisedly, for I do not believe that there is any real and genuine interest of any community, be it a minority or a majority, that is not a national interest. No national aspiration is worth the name if it disregards the interests of any community in our vast country. All castes, creeds and communities have to pool their resources together, not only to ask for the introduction of *Swaraj*, but, what is more important, to deserve it. For a sane and sensible Indian politician, it is impossible to visualize an Indian demo-

cracy which has the taint of sectarianism; and for the majority—because it has the weight and power of a majority—to descend to the lower level of dominating a minority is a negation of the principles of equal citizenship, which is after all the very essence of democratic rule. The apprehensions and misgivings of a minority are not unnatural; and it is an obligation cast upon the majority to remove such doubts and fears. No less, on the other hand, is it incumbent on a minority not to formulate terms that are excessive and unreasonable, trenched behind a communalism which is short-sighted enough to block reforms in which it would itself be a participant. At no time in the history of India, was there a call for unity more insistent than there is now. The solution lies in sweet reasonableness practised by the majority and the minority alike; both have to make some sacrifices and have to be mutually generous. A common national mentality is not attainable on any other basis. I commend this solution to your consideration before I deal with the three subjects in their proper sequence.

As to 'independence', all I have to tell you is that political theories, however idealistic, yield no beneficial results when divorced from actualities. The application of the doctrine of independence, in the sense of severing the British connection, is, to my mind, a hopelessly unworkable proposition. India's place in the British Commonwealth is a place of undeniable security. Her association with the British Commonwealth is a valuable asset, and in my judgment, it would be a folly to destroy this precious commodity with our own hands. It is my conviction that there is plenty of room for the growth, development and expression of Indian nationalism within the ambit of India's connection with England. To my mind, to raise the cry of independence for the country without examining its implication is not statesmanship. Indian nationalism is yet nascent; and it should not be forgotten that there must be laborious decades before it to reach a sturdy manhood. Can it be said that India has reached the stage when her existence will not be imperilled by isolation? Stern realities cannot be ignored. Classes and communities claiming advantages for themselves do not present a picture of political perfection. Who can deny that the air of our country is not rent by jarring claims? Can independence be preached by people who have not yet learned to think in terms of true nationalism? What sort of Constitution is to be planned on the basis of independence for people who have not yet learned even the first lesson in the art and practice of national defence? Apart from ethical and legal and technical ties, to my mind, the cry of independence is a cry in the wilderness; and I would implore you to enter your emphatic protest against such a suicidal proposal in the present circumstances of India.

There is yet an additional reason for brushing aside the suggestion of 'Independence'. It lies in the fact that Dominion Status, as contained and defined in the Nehru Report, gives us all the rights of citizenship, all the incidence of undiluted democracy, and all the requisites of political freedom

that 'Independence' could confer. Adult suffrage, Central and Provincial Governments responsible to the Legislatures, with free and full control of the departments of national defence, foreign affairs, and of relations with Indian States, guaranteeing the latter all privileges and dignities, are in all conscience sufficient foundation for building up a free Commonwealth of India. If these conditions of Dominion Status are obtained, it is incomprehensible why the vexed question of 'Independence' should be raised at all. In this connection, it has to be remembered that the Nehru Report lays great emphasis on adopting its scheme for the Constitution in its entirety. If the scheme is cut and clipped it will definitely be open to all who subscribe to it to refuse to accept its mutilation, and to treat the disfiguration as a rejection of the national demand. I invite you, gentlemen, to give your whole-hearted support to the Dominion Status insisted upon in the Nehru Report.

As regards the adjustment of differences between community and community, I venture to commend one cardinal principle to you for your consideration. Approach the subject in the spirit of broad-mindedness. As for as I can see, the differences between the Muslim minority and the Hindu majority have narrowed themselves down to issues that are few and not essentials of any first principles. Reservation of seats in proportion to population in provinces where the Muslim is in the majority; whether the Constitution should be unitary or federal; the proportion of reservation in the Central Legislature are all points that are capable of settlement by friendly negotiation. The door for this is open in the Convention that is holding its sittings here in Calcutta. You can send your plenipotentiaries with power to conclude terms with the Convention. There will be a sitting to-morrow; and you should proceed to elect your plenipotentiaries to-day, so that no time may be lost, and you may make your great contribution to evolving and shaping a Constitution for the free Commonwealth of India that is acceptable to all political parties. Go forth, I beg of you, not in the spirit of stiffnecked bargaining, but in the spirit of compromise and comradeship. Should you be pleased to appoint your plenipotentiaries, let me wish them godspeed and strength to come to an agreement, and thus uphold the honour of Islam and India.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

Dr. Kitchlew, Secretary of the League, then presented his report, which, on Mr. Abdullah Haroon's motion, he read to the House, as it had not been circulated.

Dr. Kitchlew, in his report of the year's activity, said that after the disaffiliation of the Shafi section, the Punjab Muslim League was again formed, and had taken active part in the public life of the Punjab. The Bombay Provincial Committee, which had become defunct, was also revived; and in Assam, which never had a Provincial Muslim League, such a Committee was organized during the year, and was affiliated to the All-India Muslim League.

All their provincial branches had been wide awake. The Shafi section in the Punjab had also not been idle; and it presented a memorandum to the Simon Commission containing views which did not have the approval of the rest of the Muslims of the country. The Muslim League had boycotted the Commission, and had also decided to draw up a Constitution. Though the League as a body had not sent its delegates to the All-Parties' Conference, Lucknow, prominent members of the League had taken part in that Conference, in their individual capacity. In the present Session, the League was called upon to elect delegates to the Convention.

During the year, three meetings of the League Council were held; and a fourth was given up for lack of a quorum. He further pointed out that the subcommittee which was to reconsider the Constitution of the League could not meet owing to the absence of two prominant members, Mr. Jinnah and Maulana Mohammad Ali, who were in Europe.

One important matter was the redistribution of provinces, in the League Constitution, according to linguistic and cultural bases, and another the setting up of electorates on the basis of both direct and indirect election under the League Constitution, so that people in the villages might get proper training in the electoral system, which they then could use in future elections.

Dr. Kitchlew made a powerful appeal for funds, as the entire propaganda work had suffered for want of money, and they were closing the year with over Rs. 100 on the wrong side.

Mr. Fazlul Haq recalled the period 10 years back, when the Maharaja of Mahmudabad presided over the League Session in Calcutta. Now he heard the same appeal for funds, and was sorry to find that in this decade, the Muslim League, far from making progress, had actually gone down, compared with the Congress. He thought that if the leaders put zeal into their business, funds would be forthcoming. Mr. Fazlul Huq also suggested that the report be circulated before adoption; but on being put to the vote, the report was adopted without any change. Before adjourning, the Session elected the Subjects Committee, which met in the afternoon to draft resolutions and propose delegates for the All-Parties Convention.

Second Sitting

The League resumed its Session on December 27. In its first action of the day, the League adopted two resolutions mourning the death of Mr. Ameer Ali and of Lala Lajpat Rai, which were moved from the Chair.

RESOLUTION I

The All-India Muslim League mourns the great loss caused to the Muslim community by the death of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali. In the realm of scholarship and law he achieved the greatest distinction that it is open to any Muslim to achieve, and throughout his long and useful career he

worked arduously for the welfare and advancement of his community.

RESOLUTION II

The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of the great and irrepairable loss caused to the country by the sad and untimely death of Lala Lajpat Rai, a great and selfless patriot who devoted himself heart and soul to the cause of the freedom of his country and was revered and honoured by his people as the 'Lion of the Punjab'.

RESOLUTION III

Mr. M.C. Chagla then moved the following resolution:

That the following gentlemen (listed below) be appointed delegates to represent the League at and take part in the deliberations of the Convention called by the Indian National Congress. These delegates will take into careful consideration and attach due weight to the views on the communal question expressed in the Subjects Committee and the open Session of the League, and will endeavour to bring about an adjustment of the various outstanding questions between Hindus and Musalmans arising out of the Nehru Report. These delegates will report the result of their labour to the League by the 28th or 29th instant for the League to take its decision thereon.

The Maharaja of Mahmudabad; Mr. M.A. Jinnah; Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew; Mr. M.C. Chagla; Malik Barkat Ali; Moulvi Abdul Hamid; Moulvi Mujeebur Rahman; Dr. Mahmood; Moulvi Hissamuddin; Moulvi Mohammad Akram Khan; Maulana Zafar Ali Khan; Seth Yakub Hasan; Ghazi Abdur Rahman; Mr. Abdullah Barailvi; Mr. Tassaduq Ahmad Khan Shervani; Choudhri Khaliquzzaman; Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan; Moulvi Mazhar Ali; Mr. Shah Mohammad Zubair; Moulvi Abdul Karim. (Three more members were added before the adoption of the resolution.)

Mr. Chagla said that the Nehru Report had been before the country for over three months, and a good deal of thought and attention had been devoted to that subject. A large number of Musalmans had expressed their opinion on the subject; and many meetings had been called by Provincial Leagues and other bodies to express their views on the subject. The Convention was meeting in Calcutta to consider the resolution which was adopted at Lucknow and based on the Nehru Report.

The Convention would normally have concluded its deliberations earlier; but on the representation made by some members on behalf of the Muslim League, the conclusion of the Convention had been postponed until that day in order to enable the League to send its representatives to take part in the final deliberations of the Convention.

Mr. Chagla said that he was asking the League to adopt a resolution whereby a delegation would be able to go on behalf of the League and take part in the deliberations of the Convention. As to what the delegation would do, what line of action it should take, and what attitude it should have towards the various questions which would come up for discussion before that body, it was for the League Session to suggest. The most important fact on this was that they had committed themselves to a definite policy at their previous Calcutta Session, held last year.

There they had in clear terms laid down the kind of Constitution that they, as Musalmans, demanded. After that, the All-Parties Conference met and prepared a report called the Nehru Report. As members of the All-India Muslim League, what they had got to consider was how far the Nehru Report had met their proposals. The first and primary duty of their delegation would be to compare carefully the proposals made in the Nehru Report with the proposals put forward by them in December last year. If they carefully considered the Nehru Report and their resolutions passed the previous year, they would come to the conclusion that it was only in two or three respects that the Nehru Report differed from their proposals. It would be for the delegates to consider whether the modifications proposed by the Nehru Committee were more advantageous to Muslim interests than the proposals already put forward by them, or how far it safeguarded their rights and interests.

Continuing, Mr. Chagla said that at Calcutta, the previous year, they demanded that Muslim seats should be reserved according to their population in the provinces. In the interest of Musalmans, seats should be reserved, whether they were in a minority or in a majority. The Nehru Report did not give them a reservation of seats in the Provinces of the Punjab and Bengal. It should be for their delegates to consider whether that alteration was to their benefit or was detrimental to them. The Nehru Report did not give them a reservation of seats, but as a substitute, it had introduced the element of adult suffrage.

The position that their delegates were expected to take was whether it was more beneficial for Musalmans to have a reservation of seats in the Punjab or in Bengal without adult suffrage, or whether it would be better for them to have adult suffrage without a reservation of seats.

Mr. Chagla assured the League that they were running no risk in sending their representatives, because they would not ignore the resolutions passed in Calcutta the previous year. It was for the League either to ratify all those terms that would be arrived at in the Convention or to reject them.

The resolution was seconded by Nawab Ismail Khan.

Malik Barkat Ali, supporting the resolution, said that this was a final resolution in the true sense. It appeared to him that, so far as this resolution was concerned, discussion of the Nehru Report was out of the question for

the simple reason that this League had not yet announced its final verdict on various matters that were included in the Report. The League did not stand committed in the words of the resolution to any particular creed or any particular recommendation.

Haji Abdullah Haroon moved the following amendment: This meeting of the All-India Muslim League appoints a Committee to examine the Nehru Report in all its aspects and to submit a report to the League as to whether it contains sufficient safeguards for the interests of the Mohammedan community.

The amendment was seconded by Mufti Mohammad Sadiq.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan opposed the amendment. He said that there was a difference between the mentality of Hindus and Mohammedans. The Hindus, he said, differed among themselves genuinely and sincerely, but there was a section amongst the Mohammedans whom he described as toadies who differed with wrong motives. This statement gave rise to a good deal of indignation amongst the members of the audience, and there was disorder in the House for some time.

Mr. Jinnah rose to a point of order, and objected to what he called the 'unparliamentary language' used by Mr. Zafar Ali, and asked him to withdraw the expression used by him.

Mr. Zafar Ali refused to withdraw his remarks, and repeated what he had said once more. He maintained that he could prove his statement.

Mr. Jinnah said that it was not desirable for a League member to make serious allegations against a certain section of Mohammedans.

Mr. Jinnah next requested Mr. Haroon not to press for his amendment, and explained that they had been discussing this question since the year 1925. Everyman who had taken interest in the political life of this country knew very well what the decisions were. Mr. Chagla had already pointed out the difference existing at the present moment between the proposals that had been formulated by the Calcutta Resolution and by the Nehru Report. He said that, under the circumstances, they had not adopted any unwise course on this matter. If they did not send their delegates, their case would not be represented at the Convention.

Mr. Haroon pointed out that he had moved a similar resolution in the Subjects Committee, and that it had been negatived. They had selected 20 members of one school of thought and he felt that this was not the way to give a voice to different views. Many of the nominees had already expressed their views supporting the Nehru Report. If he found that members of both schools of thought were represented in the delegation, he would withdraw his resolution.

Mr. Haroon subsequently withdrew his resolution amidst cheers.

Mr. Azizul Huq moved an amendment that the delegation be composed of 50 members representing each Province in India.

Moulvi Nurul Haq Chaudhury seconded the amendment.

Mr. Chagla explained the position more minutely and clearly, and said that it was not possible to represent all schools of thought in the delegation. The delegation which he proposed was a representative one, and they would put their heads together and bring about a compromise with the other side—the larger the number, the more difficult the problem became.

Mr. Jinnah moved that the names of the following three gentlemen be added to the list prepared by Mr. Chagla to make the delegation representative of all provinces:

Syed Kayam Shah (North-West Frontier Province);[1] Mr. Faiznoor Ali (Assam); Mr. Azizul Haq (Bengal).

Mr. Chagla accepted the amendment. The House accepted the resolution as amended, and the other amendments were lost. The resolution was then passed, and the Session was adjourned.

Third Sitting

When the Session was resumed on December 29, a rather stormy meeting took place. A few more members from Bengal, led by Mr. Fazlul Haq, Mr. Nurul Haq Chaudhury and Mr. H.S. Surhawardy, attended the meeting. There was a heated discussion over the question as to whether the League should send its representatives to the All-Parties Muslim Conference organized at Delhi by Sir Muhammad Shafi. Disorder prevailed when Mr. Nurul Haq Chaudhury complained that many members of the League who had every right to attend the meeting and vote on its resolutions had been refused admission tickets by the office of the Secretary. Mr. Jinnah, the retiring President of the League, assured all that, if any such thing had happend, he would like to get the meeting adjourned for some time to enable such members to attend it.

RESOLUTION IV

Mr. Chagla moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Malik Barkat Ali:

> The League regrets that it cannot accept the invitation of the General Secretary of the All-Parties Muslim Conference to send representatives to it, as the League is strongly of opinion that it would be disastrous to Muslim interest if rival and *ad hoc* organizations of the nature of the Conference were set up at every crisis in the history of the community. The League feels that it is the duty of the patriotic Muslim to rally round the League at this important juncture to decide what attitude the Musalmans should take about the impending consti-

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1. Instead of this name, the resolution as published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 44, includes the name of Moulvi Mohammad Aslam.

tutional reforms. The League is further of opinion that the constitutional procedure of the Conference, as outlined in theletter of the Secretary of the Conference, is not likely to enable the Conference to serve any useful purpose or assist the Muslim community in coming to any definite conclusion.

Mr. Chagla said that they had an All-India institution of their community which was the All-India Muslim League. People of all shades of opinions could join the League and discuss the future political programme of the country. What then was the necessity for starting a rival organization and for convening the Conference? Only last year, the All-India Muslim League had passed a resolution foreshadowing what, in its opinion, the future constitution of India should be, and indicating how to preserve the rights of the minority. The Conference and its invitation constituted the greatest possible insult to the League. The Conference suggested that the League would not be able to discharge its duties impartially and properly, whereas the platform of the League was open to all classes of political opinions. The oppositions could come and try to influence the League in favour of their views. What was the need for an All-Parties Conference? If every time in the history of their community when a section of the Musalmans had a divergence of opinion with the rest, a rival organization were started by them, it would be pernicious for the interests of the community as a whole. They would be signing the death warrant of their League, if they accepted the invitation and sent representatives to the Conference. The Conference was an insult to the League inasmuch as it suggested that the League did not represent the views of the whole Musalman community. He could understand a Muslim saying that he did not believe in Dominion Status but in complete independence, and for that reason not joining the League. But he wanted to ask the convenors of the Conference, everyone of whom believed in Dominion Status, what prevented them from joining the League. The plea of the necessity of a united front had been raised by the convenors of the Conference. But he would accuse those big men of having caused a rift amongst Musalmans. If they accepted the invitation and thereby supported the Conference, they would make any political advance of the Musalmans impossible. Let them rally round the League, which was the parent body of their community, let them unite and fight. They might win or lose; but if they would continue the fight, they were sure to win in the long run.

Mr. Saddiq moved a counter resolution suggesting that, with a view to bringing about peace and compromise amongst the Musalmans to present a united form (*sic*) in the future Constitution of India, the All-India Muslim League should send their representatives to the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi. He said that the Conference was not of any particular party, but of all the Muslim parties. In this connection, he would like to say that even though the All-Parties Convention at Calcutta had invited 50 of them, they themselves

settled to send only 20. They had seen on the previous evening that all the amendments moved by Mr. Jinnah formulating the minimum demands of the Musalmans in the All-Parties Convention had been summarily rejected. Only four or five Hindus had voted in favour of those amendments. When they had allowed themselves to be kicked out by others, was it self-derogatory for them to go to the Conference which their co-religionists were convening for mutual consultation and understanding?

Mr. Fazlul Haq supported the resolution of Mr. Saddiq. He appealed to the House not to let it go out to the Muslim world that the Muslim League had rejected the invitation of the All-Parties Muslim Conference because the former had a difference of opinion with the convenors of the latter.

The President, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, delegated his presidentship to Mr. Jinnah, so that he might express his views on the question. He said that if any good work had been done by any bad man the work ought to be appreciated. But they must be convinced that good work had been done. So first of all, they should see what the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi was going to do or what they intended to do. The All-India Muslim League was the parent representative body of the Musalmans. To realize what the Conference was going to do, they should look at the trend of mind shown by its convenors. The Conference had been called to throw the League backward. It was therefore against their self-respect, their prestige, and against their fundamental principles to accept the invitation of those who were professedly against the League. If those of the Conference wished to do anything against the League or its principles, he would like to say that the All-India Muslim League was the only representative Muslim organization, and as such, the League would rise to the occasion.

The resolution of Mr. Chagla was then put to the vote, and was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Just at that time, Mr. Nurul Haq Chaudhury drew the attention of the President to his complaint that many members of the League had been debarred from taking part in the meeting, as tickets had been refused to them. Speaking of himself, he said that he was given an admission ticket only when he had paid Rs. 12. He would ask whether the payment of such money was a condition for admitting members to the League meetings.

Mr. Jinnah, the retiring President of the League, said that, according to the Rules of the League, any member whose name had been struck off the list was entitled to come to the meetings and vote even if he was in arears of his subscription. That being so, he wanted to know whether any member had actually been prevented from coming to the meeting.

Mr. H.S. Surhawardy said that, in view of the complaint of Mr. Nurul Haq Chaudhury about the payment of money, there had been a general idea amongst the members of the League in Calcutta that to go to the meeting meant paying Rs. 12. He asked Mr. Jinnah to go one step further and declare

his assurance, which should be widely circulated amongst the members.

Mr. Jinnah said that anybody who had the capacity to understand the Rules and Regulations of the League could understand that fact. If anyone had misled the members, it was his duty to drive away that misapprehension. However, he would like to ask the President to adjourn the meeting for an hour to enable the members to come to the meeting and give their votes on the resolution if they so desired.

Mr. Saddiq at this stage withdrew his counter resolution, and the original resolution of Mr. Chagla was taken as passed. The Session then adjourned.

Fourth Sitting

The session was due to resume its proceedings on December 30 at 8 a.m.; but did not start till 10 a.m. for want of a quorum. The oppositionists, led by Mr. H. S. Surhawardy and Mr. Fazlul Haq, were absent from the meeting. In the absence of the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Jinnah presided over the deliberations of the meeting.

RESOLUTION V

Malik Barkat Ali moved the following resolution:

> This meeting of the All-India Muslim League places on record its sincere and warm appreciation of the splendid efforts that are being made by His Majesty King Amanullah Khan to make Afghanistan a great and progressive country; and on the present occasion, when a number of rebels, whose action this meeting condemns, are creating troubles, offers its heartiest sympathy to His Majesty in his endeavours to quell the disturbances, and trusts that His Majesty, having crushed the rebellion, will succeed in his desire to place Afghanistan in the front of the nations of the world.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Barkat Ali said that there was no necessity for him to discuss the particular steps taken by His Majesty King Amanullah for the advancement of the country; for there could be no doubt that His Majesty had been doing all that he could to bring Afghanistan at par with the other civilized and progressive nations of the world.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. Alam, and was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION VI

Mr. Azizul Haq moved the next resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League is emphatically of opinion that the provisions relating to the grant of further rights to the landlords of Bengal in the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill by the introduction of preemption and *salami* are extremely detrimental to the interests of the

rural population in the Presidency of Begnal, and the League requests His Excellency the Governor of Bengal to return the Bill to the Bengal Legislative Council for its reconsideration of the aforesaid two points, and further appeals to His Excellency the Governor-General for witholding his assent to the Bill till these two provisions are reconsidered by the Council.

Mr. Nurul Haq Chaudhury, rising on a point of order, enquired whether, when the aim of the League was the establishment of independence in the country, a resolution making appeals to the Governor and the Viceroy was in order.

The President ruled that the resolution was quite in order; and the resolution was carried.

Mr. Jinnah then moved the following resolution on adjournment:

RESOLUTION VII

The Session of the All-India Muslim League stands adjourned, and the Council of the League is hereby instructed to summon the adjourned Session at such place and time as they may consider suitable before the end of May 1929.

He said that they had considered their position very carefully, and settled to adjourn the Session for the time being. He, however, assured all that he would personally make every endeavour to call the adjourned Session at an early date, when they would be able to consider their position more carefully and come to a definite decision over a matter which was of the most vital and paramount importance to the Musalmans. He had many reasons for moving the adjournment motion and he was sure all those reasons were of very cogent and assuring nature.

The adjournment motion was carried.

After the adjournment of the Session, Mr. Jinnah invited the members of the League Council to an informal conference to consider the situation created by the Convention refusing the demands of the Musalmans, which he had presented to the Convention.[1]

1. *Sources*: *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1928, Vol. II, pp. 393-401; Dr. Kitchlew's record of the resolutions, publisbed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

ALLAHABAD, DECEMBER 29-30, 1930

The proceedings commenced at about 11 a.m., Mr. Muhammad Hussain, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates. In the course of his speech, he said that the Muslims had left no stone unturned in trying to arrive at some settlement with the Hindus, but the latter had failed to respond. He repudiated the charge that the Muslims, due to their communalism, were an obstacle in the progress of the country. If the mentality of the Hindus would change and the Muslims were assured that their traditions, their religion, their education and their language would not be annihilated, and that they would be treated like other sons of India, the Muslims would cease to bring up the question of the protection of their rights. But their past experience in local boards, in every department of the administration, and even in trade, had been to the contrary.

Mr. Muhammad Husain expressed his feelings of appreciation for the attitude of the Muslim delegates to the Round-Table Conference. He warned the Government that if no solution of the difficulties was effected at the Round-Table Conference, the Muslims would not hesitate to make any sacrifice in order to secure the fulfilment of their demands.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF DR. MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal next delivered his Presidential Address, at the conclusion of which Mr. Muhammad Yakub, General Secretary of the Muslim League, explained the substance of the Address in Urdu for the bene-

fit of those who did not have a sufficient knowledge of English. Dr. Iqbal said:

Gentlemen, I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League at one of the most critical moments in the history of Muslim political thought and activity in India. I have no doubt that in this great assembly there are men whose political experience is far more extensive than mine, and for whose knowledge of affairs I have the highest respect. It will, therefore, be presumptuous on my part to claim to guide an assembly of such men in the political decisions which they are called upon to make to-day. I lead no party; I follow no leader. I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that while assuming that the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam, I propose, not to guide you in your decision, but to attempt the humbler task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions.

Islam and Nationalism

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity—by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal—has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims, both in India and outside India. Our younger men, inspired by these ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe. In Europe, Christianity was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a vast church-organization. The protest of Luther was directed against the church-organization, not against any system of polity

of a secular nature, for the obvious reason that there was no such polity associated with Christianity. And Luther was perfectly justified in rising in revolt against this organization; though, I think, he did not realize that, in the peculiar condition which obtained in Europe, his revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of the universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus, the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into a mutually ill-adjusted many, the transformation of a human into a national outlook, requiring a more realistic foundation, such as the notion of country, and finding expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines, i.e. on lines which recognize territory as the only principle of political solidarity. If you begin with the conception of religion as complete other-worldliness, then what has happened to Christianity in Europe is perfectly natural. The universal ethics of Jesus is displaced by national systems of ethics and polity. The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life.

Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time.

Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Mannichaean thought. Her best thinkers are realizing this initial mistake to-day, but her statesmen are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought, and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European States. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted States dominated by interests, not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted States, after trampling over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity, are to-day feeling the need of a federated Europe, i.e., the need of a unity which the Christian church-organization originally gave them, but which, instead of reconstructing in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy under the inspiration of Luther.

A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is an impossible phenomenon; for here there is no Church-organization, similar to that of Christianity in the Middle Ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam, we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have been revealed, but whose structure, owing to our legists' want of contact with the modern world, to-day stands in need of renewed power by adjustments. I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam. Whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has before assimilated and transformed

many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a radical transformation of its own structure by the force of this idea, is hard to predict. Professor Wensinck of Leiden (Holland) wrote to me the other day: "It seems to me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up. It seems to me scarcely possible to state what the outcome will be for Christianity, still less what it will be for Islam." At the present moment, the national idea is racializing the outlook of Muslims, and this is materially counteracting the humanizing work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of standards different and even opposed to the standards of Islam.

I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion. To address this Session of the All-India Muslim League, you have selected a man who is not despired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as of states, and finally, who believes that *Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny!* Such a man cannot but look at matters from his own point of view. Do not think that the problem I am indicating is a purely theoretical one. It is a very living and practical problem calculated to affect the very fabric of Islam as a system of life and conduct. On a proper solution of it alone depends your future as a distinct cultural unit in India. Never in our history has Islam had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it to-day. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment. Nor should the way in which I am approaching this important problem lead anybody to think that I intend to quarrel with those who happen to think differently. You are a Muslim assembly, and, I suppose, anxious to remain true to the spirit and ideals of Islam. My sole desire, therefore, is to tell you frankly what I honestly believe to be the truth about the present situation. In this way alone is it possible for me to illuminate, according to my light, the avenues of your political action.

Unity Through Harmony of Differences

What, then, is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity, in favour of national polities in which the religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a

private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe, the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led, by a logical process of thought, to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the Prophet's religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experiment and necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which, at the present moment, directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man", says Renan, "is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically remaking men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India, if the teaching of Kabir and the 'Divine Faith'[1] of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste units and religous units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of the collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the East, and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India, it will bring peace and mutual goodwill to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic

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1. The reference is obviously to Akbar's *Deen-i-Ilahi*.

space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps, we suspect each other's intentions, and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hoepful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands, is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by a feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship if need be. *Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour; and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness.* Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognize the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind, they say: "To say from the view-point of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international view-point that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognizes that without the fullest national autonomy, it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international State. *So also, without the fullest cultural autonomy—and communalism in its better aspect is culture—it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation.*"

Muslim India Within India

Communalism, in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages, and

professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is to my mind wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this House will emphatically endorse the Muslim demand embodied in this resolution.

Personally, I would go further than the demands embodied in it. *I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.* The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy State. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population, the State contemplated by the proposal would be much smaller than some of the present Indian provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division, and perhaps of some districts where non-Muslims predominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population...so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated State to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim minorities within its area. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this living country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory. This centralization of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of bayonets. The Punjab with a 56 per cent Muslim population supplies 54 per cent of total combatant troops in the Indian army; and if the 19,000 Gurkhas recruited from the independent State of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to 62 per cent of the whole Indian Army. This percentage does not take into account nearly 6,000 combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. From this, you can easily calculate the possibilities of North-West Indian Muslims in regard to the defence of India against foreign aggression. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri thinks that the Muslim

demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim States along the North-West border is actuated by a desire "to acquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India". I may frankly tell him that the Muslim demand is not actuated by the kind of motive he imputes to us; it is actuated by a genuine desire for free development, which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to securing permanent communal dominance in the whole of India.

Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim States will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such States. I have already indicated to you the meaning of the word religion, as applied to Islam. The truth is that Islam is not a church. It is a State, conceived as a contractual organism long, long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth, but as a spiritual being understood in terms of a social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism. The character of a Muslim State can be judged from what *The Times of India* pointed out some time ago in a leader on the Indian Banking Inquiry Committee. "In ancient India", the paper points out, "the State framed laws regulating the rates of interests; but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realization of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim States imposed no restrictions on such rates." I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam, an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its laws, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

Federal States

Thus it is clear that, in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous States based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. The conception of federation underlying the Simon Report necessitates the abolition of the Central Legislative Assembly as a popular Assembly and makes it an Assembly of the representatives of Federal States. It further demands a redistribution of territory on the lines which I have indicated. And the Report does recommend both. I give my whole-hearted support to this view of the matter; but I venture to suggest that the redistribution recommended in the Simon Report must fulfil two conditions. It must precede the introduction of the new constitution, and it must be so devised as to finally solve the communal problem. Proper redistribution will make

the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy. The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word 'nation' to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces, as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances, territorial electorates cannot secure adequate representation of all interests, and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities, possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

The Simon Report Conception of Federation

But in so far as the question of the powers of the Central Federal State is concerned, there is a subtle difference of motive in the Constitutions proposed by the Pandits of India and the Pandits of England. The Pandits of India do not disturb the central authority as it stands at present. All that they desire is that this authority should become fully responsible to the Central Legislature which they maintain intact, and where their majority will become further reinforced on the nominated element ceasing to exist. The Pandits of England, on the other hand, realizing that democracy in the Centre tends to work contrary to their interests and is likely to absorb the whole power now in their hands, in case a further advance is made towards responsible government, have shifted the experiment of democracy from the Centre to the provinces. No doubt, they introduce the principle of federation and appear to have made a beginning by making certain proposals, yet their evaluation of this principle is determined by considerations wholly different from those which determine its value in the eyes of Muslim India. The Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem, i.e. the communal problem. The Royal Commissioner's view of federation, though sound in principle, does not seem to aim at responsible government for Federal States. Indeed, it does not go beyond providing means of escape from the situation which the introduction of democracy in India has created for the British, and wholly disregards the communal problem by leaving it where it was.

Thus it is clear that, in so far as real federation is concerned, the Simon Report virtually negatives the principle of federation in its true significance.

The Nehru Report, realizing a Hindu majority in the Central Assembly, reaches for a unitary form of government, because such an institution secures Hindu dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retains the present British Dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation, partly because the British are naturally unwilling to part with the power they have so long wielded, and partly because it is possible for them, in the absence of an inter-communal understanding in India, to make out a plausible case for the retention of that power in their own hands. To my mind a unitary form of government is simply unthinkable in a self-governing India. What is called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing States, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of Federal States. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them as a distinct political entity.

The Round-Table Discussion of Federation

The necessity for a structural change in the Central Government was probably seen long before the British discovered the most effective means for introducing this change. That is why, at a rather late stage, it was announced that the participation of the Indian Princes in the Round-Table Conference was essential. It was a kind of surprise to the people of India, particularly the minorities, to see the Indian Princes at the Round-Table Conference dramatically expressing their willingness to join an All-India Federation, and, as a result of their declaration, the Hindu delegates—uncompromising advocates of a unitary form of Government—quietly agreeing to the evolution of a federal scheme. Even Mr. Shastri, who, only a few days before, had severely criticised Sir John Simon for recommending a federal scheme for India, suddenly became a convert and admitted his conversion in the plenary session of the Conference—thus offering the Prime Minister of England an occasion for one of his wittiest observations in his concluding speech. All this has meaning both for the British, who have sought the participation of the Indian Princes, and the Hindus, who have unhesitatingly accepted the evolution of an All-India Federation. The truth is that the participation of the Indian Princes—among whom only a few are Muslims—in a federation scheme serves a double purpose. On the one hand, it serves as an all-important factor in maintaining the British power in India practically as it is, on the other hand, it gives an overwhelming majority to the Hindus in an All-India Federal Assembly.

It appears to me that the Hindu-Muslim differences regarding the ultimate form of the Central Government are being cleverly exploited by British politicians through the agency of the Princes, who see in the scheme prospects of better security for their despotic rule. If the Muslims silently

agree to any such scheme, it will simply hasten their end as a political entity in India. The policy of the Indian Federation thus created will be practically controlled by Hindu-Princes forming the largest group in the Central Federal Assembly. They will always lend their support to the Crown in matters of Imperial concern; and in so far as internal administration of the country is concerned, they will help in maintaining and strengthening the supremacy of the Hindus. In other words, the scheme appears to be aiming at a kind of understanding between Hindu India and British Imperialism—you perpetuate me in India, and in return, I give you a Hindu oligarchy to keep all other Indian communities in perpetual subjection. If, therefore, the British Indian provinces are not transformed into really autonomous States, the Princes' participation in a scheme of Indian federation will be interpreted only as a dexterous move on the part of British politicians to satisfy, without parting with any real power, all parties concerned: Muslims with the word 'federation'; Hindus with a majority in the Centre; and British Imperialistswhe—ther Tory or Labourite—with the substance of real power.

The number of Hindu States in India is far greater than of Muslim States; and it remains to be seen how the Muslim demand for 33 per cent seats in the Central Federal Assembly is to be met in a House or Houses constituted of representatives taken from British India as well as from Indian States. I hope the Muslim delegates are fully aware of the implications of the federal scheme as discussed in the Round-Table Conference. The question of Muslim representation in the proposed All-India Federation has not yet been discussed. "The interim report", says Reuter's summary, "contemplates two chambers in the Federal Legislature—each containing representatives both of British India and the States, the proportion of which will be a matter of subsequent consideration under the heads which have not yet been referred to the Subcommittee." In my opinion, the question of proportion is of the utmost importance, and ought to have been considered simultaneously with the main question of the structure of the Assembly.

The best course, I think, would have been to start with a British Indian federation only. A federal scheme born of an unholy union between democracy and despotism cannot but keep British India in the same vicious circle of a unitary Central Government. Such a unitary form may be of the greatest advantage to the British, to the majority community in British India, and to the Indian Princes; it can be of no advantage to the Muslims unless they get majority rights in five out of eleven Indian provinces with full residuary powers, and a one-third share of seats in the total House of the Federal Assembly. In so far as the attainment of sovereign powers by the British Indian Provinces is concerned, the position of H.H. the Ruler of Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Jinnah is unassailable. In view, however, of the participation of the Princes in the Indian Federation, we must now see our demand for representation in the British Indian Assembly in a new light. The

question is not one of the Muslim share in a British Indian Assembly, but one which relates to representation of British Indian Muslims in an All-India Federal Assembly. Our demand for 33 per cent must now be taken as a demand for the same proportion in the All-India Federal Assembly, exclusive of the share allotted to the Muslim States entering the Federation.

The Problem of Defence

The other difficult problem which confronts the successful working of a Federal system in India is the problem of India's defence. In their discussion of this problem, the Royal Commissioners have marshalled all the deficiencies of India in order to make out a case for Imperial administration of the army. "India and Britain", say the Commissioners, "are so related that India's defence cannot now, or in any future which is within sight, be regarded as a matter of purely Indian concern. The control and direction of such an army must rest in the hands of agents of the Imperial Government. Now, does it necessarily follow from this that further progress towards the realization of responsible government in British India is barred until the work of defence can be adequately discharged without the help of British officers and British troops? As things are, there is a block on the line of constitutional advance. All hopes of evolution in the Central Government towards the ultimate goal described in the declaration of August 20, 1917, are in danger of being indefinitely frustrated if the attitude illustrated by the Nehru Report is maintained, that any future change involves putting the administration of the army under the authority of an elected Indian Legislature." Further, to fortify their argument, they emphasize the fact of competing religious and rival races of widely different capacity, and try to make the problem look insoluble by remarking that "the obvious fact that India is not, in the ordinary and natural sense, a single nation is nowhere made more plain than in considering the difference between the martial races of India and the rest". These features of the question have been emphasized in order to demonstrate that the British are not only keeping India secure from foreign menance, but are also the 'neutral guardians' of internal security. However, in federated India, as I understand federation, the problem will have only one aspect, i.e., external defence. Apart from provincial armies necessary for maintaining internal peace, the Indian Federal Congress can maintain, on the North-West Frontier, a strong Indian Frontier Army composed of units recruited from all provinces and officered by efficient and experienced military men taken from all communities. I know that India is not in possession of efficient military officers, and this fact is exploited by the Royal Commissioners in the interest of an argument for Imperial administration. On this point, I cannot but quote another passage from the Report which, to my mind, furnishes the best argument against the position taken up by the Commissioners. "As the present moment," says the Report, "no Indian holding the King's Commission is of higher army

rank than a captain. There are, we believe, 39 captains of whom 25 are in ordinary regimental employ. Some of them are of an age which would prevent their attaining much higher rank, even if they passed the necessary examination before retirement. Most of these have not been through Sandhurst, but got their Commissions during the Great War. Now, however genuine may be the desire and however earnest the endeavour to work for the transformation, the overriding conditions so forcibly expressed by the Skeen Committee (Whose members, apart from the Chairman and the Army Secretary, were Indian gentlemen), in the words 'Progress. . .must be contingent upon success being secured at each stage and upon military efficiency being maintained throughout', must in any case render such development measured and slow. A higher command cannot be evolved at short notice out of existing cadres of Indian officers, all of junior rank and limited experience. Not until the slender trickle of suitable Indian recruits for the officer class—and we earnestly desire an increase in their numbers—flows in much greater volume, not until sufficient Indians have attained the experience and training requisite to provide all the officers for, at any rate, some Indian regiments, not until such units have stood the only test which can possibly determine their efficiency, and not until Indian officers have qualified by a successful army career for high command, will it be possible to develop the policy of Indianization to a point which will bring a completely Indianized army within sight. Even then years must elapse before the process could be completed.''

Now I venture to ask who is responsible for the present state of things? Is it due to some inherent incapacity of our martial races or to the slowness of the process of military training? The military capacity of our martial races is undeniable. The process of military training may be slow as compared to other processes of human training. I am no military expert to judge this matter. But as a layman, I feel that the argument, as stated, assumes the process to be practically endless. This means perpetual bondage for India, and makes it all the more necessary that the Frontier Army, as suggested by the Nehru Report, be entrusted to the charge of a committee of defence the personel of which may be settled by mutual understanding.

Again it is significant that the Simon Report has given extraordinary importance to the question of India's land frontier, but has made only passing reference to its naval position. India has doubtless had to face invasions from her land frontiers; but it is obvious that her present master took possession of her on account of her defenceless sea coast. A self-governing and free India, will, in these days, have to take greater care of her sea coast than her land frontiers.

I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established, Muslim Federal States will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India, was a reality in the days of Mughal

rule. Indeed, in the time of Akbar, the Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals. I am perfectly sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army, based on a federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of an invasion.

The Alternative

I have thus tried briefly to indicate the way in which the Muslims of India ought, in my opinion, to look at the two most important constitutional problems of India. A redistribution of British India calculated to securer a permanent solution of the communal problem is the main demand of the Muslims of India. If, however, the Muslim demand for a territorial solution of the communal problem is ignored, then I support, as emphatically as possible, the Muslim demands repeatedly urged by the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference. The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates, in the Punjab and Bengal, or fail to guarantee them 33 per cent representation in any Central Legislature. There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact, which originated in a false view of Indian nationalism, and deprived the Muslims of India from chances of acquiring any political power in India. The second is the narrow-visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interests of what may be called 'Punjab Ruralism', resulting in a proposal which virtually reduces the Punjab Muslims to the position of a minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal.

The Simon Report does great injustice to the Muslims in not recommending a statutory majority for the Punjab and Bengal. It would either make the Muslims stick to the Lucknow Pact or agree to a scheme of joint electorates. The Despatch of the Government of India on the Simon Report admits that since the publication of that document, the Muslim community has not expressed its willingness to accept any of the alternatives proposed by the Report. The Despatch recognize that it may be a legitimate grievance to deprive the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal of representation in the Councils in proportion to their population merely because of weightage allowed to Muslim minorities elsewhere. But the Despatch of the Government of India fails to correct the injustice of the Simon Report. In so far as the Punjab is concerned—and this is the more crucial point—it endorses the so-called 'carefully balanced scheme' worked out by the official members of the Punjab Government, which gives the Punjab Muslims a majority of two over the Hindus and Sikhs combined, and a proportion of 49 per cent of the house as a whole. It is obvious that the Punjab Muslims cannot be satisfied with less than a clear majority in the total house. However, Lord Irwin and his Government do recognize that the justification of communal electorates for majority

communities would not cease unless and until, by the extension of franchise, their voting strength more correctly reflects their population; and further, unless a two-third majority of the Muslim members in a Provincial Council unanimously agree to surrender the right of separate representation. I cannot, however, understand why the Government of India, having recognized the legitimacy of the Muslim grievance, have not had the courage to recommend a statutory majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

Nor can the Muslims of India agree to any such changes which fail to create at least Sind as a separate province, and treat the North-West Frontier Province as a province of inferior political status. I see no reason why Sind should not be united with Baluchistan and turned into a separate province. It has nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. In point of life and civilization, the Royal Commissioners find it more akin to Mesopotamia and Arabia than India. The Muslim geographer Masudi noticed this kinship long ago, when he said, "Sind is a country nearer to the dominions of Islam." The first Omayyad ruler is reported to have said of Egypt: "Egypt has her back towards Africa and her face towards Arabia." With necessary alternations, the same remark describes the exact situation of Sind. She has her back towards India and her face towards Central Asia. Considering further the nature of her agricultural problems, which can invoke no sympathy from the Bombay Government, and her infinite commercial possibilities, dependent on the inevitable growth of Karachi into a second metropolis in India, it is unwise to keep her attracted to a Presidency which, though freindly to-day, is likely to become a rival at no distant period. Financial difficulties, we are told, stand in the way of separation. I do not know of any definite authoritative pronouncement on the matter. But, assuming there are such difficulties, I see no reason why the Government of India should not give temporary financial help to a promising province in her struggle for independent progress.

As to the North-West Frontier Province, it is painful to note that the Royal Commissioners have practicaly denied that the people of this province have any right to reform. They fall far short of the Bray Committee, and the Council recommended by them is merely a screen to hide the autocracy of the Chief Commissioner. The inherent right of the Afghan to light a cigarette is curtailed merely because he happens to be living in a powder house. The Royal Commissioners' epigrammatic argument is pleasant enough, but far from convincing. Political reform is light, not fire; and to light, every human being is entitled, whether he happens to live in a powder house or a coal mine. Brave, shrewd and determined to suffer for his legitimate aspirations, the Afghan is sure to resent any attempt to deprive him of opportunities of full self-development. To keep such a people contented is in the best interest of both England and India. What has recently happened in that unfortunate province is the result of a step-motherly treatment shown to the people since the introduction of the principle of self-government in the rest of India. I

only hope that British statesmanship will not obscure its view of the situation by hoodwinking itself into the belief that the present unrest of the province is due to any extraneous causes.

The recommendation for the introduction of a measure of reform in the N. W. F. P. made in the Government of India's Despatch is also unsatisfactory. No doubt the despatch goes further than the Simon Report in recommending a sort of representative Council and a semi-representative Cabinet, but it fails to treat this important Muslim province on an equal footing with other Indian provinces. Indeeds, the Afghan is by instinct more fitted for democratic institutions than any other people in India.

The Round-Table Conference

I think I am now called upon to make a few observations on the Round-Table Conference. Personally, I do not feel optimistic as to the results of this Conference. It was hoped that, away from the actual scene of communal strife and in a changed atmosphere, better counsels would prevail, and a genuine settlement of the differences between the two major communities of India would bring India's freedom within sight. Actual events, however, tell a different tale. Indeed, the discussion of the communal question in London has demonstrated, more clearly than ever, the essential disparity between the two great cultural units of India. Yet the Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India is international. He is reported to have said that "his Government would find it difficult to submit to Parliament proposals for the maintenance of separate electorates, since joint electorates were much more in accordance with British democratic sentiment". Obviously he does not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations; and that a system of separate electorates is only a poor substitute for a territorial solution of the problem. Nor is the Minorities Sub-Committee likely to reach a satisfactory settlement. The whole question will have to go before the British Parliament; and we can only hope that the keen-sighted representatives of the British nation, unlike most of our Indian politicians, will be able to pierce through the surface of things, and clearly see the true fundamentals of peace and security in a country like India. To base a Constitution on the concept of a homogeneous India, or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war. As far as I can see, there will be no peace in the country until the various peoples that constitute India are given opportunities of free self-development on modern lines, without abruptly breaking with their past.

I am glad to be able to say that our Muslim delegates fully realize the importance of a proper solution of what I call India's international problem. They are perfectly justified in pressing for a solution of the communal question before the responsibility in the Central Government is finally settled. No

Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propaganda word 'communalism'—expressly devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls British democratic sentiments, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are 70 millions, and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed, the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation, but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure. Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious arguments that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, i.e. territorial, lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the 'people of the Book'. There are no social barriers between Muslims and 'the people of the Book'...Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Quran declares, "O people of the Book! Come, let us join together on the 'word' (Unity of God) that is common to us all." The wars of Islam and Christianity, and, later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. To-day, it is being gradually realized in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the sole test of the success of our delegates is the extent to which they are able to get the non-Muslim delegates of the Conference to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India. If you are at all serious about your ideals and aspirations, you must be ready for such action. Our leading men have done a good deal of political thinking, and their thought has certainly made us, more or less, sensitive to the forces which are now shaping the destinies of peoples in India and outside India. But, I ask, has this thinking prepared us for the kind of action demanded by the situation which may arise in the near future? Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irwin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis, when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders.

By leaders, I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order. The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herd instinct. This makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community. We are doing to-day in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickerings in religion do not do much harm to our solidarity. They at least indicate an interest in what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover, this principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam. But diversity in political action, at a moment when concerted action is needed in the best interests of the very life of our people, may prove fatal. How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil, I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on the subject; but I think it is proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise, leading Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to decide the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement. In this address, I mention this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind, and give some serious thought to it in the meantime.

Conclusion

Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion, I cannot but impress upon you that the present crisis in the history of India demands complete organization and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your own interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been and is a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of self-expression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia. And since seventy millions of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the Indian problem, not only from the Muslim point of view, but also from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim as such. Our duty towards Asia and India cannot be loyally performed without an organized will fixed on a definite purpose. In your own interest, as a political entity among other political entities of India, such an equipment is an absolute necessity. Our

disorganized condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an interecommunal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalized by a single purpose.

Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit. Matter is diversity; spirit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history, it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not *vice versa*. If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalizing idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you, who as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponents of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not wish to mystify any body when I say that things in India are nor what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided" (5:104).[1]

Second Sitting

The Session which was scheduled for three days, terminated on the second day, after passing seven resolutions. It took only about three hours to consider the resolutions which had been passed by the Subjects Committee the previous afternoon at a meeting attended by about 25 members.

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the President of the Session, had to leave the meeting at about 11 a.m., after presiding for about an hour, while the most important resolution of the Session was under discussion. On his departure, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan of Meerut was voted to the Chair.

The audience at the meeting was smaller than on the previous day, and it was apparent that the number of League members present was below the requisite quorum. When the Chairman proceeded to take votes on a re-

1. Official Pamphlet of Presidential Address, printed at the Kapur Art Printing Woiks, Lahore.

solution to which Dr. M.U.S. Jung had moved an amendment, Dr. Jung said that, according to the rules of the League, the quorum at a meeting should be of 75 members, and he accordingly raised a point of order that there was no quorum at the meeting. Dr. Jung's objection was, however, overruled by Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, who said that the objection of the lack of a quorum should have been raised at the first day's meeting of the League; since the current meeting was an adjourned meeting, no quorum was needed.

RESOLUTION I

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss on the sad deaths of Moulvi Mazhar-ul-Haq, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Sir Ibrahim Haroon Jafar and Syed Jalib, old and prominent members of the League, and conveys its condolence to the members of the bereaved families. (From the Chair.)

RESOLUTION II

On the motion of Mr. Husain Imam, seconded by Dr. M.U.S. Jung, the League

Resolved that as the Government of India's Despatch on constitutional reforms fails to lead the country towards responsible government, the recommendations contained in the Despatch would not satisfy Indian aspirations in general and Muslim demands in particular.

RESOLUTION III

This resolution, which gave rise to a prolonged debate and some opposition, was moved by Syed Habib Shah and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League, while appreciating the united efforts of the Muslim members to the Round-Table Conference in giving faithful expression to Muslim opinion, strongly supports the resolution passed by the All-India Muslim Conference at Delhi on January 1, 1929, under the presidentship of His Highness the Aga Khan, and hopes that the Muslim members will combine to abide by that resolution.

Moving the resolution, Syed Habib Shah remarked that it was a matter for gratification that the Muslim delegates to the Round-Table Conference, though they were not chosen by the Muslims of the country, were still supporting Muslims demands. He declared that whatever was the decision at the Round-Table Conference about the future constitution, the question of its acceptance or non-acceptance was a matter which concerned the Muslims in India, and, he asserted that they would not be prepared to abide by a decision which did not safeguard Muslim rights.

Dr. M.U.S. Jung next moved the following amendment to the resolution: Resolved that although Mr. M.A. Jinnah's 14 points constitute the

minimum Muslim demands, yet having in view the larger interests of the country and also the complicated nature of the problem to be solved, and considering the difficulties which they may have to face at the spur of the moment, the All-India Muslim League considers it advisable not to restrict the full power of the Muslim members to negotiate a satisfactory settlement.

Dr. Jung, pressing his amendment, referred to the circumstances which led a party of Muslims to hold a Muslim Conference at Delhi, and asserted that it would be against the prestige of the League, which was an older political body than the Muslim Conference under reference, if the League adopted a resolution recorded by the Muslim Conference. Dr. Jung held that the resolution of the Delhi Muslim Conference was based on a narrower view than the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah. For instance, he said, Resolution No. 7 of the Delhi Muslim Conference, relating to the protection of the rights of the minority, had confused the issue by demanding majority representation in provinces, where Muslims were in a majority and weightage where Muslims were in a minority. Concluding, Dr. Jung emphasized that they should stick to Mr. Jinnah's 14 points. The political exigencies demanded that the delegates should be allowed sufficient latitude in exercising their discretion in negotiating for a satisfactory solution of the difficulties at the London Conference.

Most of the speakers who followed, vigorously opposed the amendment of Dr. Jung. Seth Abdullah Haroon of Karachi, opposing the amendment and supporting the original resolution, asserted that he could not give any power to the delegates to the Round-Table Conference. They were not, he said, elected by the Muslims, nor were they sent to the conference by them. The Muslim demands were before them; and if they wanted to carry on any negotiations, they might do so. But the terms of any settlement would have to be considered by the Muslims in India before they could be accepted.

Mr. Hafizur Rehman took serious objection to Dr. Jung's attack on the representative character of the Delhi Muslim Conference.

It was at this stage that Sir Muhammad Iqbal left the meeting, and Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan took the Chair.

On the discussion being resumed, Moulvi Muhammad Yakub regretted that the debate on the resolution had led to an unpleasant discussion due to some misunderstanding. The question before them, he said, was not whether the resolution of the Muslim Conference or Mr. Jinnah's 14 points represented the majority view. In Moulvi Yakub's opinion there was really no difference between Mr. Jinnah's 14 points and the points adopted by the Muslim Conference. The only point for consideration, he said, was whether the League could give some discretion to the Muslim delegates to the Round-Table Conference in effecting a compromise.

Moulvi Muhammad Yakub did not appreciate the statements made by some speakers that the Muslim delegates to the Round-Table Conference

should not be regarded as the Muslims' representatives, as such a declaration would not only lower the prestige of the Muslim leaders in London, but would also lead their opponents, and even the Government to tell the Muslim delegates, on the latter's pressing the Muslims' demands, that their view did not represent the views of the Muslims of India.

Mr. Muhammad Husain remarked that the Government would not have the face to tell the Muslim delegates that they were not representatives of the Muslims, as these delegates were selected by the Viceroy himself. And if the Government thought that they were not representatives, why then were real representatives not invited to the Conference?

Supporting the original resolution, Mr. Muhammad Husain desired that Muslims should repeatedly put before the Muslim delegates their demands and warn them that nothing less than those demands would be acceptable to them.

Mr. Muhammad Azim also opposed Dr. Jung's amendment; and Syed Habib Shah, the mover of the resolution, replying to the debate, asked why the Muslim delegates should be given any authority to make any settlement.

Dr. Jung's objection about the want of a quorum having been ruled out, votes were taken, with the result that the amendment of Dr. Jung was rejected, and the resolution of Syed Habib Shah was declared carried.

RESOLUTION IV

Moulvi Muhammad Yakub next moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League, while fully realizing the particular conditions of the North-West Frontier Province, and recognizing the necessity of taking special measures for the safeguarding of the Frontier, is strongly of opinion that the continued political dissatisfaction in the Province cannot be removed, nor can the local aspirations be satisfied with any scheme of administration which gives an inferior place to the Province in comparison with other provinces in the country.

The mover regretted that neither the Simon Commission, nor the report of the Central Simon Committee, nor the Government of India's Despatch effected a satisfactory solution of the problem of the North-West Frontier Province, nor did the Government take any action on the repeated resolutions of the Legislative Assembly on the subject.

The resolution, having been seconded by Maulana Abdul Majid, was passed.

RESOLUTION V

The League next considered the following resolution moved by Maulana Abdul Majid of Bombay:

> The All-India Muslim League is emphatically of opinion that the

Musalmans of India will not be satisfied with any Constitution that does not guarantee (a) full Muslim representation on population basis in the legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal, (b) the constitution of Sind into a separate province forthwith and without any condition, and (c) the conferment of full powers on the North-West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan.

This League declares that the Muslim insistence on the adoption of a Federal Constitution for India is contingent upon the clear understanding that the above-mentioned units shall, in the matter of provincial autonomy, be treated on the same footing as the other components of the Federation.

In the course of his speech, the mover remarked that an attempt was being made on behalf of the Hindus, and also the British Government, that Muslims should not be in power in any province. The resolution was passed.

RESOLUTION VI

The only other resolution which aroused opposition was the motion of Mr. Husain Imam that:

The All-India Muslim League considers it essential and imperative that statutory provisions should be made for the adequate representation of Musalmans in the cabinets as well as in the public services of the country.

Dr. Jung, opposing the motion, asserted that they would be committing suicide by passing that resolution; for the resolution which the League had just passed would give Muslims power in five provinces, and that would enable them to have only Muslims in cabinets and in public services in their provinces, but in case they imposed any restrictions about Muslim representation in cabinets and public services in respect of other provinces, those restrictions would also be imposed in the provinces in which they would be in power, and they would consequently have to accept non-Muslim representation in their provinces also.

Syed Habib Shah opposed the amendment of Dr. Jung, as he felt that the administration of any province could not be carried out by one community without the co-operation of others. The amendment was rejected, and the resolution was passed.

RESOLUTION VII

Finally, the League, on the motion of Mr. Zakir Ali, appointed a committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Kazi Masud Hasan and Moulvi Muhammad Yakub to revise and amend the Constitution of the All-India Muslim League.

The proceedings of the Session terminated after an expression of the League's feeling of gratitude to the President and to the persons responsible

for making arrangements for the Session, by Moulvi Muhammad Yakub and Mr. Zahur Ahmad.

Moulvi Yakub remarked that it was true that the present Session of the League was not as representative as its previous sessions; but this, he said, was due to numerous Muslim leaders being out of India. Such would be the case, he added, with any conference held at this juncture; and it was due to the absence of its leaders that the Indian National Congress had not held its session at the end of the year.[1]

1. *Sources*: *The Indian Annual Register*, 1930, Vol. II, pp. 334-348; Resclutions Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

DELHI, DECEMBER 26-27, 1931

First Sitting

The following are extracts from the address of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Chairman of Reception Committee of the League:

At the outset I must frankly state that we claim to be and are as much Indians as any other community in India, and are just as keen to see our country achieve freedom. Were our claims acknowledged and our just rights and privileges recognized in a spirit of fairness, we would gladly overcome the obstacles in the way of our common goal. But troubles really begin when we are accused of Pan-Islamism or of planning Muslim rule in India, merely because we demand certain safeguards, rendered necessary on account of bitter experience in the past, or ask for our fair share and opportunities in the legislatures and public services.

I take this opportunity to assure my Hindu brethren that we, the Musalmans, belong to the Indian soil and that our outlook is essentially Indian; but we refuse to recognize the right of any other community to dominate or overawe us. We must all strive in unity to develop a common Indian culture and build a happy and progressive Indian nation, which should be composed of all that is best in the varied cultures that have found their way into India. But so long as any one community strives for domination over the other and dreams of Hindu or Muslim raj, trampling under foot the rights of the other communities to develop along their own lines, there is little hope of a speedy

realization of our legitimate aspirations to become a great and free nation. We, the Musalmans of India, must be assured by our Hindu brethren that we have our just rights and share in the future Constitution of India. They can do so by displaying a spirit of generous and fair treatment in regard to our claims relating to representation in the legislatures and the public services. This is the real crux of the entire Hindu-Muslim problem in India.

Ladies and gentlemen, my regret is that such a generous spirit has not yet been shown to us by the majority community, and even the Hindu leaders at the Round-Table Conference have taken shelter behind vague expressions. I make bold to say that this was the main reason for the failure of the Conference itself. Here I must refer to the often repeated accusation that the Muslim delegates had made common cause with the diehards in England. The speech of Lord Hailsham, delivered by him during the House of Lords debate on India the other day, has revealed the reality, and has fully exposed the myth. The noble lord is reported to have made the following observation: "They were not going to impose a final settlement on a reluctant population, and they were not going to have a settlement scheme held up by one recalcitrant minority in one province. A provisional agreement would be put into operation until a final settlement was reached." What the Muslim delegate actually did was to show solidarity, and refuse to be hoodwinked by any other community. Musalmans had formulated their demands in Delhi two years ago, and since then, have been solidly standing by them. But, unfortunately, even these modest demands did not meet with the approval of the Hindu community. So far we have succeeded and succeeded well in preserving unity in our own ranks; and God willing, with this solidarity in our ranks, ultimate success should be ours.

The statement of the Prime Minister was good as far as it went. But it must be read in conjunction with the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons debate on India. Reading between the lines, the statement of the Prime Minister comes to this, that the Conference would continue, new committees would be formed and the process of negotiations would go on *ad infinitum*. The statement may be a Magna Charta, but apparently it gives nothing and promises nothing. It is merely an attempt to satisfy British Tories, Indian Musalmans and the rest in the same breath. Sind is to be separated, but subject to conditions which are not likely to be fulfilled. The North-West Frontier Province is to be given the same status as the other provinces, but its Governor is to have such extensive powers as would make responsible government a mere shadow. And yet some of my countrymen are jubilant over this shadow, and wish us to believe that India has got its Magna Charta.

So much of the present, but what of the future? The terrorists, on the one side, are engaged in a campaign of indiscriminate murder, while the Congress, on the other, has already launched a no-rent campaign in the United

Provinces, while there are threats of a civil disobedience movement. And last but not least, the Government is bent upon making good the losses incurred as the result of these movements. It is saddling the country with an unbearable burden of taxation, and promulgating ordinances, which are hitting the guilty and the innocent alike. The question is what are the Musalmans to do?

Our path is clear. We have not yet lost faith in British justice and in constitutional methods of winning self-government through consultations and negotiations. We must, on the one hand, condemn and combat terrorism, as we are convinced that it retards the progress of the country. We must also oppose the civil disobedience movement, as we are certain that it is not in the best interests of the nation. And lastly, we must not give up hope of a communal settlement. We must continue negotiations, if our Hindu brethren are willing to do so, although, in view of the recent announcement of the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, we have little hope from such negotiations. If, however, the attitude of the majority community remains as defiant as it has been so far, we must not hesitate to say that they do not desire real *Swaraj* in this country, and are really an obstacle to its progress. Musalmans, though they may be poor and weak, must remain a thorn in their path, and will not let them lie on a bed of comfort, unless their demands are conceded, and attainment of independence must for ever be a mere dream and speculation. And even if our Hindu brethren were ever to succeed some day, and win what they are struggling for to-day without our co-operation, they must clearly understand that the same weapons which they are using against the Government to-day will be used against them by the Musalmans. The present Kashmir agitation has shown to the world that the Musalmans are in no way behind in using their weapons as effectively as their brethren.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF CHOUDHURY ZAFARULLAH KHAN

Delivering the Presidential Address, Choudhury Zafarullah Khan said:

In the sphere of political liberty, the ultimate ideal that we have in view is not capable of being defined and confined within the limits of such expressions as 'Dominion Status', 'Responsible Government' or even 'equal partnership'; for circumstances are conceivable under which the interpretation of the terms may be confined to the expression of that relationship alone which the future Government of India may bear to the British Government, and yet leave untouched the essentials of liberty to be provided and secured for every class and section of the people of this country. It is obvious that unless this last condition is fulfilled, freedom from outside control may merely result in greater licence being afforded to those in whose hand political power may vest to encroach upon the rights and liberties of the people of the country or of certain sections of it. To win a Constitution for India which when fully developed would fulfil both the conditions outlined above, the Muslims would

be willing, not only to march shoulder to shoulder with other communities, but if need and opportunity arose, even ahead of them.

All-India Federation

Discussing the question of an All-India Federation, he said that, to the general outlines of the Federal Scheme, nobody could have any objection. But he drew particular attention to some of the difficulties involved in the application of the Scheme to the actual conditions obtaining in the country. "For instance, certain subjects, notably Defence and Foreign Relations, Treaties with Indian States and their interpretation, etc., are proposed to be classified, for the present, as Crown subjects with regard to which the Governor-General would continue to be responsible to the British Parliament. These subjects will be in charge of Ministers who would be responsible to the Governor-General and not to the Legislature."

Again, Provincial subjects would be committed to the complete control of the respective provinces but Central subjects would be controlled and administered by the Federal Government, which would consist of an Executive and a Legislature drawn both from British India and from Indian States. "This", he said, "is the first difficulty, namely, that the Indian States participating in the Federation would obtain a share in the administration of subjects which are purely British Indian suebjcts, corresponding subjects in the Indian States being administered by such States within their respective territories without any control being exercised over them by the Federal Government. In other words, the Federation would be composed of units, the autonomy of some of which, namely, the Indian States, would extend over a much larger sphere than that of the remaining units, namely, British Indian Provinces, and in which some of the subjects which are common to one group of units only would be administered by the Federation, that is to say, of all the units put together. The remedy for this state of affairs would be to eliminate completely the category of subjects which I have described above as Central subjects, and this cou'd be done by transferring the greater part of them to provinces and by declaring the balance to be Federal. This would naturally require long persuasion and detailed adjustment; but so long as this result is not arrived at, the Federation would continue to be a lopsided structure.

"Even after careful and exhaustive schedules and lists have been compiled, classifying different subjects as Reserved, Federal, Central and Provincial, the Constitution must contain a provision regarding such unforeseen matters as may arise from time to time, and which may not have been allotted to any of these specific categories of subjects. Such matters are technically known as Residuary matters. Residuary matters and the powers to deal with such matters are known as Residuary Powers. No definite decision has been arrived at by the Conference as to whether such powers shall, under the new Constitution, vest in the Federal Government or in the

Governments of the component units of the Federation. The very idea of a Federation such as is proposed by the Conference presupposes, however, that Residuary Powers must necessarily vest in the units of the Federation. Whatever may be the theories on the subject, the actual condition facing us is that the Indian States that may decide to join the Federation are not likely to give their consent to investing the Federal Government with any powers other than those specifically assigned to it; and they have insisted and will insist that, apart from such well-defined powers, all other powers of sovereignty must continue to vest in the rulers or administrations of the respective States. In other words, powers with regard to all subjects that are not specifically declared to be Reserved or Federal Subjects must vest in the units so far as the States are concerned. This must lead to the necessary consequence that as regards British Indian Provinces also, Residuary Powers must vest in the provinces; for if this were not so, we would have the spectacle of a Federation in which Residuary Powers as regards some units would be exercised by those units, and as regards other units, by the Federation as a whole. There is no other Federation in existence in which such a state of affairs exists, and it would be nothing short of an absurdity to permit such a provision to be incorporated in the future Constitution of India.''

As regards the method of election or appointment of the members of the Federal Legislature, he said, ''Everybody is agreed that British Indian members must come in by election, although there is some difference of opinion as to whether the members of the Lower Chamber should be elected by the method of direct or indirect election, there being practical unanimity on the point that the members of the Upper Chamber should be elected by Provincial Legislatures. As regards representatives of the Indian States, the States desire that the method of selection of such representatives should be left entirely to the discretion of the States concerned. In other words, the States desire that their representatives to both the Chambers of the Federal Legislature shall be nominated by their rulers or administrations, which obviously means that so far as the Indian States are concerned, the only persons represented in the Federal Legislature will be rulers or administrations of the States that join the Federation. This again is a matter which would place British Indian Provinces in one category, and the Indian States in another. We recognize that the States joining the Federation can legitimately insist upon retaining their full internal autonomy; but we cannot support the position th t, whereas the representatives of British India should represent the people of British India, the representatives of the Indian States should represent only the rulers of those States.''

All-India Services

After dealing with the problems of the Federal legislature, Federal finance and franchise, Choudhury Zafarullah referred to the All-India Services,

and observed: "The only safe course to adopt would be to provincialize all services, the officers of which are normally to serve in provincial departments. It would still be necessary for the provinces, at least for some time to come, to employ a certain number of European officers in different branches of the administration. The recruitment of such officers could be secured by each Province according to its requirement through the Secretary of State for India, whether on a permanent or on a period basis, as may be considered desirable."

Defence of India

Discussing the question of the defence of India, he said: "There can be no question that so long as India is dependent upon the British for its land, naval and aerial defence, it cannot enjoy any form of real and responsible government. The complete and rapid Indianization of the Army in India, therefore, is an urgent and a vital necessity. While in this connection, some attention is being paid to the admission of Indians to his Majestiy's Commissions in various arms of the forces in India, enough attention is not being paid to the question of the admission of Indians to the ranks in arms to which their entry has hitherto been barred—for instance, some sections of the artillery, the tank corps, armoured car companies etc. We must be prepared to furnish large numbers of suitable young men for recruitment into all sections of the Army, and urge upon the Government the necessity of making proper arrangements for their training. There is also the very important question of equipment which requires careful consideration. The manufacture of arms, machine guns, cannons, tanks, armoured cars, ammunition of various kinds, etc., within India is a problem which has not yet been brought under consideration; and yet the vital necessity of tackling and solving this question is more than apparent. For the adequate naval defence of the country, it is not sufficient merely to provide for the training of a handful of young men as marine and naval officers: adequate provision must be made for the training of a sufficient number of young men in all branches of the navy and, more particularly, in all branches of marine engineering. For purposes of aerial defence, our young men must be prepared to come forward in large numbers to be trained as pilots, mechanics and ground engineers. The development of civil aviation on a large scale would not only give an impetus to recruitment to the various ranks of the Air Force, but would also provide a reserve of officers, pilots, mechanics, engineers, etc., which could be mobilized in case of necessity.

Gentlemen, you will realize that these are very large questions, and they deserve your immediate and earnest attention. As I have observed above, a liberty which depends for its maintenance upon the aid and assistance of another nation cannot deserve the name of liberty at all; and if you have a desire both to earn and enjoy the blessings of real liberty, you must be prepared to make the sacrifices that may be required for the achievement of that ideal.

Provincial Autonomy

As regards the Provinces, it is generally agreed that they shall, under the new Constitution, be fully autonomous and responsible, that is to say, they shall be freed from the control of the Central (in future the Federal) Government so far as questions of purely provincial administration are concerned, and that, throughout, the Provincial Executive shall normally be completely responsible to the Provincial Legislature. This is a comparatively simple matter; and subject to the adjustment of communal claims and interests (to which I shall advert at a later stage), it should have been possible to carry it into effect almost immediately. A majority of the British Indian delegates to the Round-Table Conference, however, urged upon the Prime Minister the desirability of postponing any advance in the provinces till such time as the principle of responsibility at the Centre could also be enforced. Those who held this view were of the opinion that the immediate establishment of complete autonomy in the provinces might give rise to a suspicion in the minds of the people that the settlement of questions connected with the Centre would not be proceeded with speedily, and that under certain circumstances, this suspicion may perhaps eventually be proved to have been justified. With great respect to those who hold this opinion, I beg to differ with them. I am one of those who consider that the immediate establishment of complete autonomy in the provinces would both facilitate and accelerate the framing of a scheme for a responsible Federal Government, and that it would be unwise to postpone the next stage of advance in the province till a satisfactory solution of questions affecting the Centre has been discovered and agreed to.

Constitutional Safeguards

The position which the Muslims hold in this country is both peculiar and unique. It would be difficult to point out a parallel in the contemporary or past history of any other country or community. Our numbers exceed the numbers of many communities which are to-day enjoying and have in the past enjoyed the position and privileges of a nation. Our religious, cultural, social, and I may add, even linguistic unity supplies us with all the essentials that go to form a nation. Our common civilization, traditions, and history furnish additional factors that bind us together. We are anxious to preserve intact all these factors; and past experience has taught us that special provisions and safeguards are necessary for such protection, although we feel that, even with these provisions and safeguards in the Constitution, the protection afforded will not be complete or even adequate. This, however, is a disability to which all political minorities are subject, and it is not capable of being remedied by constitutional safeguards. For this reason, it is all the more imperative that any Constitution that may be framed should contain provisions safeguarding these matters to the fullest limits to which constitutional safeguards

can extend. In framing our proposals in this connection, however, we have been careful not to trench upon the legitimate rights of other communities.

Gentlemen, you are all familiar with the scheme of safeguards for Muslim interests which has been repeatedly and unanimously put forward by the leaders and representative bodies commanding the confidence of the community. Some of these safeguards would afford equal protection to all communities; others are based upon considerations which are not primarily of a communal nature; and the balance are designed to secure the protection of matters held dear by the community, or such vital interests as are bound to affect the future prosperity and well-being of the community.

Under the first head would fall the demand that the Constitution should contain a clause defining fundamental rights such as freedom of profession, practice and propagation of religion, education, language, articles of food, cultural and social usages, etc. and that it should devise means whereby these matters may be fully safeguarded. This is a matter with regard to which there can be no possible difference of opinion and its consideration need, therefore, detain us no longer.

The demands that the North-West Frontier Province should be raised to a status of political equality with the other provinces of India, and that Sind should be separated from Bombay and should be constituted into a Governor's province, under a Constitution similar to that which may be introduced in other provinces, fall under the second category. As regards the first of these demands, the position is that the Prime Minister in his statement of December 1, 1931, has announced that the North-West Frontier Province shall under the new Constitution enjoy a status similar to that of other British Indian provinces, subject only to due requirements for the defence of the Frontier. It is earnestly to be hoped that the operation of this last condition shall be confined within the narrowest possible limits. The Prime Minister has further announced that the provisional decision to postpone further advance in the provinces till the framing of a scheme for the whole of India shall not operate so as to prevent the North-West Frontier Province being immediately raised to the position which is occupied by the other provinces under the present Constitution. We understand that steps are being taken so as to bring about this result; but we must impress upon the Government the necessity of proceeding in the matter with the utmost despatch so that peace may speedily be restored to that Province, where very unhappy and disturbed conditions have unfortunately prevailed during the last two or three years. Let us hope that this consummation, so earnestly to be desired, shall not be delayed on the pretext that lengthy enquiries may be necessary for the purpose of settling such matters as franchise qualifications for municipal and district board elections and for elections to the Legislative Council of the Province.

As regards the separation of Sind from Bombay, unfortunately no definite announcement has yet been made; and the Prime Minister's state-

ment on the subject made on December 1, 1931, carried the matter no further than the decision taken at the end of the first session of the Round-Table Conference. We insist that the matter of the separation of Sind from Bombay should be placed beyond doubt, and that steps be taken immediately to enable Sind to start as a separate province simultaneously with the introduction of the new Constitution in the other provinces. Under the same category, falls the demand that a suitable scheme should be devised to enable Baluchistan to enjoy a representative form of government.

It has also been agreed that Muslims, as well as other minorities, shall receive a fair and adequate share in the public services of the country. We realize that a general declaration of this kind may not in practice prove a sufficient safeguard; but it at least amounts to a recognition and acceptance of the claims made by the minorities, and should serve as a reminder to those to whom the task of recruitment to the public services of the country may in future be entrusted. It also sets a standard of conformity which may be insisted upon by the minorities, both at the Centre and in the provinces.

As regards the quantum of representation to be allotted to the Muslims in the Federal Legislature, as well as the legislatures of the different provinces, the Muslim position has throughout been perfectly clear. The Muslims demand representation to the extent of one-third in each Chamber of the Federal Legislature, the continuance of the quantum of representation at present enjoyed by them in what are known as the minority provinces—namely, the United Provinces, Bombay, Assam, Bihar and Orissa, Madras and the Central Provinces—subject to any subsequent revision of those proportions where, owing to some cause or the other, the proportion of various communities in the population has undergone a sensible modification, the principle applicable in all cases being the same upon which the present proportions of representation are based. In the Legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal, the Muslims claim representation in accordance with their proportion. On the other hand, in the North-West Frontier Province and Sind the Muslims are willing to concede weightage to the non-Muslim communities on the same principles on which weightage is being enjoyed by the Muslims in their minority provinces.

The difficulty that is being experienced with regard to the representation of Muslims in the Federal Legislature is a part of the general question of the method of election or appointment of the members of the Federal Legislature, and arises in connection with the proportion of Muslim representatives from the Indian States. The suggestion which seemed to have met with the largest amount of support was that 26 per cent of the total strength of each Federal Chamber should be returned by British Indian Muslims, and that 7 per cent of the total strength of each Chamber should be Muslims nominated by the Federating Indian States, in pursuance of a convention which may be agreed to by all parties.

The main dispute centres round the question of the amount of representation to be allotted to Muslims in the Legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal. But before I go on to make some general observations relating to the whole question of the quantum of Muslim representation in the various Legislatures, I must add that the question of the method of electing Muslim representatives is one of equal importance with the question of the amount of representation, and that although there has been a dissentient voice here and there, there can be no doubt that an overwhelming preponderance of Muslim opinion insists upon the retention of the present method of representation through separate electorates. It would be convenient to discuss both these subjects together.

The past experience of Muslims in the country has taught them that, for the protection of their rights and interests, they must insist upon legal and constitutional guarantees, and that a mere trust in the goodwill and sense of fair dealing of other communities would not be of any avail to them in this connection. It is extremely unfortunate that this should be so; but, however desirable it may be that the various communities which form the population of this country learn to trust each other and to respect each other's legitimate rights, aspirations and interests, we must face the situation as we find it. So long as the attitude of the majority community in the country does not undergo such radical changes as to create a sense of complete security and confidence in the minds of the members of the minority communities, the latter must insist upon their rights and interests being safeguarded in a manner and to an extent which appear to them to be suitable and necessary. Viewed from a larger and broader point of view, the Muslim claim is not only reasonable but is extremely modest. The Muslim position is that, given these safeguards, they are willing cheerfully to accept the rule of the majority community in the minority provinces as well as at the Centre. No greater proof of good faith could be required from them. On the other hand, they are naturally anxious that in provinces in which they constitute a majority of the population, they should be given as large an opportunity of making their contribution to the common culture and common civilization of India as would be enjoyed by the majority community in the greater part of the country. They also desire that they should be placed in a position which would afford them equal opportunities of service to the land of their birth.

Another essential feature of the scheme of safeguards for Muslim interests is the demand that the method of election of their representatives through separate electorates, which has had the sanction of statute in this country during the last 10 years, should be continued till such time as the Muslims themselves feel that this safeguared is no longer necessary.

The present situation, however, is that in spite of our best efforts and in spite of the best interests of the country urgently requiring it, the majority

community has not so far signified its acceptance of the demands; and the course which the negotiations have followed during recent years convinces us that that community has no intention of accepting our demands. The door of negotiations has been shut in our face. Under these circumstances, a heavy responsibility lay upon the British and the Indian Governments to settle this question; but equally unfortunately, these Governments have so far failed to face this responsibility.

It is, therefore, greatly to be desired that Government should forthwith announce its decision on this question, so that earnest attention may be devoted to the solution of other constitutional questions that still await a decision. We have repeatedly been assured of the Government's sympathy with the Muslims, as well as other minorities, and their anxious desire to safeguard and secure the position and interests of the minorities. As a proof of these professions, we demand that Government should immediately shoulder the responsibility which it can no longer evade, and thus put an end to the present state of mistrust between the communities.

Kashmir

The affairs of the Muslims of Kashmir have now arrived at a stage where, if the situation is handled with wisdom and discretion, the best results may be expected to ensue. The best generalship consists, not only in knowing and planning how and when to start a campaign, but also in realizing when to call a halt. A lack of this quality has often turned prospective victory into an actual defeat. The initial demands for independent inquiry into the political grievances and disabilities of the Kashmir Muslims, and into the atrocities committed upon them during the course of their gallant struggle for justice and fair treatment, have been conceded; and two Commissions are proceeding with their respective enquiries. The efforts of the All India Kashmir Committee and the *Ahrar* have served to focus the attention of the peoples and the Governments of India and Britain upon the affairs of Kashmir, and the stage has now been reached where all our efforts must be directed towards rendering the Muslims of Kashmir such legal and financial assistance as may enable them to place their case fully and to the best advantage before the Commissions of enquiry. Efforts which continue to be directed in other channels can lead to no useful results whatever, and may result in some harm. I would therefore appeal for a calm reconsideration of the whole situation, and for a co-ordination of all efforts towards directions in which they may be expected to yield the most beneficent results.

Anarchical Crime

The next question that urgently claims your attention is the alarming increase of revolutionary and anarchical crime in the country, of which we have witnessed such terrible instances within the course of the last few months.

Every one of us must fully realize the gravity of the consequences to the peace, prosperity and future progress of the country, if this wave of voilent anarchy is not immediately checked in its course. We must take active steps to combat the forces of anarchy, terrorism and disorder, and do all that lies in us to keep the fair name and honour of our country unstained and unsullied by such dastardly and inhuman crimes."

Second Sitting

The Session re-assembled on December 27, at Khan Sahib Nawab Ali's house in New Delhi. The audience was thinner than on the day before. The House first took up the question of amending the Constitution of the League, as recommended by the Sub-Committee appointed at the Twenty-first Session.

AMENDMENTS IN THE LEAGUE CONSTITUTION

The most important change which was adopted related to the object of the League. So far its object had been defined as "the attainment of *Swaraj* for India by all peaceful and legitimate means."The Sub-Committee had suggested that this be changed to "the attainment of full responsible government for India by all peaceful and legitimate means, with adequate and effective safeguards for Musalmans."

Dr. M.U.S. Jung suggested the retention of the word '*Swaraj*' while Mr. Sabri wanted to substitute it with the phrase 'complete independence.' Both the amendments were rejected by a large majority, only a couple of members voting for them.

The amendment suggested by the Sub-Committee was adopted.

Another change then incorporated conferred membership of the League on every adult Musalman who signed adherence to this creed and paid one rupee yearly as a subscription. Like the Indian National Congress, the President of the League was in future to hold office for one year and be the Head of its Executive, which now was to consist of a Council and a Working Committee, instead of a Council only.

The membership of the Council was enlarged, and the new body, the Working Committee, was to be composed of 23 members and meet once a month. As in the case of the All-Parties Muslim Conference, all Muslim members of the Central Legislature were to be ex-officio members of the Council.

The quorum necessary for the Annual Session was reduced from 75 to 50. The office of Permanent President of the League was abolished.

RESOLUTION I

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and passed:

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow

and loss on the sad death of Maulana Mohammad Ali Saheb, Maharajah Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan Saheb of Mahmudabad and Maulana Abdul Majid Saheb, old and prominent members of the League, and conveys its condolence to the members of the bereaved families.

RESOLUTION II

The following resolution, moved by Mian Ahmed Yar Khan and supported by Moulvi Mazharuddin and Syed Habeeb, was then adopted, after minor amendments moved by Dr. Jung had been thrown out:

The Meeting of the All-India Muslim League, having carefully considered the statement of the Prime Minister made at the Round-Table-Conference on December 1, 1931,

(a) places on record that the Government should be urged to make a definite announcement that the future Constitution of India shall embody such safeguards for Musalman interests as are considered necessary and adequate by the Muslim community itself;

(b) places on record its regret that the provisional decision of the British Government to defer the introduction of full autonomy in the provinces till the framing of the All-India Constitution, and urges on the Government the necessity of immediately placing the provinces in a fully autonomous and responsible position;

(c) places on record its disappointment at the failure of the British Government to make a definite announcement that Sind be constituted into a separate province, and demands that an unconditional announcement be made forthwith;

(d) reiterates its considered opinion that no constitution would be acceptable to the Musalmans, unless it secures and guarantees them:

—freedom of profession, practice and propagation of religion, education etc.

—representation to the extent of one-third in each Chamber of Federal Legislature,

—representation in the Legislatures of the Provinces where Muslims are in a minority, in accordance with the proportion of representation at present enjoyed by them in the provinces,

—representation in the Legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal, in accordance with their proportion in the population of those provinces;

—a fair and adequate share in the Public Services and grants-in-aid.

RESOLUTION III

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League reiterates its considered opinion that in the future Federal Constitution of

India, Residuary Powers must vest in the component units of the Federation.

The following three resolutions, relating to the North-West Frontier Province, were adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION IV

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the British and Indian Governments the necessity of putting into immediate effect the Minister's announcement regarding the N.W.F. Province and placing it on the same footing as other Governor's provinces.

The mover, Syed Habib, held that the original refusal to grant Reforms to the Frontier was designed to divide the Hindus and Musalmans. He told the House that the efforts of Sir Fazl-i-Husain had a great deal to do with the Premier's announcement, and the resolution, if adopted, would prevent the Government from delaying matters.

Mr. Hussain Imam, of the Council of State, said that the question of the grant of reforms to the Frontier was an All-India demand, including that of the Congress.

RESOLUTION V

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the necessity of giving immediate and full effect to the recommendation contained in the Report of the Frontier Regulations Inquiry Committee.

Sir Muhammad Yakub, moving the resolution, referred to the inhuman characteristics of the various regulations, and referred to the motion for adjournment in the Assembly, which had led to the appointment of that Committee. He held that as long as these regulations remained on the statute-book, no amount of reforms would be of any use to the people of the Frontier.

RESOLUTION VI

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the Government would have acted wisely in giving the people of the N.W.F. Province a full opportunity to consider the recent announcement of the Chief Commissioner, regarding the introduction of reforms in the Frontier, and of shaping their future policy in view of that announcement, and that the Government has acted with undue haste in promulgating special ordinances in that Province, and urges upon the Government the desirability of withdrawing these ordinances in order to promote a suitable atmosphere of goodwill for the successful working of the new Constitution in the Province.

The resolution was moved by Dr. Jung.

RESOLUTION VII

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its satisfaction at the recent announcement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons during the course of the debate on India to the effect that definite instructions shall be given to the Franchise Committee to be set up in pursuance of the recommendations of the Round-Table Conference that the Committee shall not in any manner attempt to enterfere with the system of Separate Electorates wherever it is in operation at present.

Mufti Muhammad Sadique, moving the resolution, said that, when they had such things as separate water and food for Hindus and Musalmans on Indian Railways, it was also necessary to have separate electoral rolls.

Dr. Jung moved an amendment to the effect that, in case a statutory majority for Musalmans could not be achieved in the Punjab and Bengal, the League should be empowered to negotiate if it would be possible to secure a higher representation through joint electorates.

Choudhury Zafarullah Khan remarked that if this alternative was placed before them by the Congress, by the Sikh League and the Hindu Mahasabha, they might give it due consideration.

The amendment was rejected, only two voting for it; and the original resolution was passed.

RESOLUTION VIII

The All-India Muslim League views with the greatest concern, the movement set afoot in certain provisnce inciting tenants to refuse to pay rents, as calculated eventually to upset the principles of private property and bring about a state of disorder and lawlessness in the country, and expresses strong disapproval of all movements.

Choudhury Muhmamad Sharif, moving the resolution, detailed some of the dangers of such movements, and urged the audience to express its strong condemnation of the system of direct action. The opposition was led by Mr. Hussain Imam, who held that zemindars were blood-suckers. He felt that such movements which really helped the tenants should not be opposed.

Another member from the audience attributed communal motives to the Congress, and said that the movement was started in the United Provinces because a majority of the zemindars in that province were Musalmans.

The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION IX

The next resolution ran as follows:

> This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its strong condemnation of the terrorist movement, culminating in dastardly and outrageous crimes, and appeals to all sections of Muslim society to put forth their best efforts to combat such activities.

Sir Mohammad Yakub, moving the resolution, said that the shedding of innocent blood was against Muslim culture and religion, and exhorted the audience to keep aloof from such activities, which were bound to retard the progress of the country.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Ali Mohammad, and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION X

> This meeting of the All-India Muslim League, while expressing its deepest sympathy with the position of the Muslims in Kashmir, and putting on record its sense of satisfaction at the practical proofs given by the Muslims of India of their common brotherhood with the suffering of Muslims of Kashmir, earnestly hopes that the gallant struggle which is being carried on, both inside and outside Kashmir, shall speedily result in securing to the Muslims of Kashmir those rights of humanity and citizenship for which such enormous sacrifices have been made.

The resolution was moved by Maulana Mazharuddin, and was carried.

RESOLUTION XI

Next, the following resolution was passed:

> This meeting of the All-India Muslim League appoints a committee of the following to negotiate with the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference with a view to bringing about a union between the two bodies. This Committee shall submit its report not later than March 1, 1932, to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and the Council shall thereafter take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to the proposal of amalgamation and to frame a Constitution of the resulting organization—(1) Choudhri Zafarullah Khan Saheb, President of the League, (2) Moulvi Sir Mohammad Yaqub, Secretary of the League, (3) Khan Saheb S.M. Abdullah, and (4) Mirza Ijaz Husain Saheb Joint Secretaries of the League.

Four more resolutions were passed, three in regard to the needs of the Musalmans of Delhi, before the House adjourned *Sine die*.

RESOLUTION XII

> This meeting of the All-India Muslim League disapproves of the proposal of the extension of the Delhi Province set on foot by certain

interested bodies as highly detrimental to Muslim interests.

RESOLUTION XIII

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League views with concern the present inadequate representation of the Musalmans on the various local bodies of the Delhi Province and calls upon the Government to give them full representation on such bodies.

RESOLUTION XIV

In view of the fact that under the present Constitution Musalmans of Delhi cannot secure representation in the Central Legislature, this meeting of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the necessity of providing effective representation in the Central Legislature for Delhi Musalmans in the future Constitution of India through separate electorates.

RESOLUTION XV

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League views with the greatest concern the method of retrenchment adopted in the various departments of the Government of India and the different local governments, which has the effect of futher reducing the already meagre representation of Muslims in the Services, and urges upon the Government to issue immediate instructions to the Heads of Departments to carry out retrenchment in a manner which should not prejudicially affect the proportion of Muslims in the Services.

It further urges upon the Government the necessity of appointing Muslims to higher posts in order to secure a due proportion of Muslims in the present cadres as well as in new recruitments.

CLOSING REMARKS

Before the Session adjourned *sine die*, Sir Mohammad Yakub, offering thanks, referred to the anti-Zafarullah demonstrations of the previous day, and severely criticized all those who were responsible for it. He asserted that, despite all agitations, the Session was a unique success in the League's history, and showed an unprecedented attendance of the members of the Council.

Choudhury Zafarullah, in his closing remarks, said that opposition to his presidentship had infused fresh life into the League. He expressed unbounded faith in the future of Islam in India.[1]

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1. *Sources: The Indian Annual Register, 1931*, Vol. II, pp. 213-222. Resolutions published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

Mr. Anwarul Azim, M.L.A. (Bengal)
Mian Fazlehaque Paracha, M.L.A. (Punjab)
Mr. Muhammad Muazzam, M.L.A. (Madras)
The Hon. Nawab Major Sir Mohammad Akbar Khan, M.C.S.(N.W.F.P.)
Nawab Talib Mehdi Khan, M.L.A. (Punjab)
Nawab Mohammad Ibrahim Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Punjab)
The Hon. Nawab Sir Syed Mehr Shah, M.C.S. (Punjab)
Captain Sir Raja Sher Mohammad Khan, M.L.A. (Punjab)
Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, M.L.A. (Punjab)
Mr. S.H. Sadiq, M.L.C. (Punjab)
Mr. Mohammad Azhar Ali, M.L.A. (United Provinces)
The Hon. Mr. S.M. Padshah (Madras)
Mr. K. Uppi, M.L.A. (Madras)
Sheikh Rahim Bakhsh, M.L.C. (Bengal)
Mr. Masood Ahmed, M.L.A. (Bihar)
Mr. Badiuzzaman, M.L.A. (Bihar)[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MIAN ABDUL AZIZ

Gentlemen, this authoritative requisition, signed by 25 (*sic*) elected Muslim leaders of national repute, is my mandate for calling this Session, but I can assure you from the bottom of my heart that our grateful thanks go out to our Howrah Muslim brethren, who on behalf of the Province of Bengal, have extended to us the very kind offer to act as our hosts during this postponed Twenty-third Annual Session of The All-India Muslim League, over which I have the honour to preside, an honour which I legitimately regard as the laurel-wreath of my community's appreciation, more especially so, when I realize that this is a position which has been occupied by some of the ablest sons of India.

I would suggest that it is more than a coincidence that this historic Session of our organization is being held in the very Province which was the birth-place of the League.

It seems to me that in to-day's Session we can see the guiding hand of Providence. I would, therefore, remind you that the All-India Muslim League came into existence in 1906, as an organization with the main object of safeguarding Muslim interests, based on the fundamental principle of keeping the Muslim communal individuality strong and unimpaired in all constitutional readjustments to be made, from time to time, in the course of the political advancement of the country as a whole.

To-day, that need is even greater than it was 27 years ago, and that is our justification for reminding you to-day of the absolute necessity of utilizing the League for the purpose for which it was founded by some of the best thinkers of the Muslim community, who combined a desire to safeguard the inte-

1. M.A. Aziz, *The Cresecnt in Land* of the *Rising Sun*.

rests of their community with a patriotic fervour to serve the cause of the country in general. The past history of the League is conclusive proof of this assertion.

A Vital Session

To my mind, no annual session of the All-India Muslim League has ever been held in circumstances so pregnant with possibilities, both for good and evil, as this Session. While far-reaching changes in the system of administration in our country, which will produce, in some cases, momentous results, are in the process of accomplishment, the League, which was expressly brought into being with the object of consolidating Muslim effort in India, is itself passing through a crisis of the first magnitude. As the only political organization of the Muslims of India, which has definitely been recognized as such for its achievements in the past, no Muslim can regard the manifestations of disunity that now threaten the very existence of the League with anything but the gravest anxiety. As one who participated in laying the foundations of the League and who has ever since followed its career with the deepest interest, I cannot too strongly lay stress upon the imperative duty of protecting the League, at this juncture, not against the machinations of any external foe, but against the internal dissensions of those who, whilst owning allegiance to its political creed, do not hesitate to fight against us in our endeavours to make the League more representative and powerful.

It would be hypocritical on my part to conceal the fact that ever since my election as President, I have found all my efforts to place the affairs of the League on a sound footing hampered, and, at times, even checked, by individuals constituting a group which—if I may put it so charitably—held views diametrically opposed to mine as to the future dispensation of the League. It is for you to judge between me and those who differ from me; but whatever your judgment, may I earnestly plead with you, with all the force I can command, that you should see to it that the maintenance of the integrity of the League as the great political organization of the Muslims of India is in no way impaired, and, what is more, that provision is also made for the establishment, on firm and unshakable foundations, of the League as the authoritative political organ of Muslim opinion in this country.

If I have opposed recent attempts made to influence certain decisions in respect of the League, I have done so on constitutional grounds. Any political organization whose constitutionally elected officers could be brushed aside by any group of its members who nurtured a grievance, real or imaginary, would command no influence, and if those office-bearers yielded to the unconstitutional threats of the disaffected elements, they would directly contribute to the destruction of the power wielded by that organization. My sole object, in resisting the pressure brought upon me to abandon what I was constitutionally called upon to consider as a sacred charge, has been to prevent

the total extinction, and thus preserve the efficacy of the League as a dynamic political force.

The Communal Award

Here, for a moment with your permission, I propose to pass under survey, briefly, some of the problems which are engaging the attention of Muslims. To begin with, there is the Communal Award. The conditions producing it have been unfortunate from the wider aspect of national interests. There were no prospects of a voluntary settlement of the points at issue between the major communities, and this led to the intervention of His Majesty's Government and the consequent promulgation of the Communal Award. In the circumstances, we Muslims must accept the settlement outlined by the Award as an accomplished fact, even though some of its provisions do not come up to our expectations, which were based on definite promises made to us by the Prime Minister, consistent with the justice of our cause; and, while earnestly endeavouring to produce that unity among the different communities which alone can raise India to the height of a nation, we must abide by that decision.

The Princes and the Federation

We are also vitally interested, both as Muslims and Indians, in the prospect of the entry of Indian States intothe Federation of the future. We must rejoice at this prospect, as it woud herald the dawn of an India inspired by a common ideal of service and citizenship. At the same time, we must register our emphatic opinion that we desire to see the representation of Muslims in the Federal Legislature ineradically maintained at one-third of the total strength of the whole, including the Indian States.

Concord Badly Needed

Similarly, in regard to the representatoin of Muslims in the public services, I ask you to make it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that while you cordially endorse the principle of Indianization of these services, you are determined to see that Muslims secure adequate representation in them. We say this not from any sense of antagonism towards other communities, but because, unfortunately for India, the major communities have not found it possible to see eye to eye so far as questions affecting public concern are involved. This is, indeed, unfortunate; and in this connection, I desire to draw your earnest attention to the fact that the creed of the League is based on the promotion of concord between the Muslims and sister communities. I hold firmly the belief that unless there is unity between the two major communities, or a *modus vivendi* has been found which may ultimately lead to the creation of common interests, no matter what the changes introduced by the reforms, they will not produce the results one can reasonably expect from them. For

this reason, I would be wanting in my sense of duty if I did not appeal to both Hindus and Muslims to take a long view of the political problem that confronts us at this juncture, and, while taking every step to safeguard their individual interests, to come together on a platform that is common to both national interests.

Provincial Autonomy

So far as national interests are concerned, I see provincial autonomy emerging from the discussions now in progress, and I sincerely trust that before long the reign of provincial autonomy will begin. How long the ideal of Federation will take to materialize, no one can definitely say; but I hope that it will not be long before there is a Federal system in operation. It will be the concern of the League to see that during the transitional stage, when decisions affecting the introduction of Federation are being taken, the true interests of our community are safeguarded.

Tribute to His Highness the Aga Khan

The Round-Table Conference in London has happily shown us the way how to deal with problems which appeared at first sight to be insoluble, and, in this connection, I desire—and I am sure every Muslim in India desires with me—to pay a tribute to the great services which His Highness the Aga Khan has rendered during the deliberations of the Round-Table Conference and the sessions of the Joint Parliamentary Committee to the cause of Muslims in India.

Emancipation of Women

We have also reason to note with satisfaction the progress foreshadowed in the discussions in London on the representation of women in the Legislatures. This is an unmistakable sign of the progress of India, and we Muslims, with our traditional interest in the emancipation of women, extend our unqualified support to the measures which are being adopted in orderto secure adequate representation for women in the new Legislatures and other public bodies.

Economic Depression

Before we pass to questions of purely Muslim interest, I must refer to a question which intimately affects all of us in India, I mean the economic depression. It is a matter for thankfulness that while it cannot yet be definitely said that the depression has passed, there are still clear indications of a change for the better. In this connection, I should like to point out that although the conditions created by the economic draught were found prevailing throughout the world, and by no means local, yet in India their effect was intensified by that curse of our country, agricultural indebtedness. I am glad, therefore, to find that the United Provinces Government is taking ac-

tive measures to cope with the serious problem of agricultural indebtedness, and that there is a prospect of similar measures being adopted in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.

I understand that the Government of Bengal is also alive to the importance of the subject, and therefore necessary measures are receiving the attention of the Government in dealing with these questions.

Terrorism Must Go

There is also the manifestation of the spirit of terrorism in some parts of Bengal which demands the serious attention of every patriotic Indian. This is a development which is entirely foreign to the traditions of India. It stands condemned in unqualified terms by every religion in India. The misguided youths who have mistaken it for patriotism, are not only enemies of orderly government and, therefore, of orderly existence, and the country, but their own enemies. No country can prosper by accepting organized murder as its political creed.

Reserve Bank Bill

To turn to more pleasant subjects, we have recently seen a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature appointed to pass under review the Reserve Bank Bill. As the establishment of a Reserve Bank is a condition precedent to the establishment of a Federation in India, we are greatly interested in seeing the labours of the Joint Committee successfully concluded, so that a Reserve Bank may come into existence as early as possible.

Progress in the North

So far as subjects of purely Muslim concern go, we have cause for gratification at the progress which the North-West Frontier Province has made; and I personally have every reason for satisfaction, because as long ago as 1909, when the late Sir Ali Imam and I went to London to present the Muslim case before Lord Morley, the question of bringing the North-West Frontier Province—my own province—administratively into line with the other provinces in India was mooted. To-day, I have the satisfaction of knowing that my mission has not been in vain. I hope, however, to see that the Islamia College in Peshawar is raised to the status of a university, so that the cause of education in the province may advance more rapidly than it otherwise would. We Muslims have also cause for satisfaction in the decision taken recently to create a new Province of Sind . We are sure that this would improve the prospects of the advancement of Muslims in the new Province, and, at the same time, be of benefit to the rest of India.

On this subject, it is also urged that suitable reforms should be introduced into Baluchistan for the enjoyment of a representative form of government by the people of this Province, which is as important as the North-West Frontier Province.

Trade Negotiations with Japan

I find that for the first time in the history of India for some considerable number of years, a foreign Government has sent its envoy and representatives to our country to discuss, with representatives of the Government of India, questions of mutual interest in trade. There have also been representatives of great industries in Great Britain, Japan and India in conference in Simla straining to arrive at an understanding in regard to trade with India. I am an ardent believer in *Swadeshi*, in the true sense of the word, but I dissent from those who believe in economic isolation. I, therefore, hope that as a result of the trade conferences which have been held in Simla, an impetus may be given to India's trade with both the Empire and non-Empire countries. I believe this exchange of commodities, which inevitably results in exchange of ideas, will also stimulate true *Swadeshi* enterprises in India, and lead to a better understanding, generally, between India and such neighbouring countries as Japan.

Indians in South Africa

In passing, I may refer to the assurance given by His Excellency the Viceroy, in his address to the Joint Session of the Indian Legislature, of the satisfactory manner in which the question of Indians in South Africa was being handled. This has given rise to the hope that one of the outstanding questions of the day, that affecting the welfare of our brethren in that Dominion, will soon be satisfactorily settled.

Afghanistan

I may also refer to the reports of sustained progress which Afghanistan is making under the benign rule of His Majesty King Nadir Shah, which are sure to be received with great satisfaction by Muslims in India. The relations of the British Government and our neighbour, Afghanistan, happily continue to be cordial. I feel that Afghanistan has now its course set definitely for progress, politically, economically and educationally, all of which is entirely due to the self-sacrificing zeal of that eminent statesman and soldier, King Nadir Shah, the saviour of Afghanistan.

A Call to Unity

To revert to the problem immediately facing Muslims in India, it is incumbent upon us to consider how far we are in a position so to marshal our political forces as to be able to influence the great decisions which are about to be taken affecting the future system of administration in India. I would be guilty of deluding you into a false belief if I told you that we are in such a position, or that the League is as effective a political organization as it ought to be. Recent dissensions in its ranks have seriously jeopardized its value as a political force. I have related the causes of these dissensions. I

have pointed out the differences that have arisen between me, as President of the League, and a few others. I may also mention that these differences did not have their origin on my side; but whatever their origin, I am prepared to extend a cordial invitation to those within the League who have differed with me to join hands with me in making the League what it is meant to be. I also desire to impress upon other Muslims who have been so far occupied with creating what may be called rival organizations of the League seriously to consider the inadvisability of giving even a semblance of division among Muslims—a community by no means as effectively organized politically as others in India. In the multiplicity of such organizations, no matter what their labels, lurks political disaster.

There are no vital points at issue, for instance, between the League and the Muslim Conference, and there is no logical reason why the latter should not now abandon its lonely furrow and put its hand to the League plough. Those now in favour of upholding the Conference as a separate organization perhaps feel that their activities on behalf of their community cannot find ample scope within the League; but I may assure them that we intend to take decisions at this Session of the League which will make of it an organization vibrant with a new strength and hope, not only for Muslims in one province or two, but for Muslims throughout India. Such an organization as we to-day visualize the League becoming, will demand the co-operation of all Muslims, I therefore appeal to our brethren of the Muslim Conference, and also of other Muslim organizations throughout India, to help us to-day in raising the standard of the All-India Muslim League as the unchallenged exponent of Muslim opinion in India.

If this humble appeal of mine finds an echo, words cannot describe the galvanic effect it will produce on the destiny of Muslims in India. I earnestly pray that it will. Dissension has already done incalculable harm to the Muslim cause. Momentous decisions are about to be taken by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in London; and if ever there was a time in the history of Muslims in India when there was need for a united front, this is the time. Those who now oppose the forces which are drawing the Muslims together in the League will have to answer before the bar of history, for the consequences of disunion at this stage would be calamitous. It is not too late, even now, to make amends for our mistakes of the past, and, casting aside all petty considerations prompted by personal pique, to unite in a noble effort to make the League a parliament of all Muslims in India, so that it may speak with authority in their name.

I have said enough to point out the pregnancy of the present Session of the League. Whether we like it or not, its decisions will make history, not only for the Muslims, but for the whole of India, and even beyond the confines of India. They will be an open book for the world to read, and, reading it, to arrive at an understanding of the political capacity of Muslims in India.

The Secret of Success

It is, for this reason, our solemn duty not to allow extraneous factors to sway our decisions. Firstly, because the true interests of every Muslim in India, in every town and village, rich and poor alike, demand of us that we do our best for them at this critical time; and secondly, because the future of our great sister community demands that Muslims give of their best in the administration that lies ahead. Our Hindu comrades need have no fears about our plans for political organization, for real inter-communal co-operation can only be successful if all concerned are fully prepared and equipped to work with the fullest measure of efficiency. Just as modern science has demonstrated that mechanical progress is most rapid and steady with twin aeroplane engines of equal horsepower, even so can we rest assured that India's political progress can only be achieved when the two great communities are like throbbing engines pulsating in rhythmic unity. And the great task of the All-India Muslim League is to work for that ideal.[1]

DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTIONS

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq moved a resolution which, while welcoming the Award, recorded dissatisfaction that,

(a) One-third of the seats in the whole House was not guaranteed to Muslims in the Upper and Lower Federal Legislatures;

(b) Bengali Muslims were not given the number of seats to which they were entitled by virtue of their strength in population;

(c) Injustice was done to Bihari Muslims by the reduction of the strength of their representation in the Legislature after the separation of Orissa.

(d) No specific provision was made in the White Paper so as to vest Residuary Powers in the Provinces in the proposed Federal Constitution;

(e) Special constituencies which were opposed to democratic principles had been retained, and no arrangements had been made for the representation of Muslims through these constituencies;

(f) No provision had been made for the introduction of reforms in Baluchistan and for raising it to the status of a Governor's Province.

Mr. Masood Ahmed seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

A resolution was passed unequivocally condemning terrorist activities in Bengal, and assuring the Government of the whole-hearted support of Muslims for uprooting the evil.

Another resolution condemned the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha in favour of re-opening the communal decision for decreasing Muslim representation in the different legislatures.

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1. M.A. Aziz, *The Crescent in the Land of the Rising Sun*, pp. 141-152.

The Muslim League Session considered the proposal in the White Paper for the establishment of a Second Chamber in Bengal as unnecessary and expensive as also retrograde.

Mr. Fazlul Haq, moving the resolution on the White Paper, declared that Musalmans were prepared to accept and work the new Constitution, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory nature of the Communal Award. Mr. Haq regretted the Hindu attitude in the matter.

Mr. A.F. Nurul Nabi, moving a resolution protesting against the creation of Second Chambers in Bengal and Bihar, pointed out that before the publication of the White Paper, the Bengal Council had rejected a motion for a Second Chamber. He asserted that Bengali Muslims were unanimously against a Second Chamber, which in the very nature of things, would be predominantly and necessarily Hindu in constitution and bound to revise every Act of the Lower House. The speaker thought that even Hindus were against the creation of a Second Chamber. "Europeans", he observed, "had been induced by clever Hindu propaganda" into accepting a Second Chamber as necessary and inevitable. He appealed to Europeans to reconsider the matter.

Mr. Mohiuddin, moving the resolution condemning "the Hindu Mahasabha's attempts to re-open the Communal Award", warned the British Government that, if Muslims were deprived of their due rights and privileges, despite the pledges and promises, both of the British Government and the Hindus, it might drive the Musalmans to desperation,

The resolutions passed included one condemning the Midnapore outrage and opining that terrorism is a negation of democracy and should therefore be put down. Mian Abdul Aziz observed that terrorism was calculated to demoralize public life and lower its tone.

In bringing the proceedings to a close, the President observed that India was as much the India of the Musalmans as of the Hindus. He warned his fellow-Muslims against indulging in suspicion and distrust against Hindus, who after all were their fellow-countrymen.

Mian Abdul Aziz reminded the League of Sir Syed Ahmad's memorable words: Hindus and Musalmans were like the two eyes of a single person, and injury to one eye would necessarily injure the other. He hoped that Hindu-Muslim unity would not be the mere dream of professional politicians.

Concluding, the President appealed for Muslim solidarity and co-operation in carrying out the resolutions.[1]

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1. *The Indian Annual Register, 1933*, Vol. II., pp. 211-213.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION

II. HIDAYAT GROUP

DELHI, NOVEMBER 25-26, 1933

The Twenty-third Annual Session of the Muslim League started in the Arabic College, New Delhi, on November 25, 1933. Many distinguished persons were present. Haji Rashid Ahmad, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Hafiz Hidayat Husain, President of the League, each delivered their addresses. Haji Rashid Ahmad said:

The ancient and historic city of Delhi, the greatest centre of Indo-Muslim culture, the cradle and grave of Hindu and Muslim empires, the place of birth and death of ancient sages and saints, the victim of innumerable vicissitudes, the scene of great events, and last but not least, the Capital of the Indian Empire, has, once again for the fourth time, been privileged to accord you its warmest welcome on this auspicious occasion of the Twenty-third Session of the All-India Muslim League.

When the last session was being held here, under somewhat difficult circumstances, it was generally expected that the next session would be held during the era of the promised new Constitution, and it was believed that during the discussion some light would be thrown on the working and experiences of the reformed regime; it is a pity that these hopes have not yet been fulfilled. The grant of a Constitution has been greatly delayed; and even now, its inauguration is not in sight. We have met here again, just as we have been assembling for the last five years, either to formulate our demands, or to criticize what

1. Source: *The Indian Annual Register, 1933*, Vol. II, p. 214.

is being proposed for us, which unfortunately is said to be still under enquiry or consideration.

The League being the first political organization of our community, it has, since its inauguration in the year 1906, been foremost in rendering effective service to the community, and though it has had to pass through many a process of evolution, it has yet always been fully alive to the changing needs of Musalmans, and has so far kept pace with the political advancement of the country. It will not be out of place to mention here that the well-known Muslim demands of to-day, for which almost the whole nation is fighting with commendable solidarity, and upon which lies the foundation of the future Constitution from the Muslim point of view, and the credit for which is being given to individuals or other sister organizations, were first thought out by this League, and were adopted as resolutions in its Sixteenth Session, as far back as May 1924, held at Lahore; and it was only after this, that they were adopted by others.

Never was the need for presenting a united front more imperative than it is to-day. Great political changes are impending, and we can ill-afford to pull in different directions. The different organizations may continue to function, but it is absolutely essential that there should be complete harmony and unanimity inside and outside the league; and these organizations should all coalesce with it, to help it to vindicate its demands and to hold itself in readiness to take any emergency action, if necessary.

As Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is not within my scope to enter into any elaborate discussion of the present situation, and I should really refrain from doing so; but I may kindly be forgiven, if I encroach a little upon your valuable time by giving a brief account of some recent political events.

I cannot begin to summarize such events without making a reference, with feelings of horror and sorrow, to the most brutal, inhuman, and dastardly murder of His Majesty the late Ghazi Mohammad Nadir Shah, the King of Afghanistan and one of the most enlightened and progressive Muslim rulers of Asia. He was not only immensely popular in his own country; he also took a very keen interest in the welfare of the Indian Muslims. The last of his many noble announcements which was to subscribe Rs. 3,600 annually to the Muslim University of Aligarh, showed how he had the cause of the education of the Musalmans of his country dear to his heart. The education of his own country was his chief concern; and it may be recalled that one of the last tributes paid to his wise and firm rule while he was alive was by two leading Indian educationists, Sir Ross Masood and Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, when they were recently invited to Kabul to advise him on educational affairs. I find no words to express our contempt and indignation at this foul crime, and ask you, gentlemen, to join with me in praying for eternal peace in Heaven for the soul of the late King Ghazi and Shaheed, and for the welfare and prosperity

of his successor and the neighbouring Muslim country of Afghanistan, for the destruction of which intrigues and conspiracies are prevalent among her enemies—the enemies of Islam. *Amin.*

After our last meeting in 1931, efforts were made by the different communities to come to an agreement as regards their respective shares in the proposed reform; but they failed to reach any common understanding. With the full concurrence of the leaders of various communities, the Prime Minister agreed to intervene; and although the resultant famous Communal Award fell short, not only of the minimum Muslim demands, but even of the recommendations made in the Government of India's Despatch, the members of the major community accused the Muslims of making some secret treaty with the Government. Fortunately it was proved later on that the allegation was true in the case of their own leaders. The Third Round-Table Conference then met; and it was considered most probable that after the conclusion of this, the country would receive the new Constitution. Although the communal questions were not touched, the Conference failed to achieve the desired success. The Secretary of State announced his intention to summarize the proposed Constitution in the form of a White Paper, which was duly published in March 1933. It was further pronounced that a Joint Parliamentary Committee would meet and hear objections, and that after its report was submitted to the Government, steps would be taken to present the new Constitution Act to Parliament. This Committee has been sitting since last May, and has just finished its task of hearing evidence. It is encouraging to note that it gave an opportunity to the League to vindicate its views through its representative.

Our learned President will, I hope, give a full and comprehensive account of the present situation in his Presidential Address, shortly to be delivered to you, from which it will be clear what is being proposed for us, and what it is that is essential for the welfare of our community—that which would help us to maintain an honourable and dignified status in the country. We yield to none in our burning sense of patriotism and earnest and passionate desire to see a free, united and honoured India at as early a date as possible; but this should not be taken to mean that we are for a moment ready to merge our individuality into what appears to us to be a chaotic whole. We want to live as a separate living force, yet in all possible harmony with other forces; we want to live as a community with her own culture and time-honoured traditions, contributing to the welfare and advancement of the country as a whole. We want to live and let others live, and our patriotism consists in trying to establish goodwill, peace and harmony in our motherland by not allowing even those in whose hands political power may happen to rest in the future Constitution of India to trample over the rights and liberties of others.

The Muslims, though fully conscious that both the Communal Award and the White Paper were much below their just and reasonable demands,

agreed to give them a trial, simply because they were decidedly a step forward on the present system of government, and their total rejection meant another indefinite delay to the introduction of reforms in the country. The proposed future Government was in no way favourable to the Muslims; for if in a few provinces, speaking purely for argument's sake, they may hold some power, in several others, it would be the majority community that would hold supremacy and be all in all. My Hindu brethren and countrymen are nevertheless strongly bent upon the total rejection of the Constitution, if the Award and the White Paper are not materially modified. The proceedings of the last meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha at Ajmer and the deliberations of Bhai Permanand at Ajmer and Nagpore, which I need not repeat here, are well known to the audience. They are a true picture of the traditional mentality of the Hindus, and a vivid and clear expression of their intentions that they do not want any *Swaraj* or reformed Constitution unless Hindu Raj throughout is promised to them.

We admit that the proposed Constitution will not help to establish a true national Government, and will not lead us towards Dominion Status, which is the goal; but what more can we expect amidst the present atmosphere of mutual distrust and disunion? A deputation to the League of Nations, or threats of strengthening the *Sangathan* movement, cannot solve this difficult problem. The only solution now is that we should accept, for the present, the proposed reforms, give them a fair trial and join our heads to find out ways and means, by deeds, and not by mere talk, to restore trust, goodwill, harmony and mutual understanding. The sooner we achieve this, the quicker we shall succeed in the attainment of what is the real need of India.

Gentlemen, the deliberations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee are finished, and the delegates will now be engaged in preparing their reports. The Muslim case has been fully presented to them with firm solidarity. The Chairman and the delegates have given a patient hearing to our representation, and we should have every confidence that the report will be favourable. In addition to all that we have hitherto done, let this momentous Session of the League impress upon the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, as well as upon the Government, that nothing short of the proposals contained in the White Paper, coupled with certain important additions vital to Muslims, represented from time to time, will satisfy Muslim aspirations.

The most crying need of the day and the real cause of the disgraceful manifestation of ill-will and distrust, from both sides, is the very inadequate representation of Muslims in the All-India as well as in the provincial services. Many declarations were made and promises given to various Muslim deputations by responsible Government officials to secure the minorities their fair and just share, but the ratio still is very meagre and much below our proper share. At this juncture, this very important cause must be taken up very strongly; and it should be urged that this right may be given to Muslims by

an Act of the Constitution, and not by mere declarations and conventions.

Another important demand still in obscurity is the grant of fundamental rights and security for the application of personal Muslim laws in strict accordance with Islamic *shariat* by Muslim *qazis*, which I believe will receive the full consideration of the Session.

When we assembled last, the country was in a state of chaos and disorder, on account of the Civil Disobedience Movement, which has now been admitted by its organizers and supporters to be greatly injurious to the welfare of the country, and highly detrimental to the achievement of self-government. The losses sustained by the country on account of this movement are indescribable. It is almost impossible for us to make good these losses, specially now, when a general economic depression is surrounding us at all points. It is, however, gratifying to note that the country is now completely relieved of that destructive movement. The terrorist movement which took many valuable and innocent lives, and was a great menace to the peace and tranquility of the country, has also, to a very great extent, been brought under control. There may still be some conspiracies being hatched among a few misguided youths of Bengal; but it is hoped that the firm and strong measures taken by Government, and the general condemnation of such activities from all parts of the country will soon dig out their roots. It is our duty now to show strong disapproval of both the movements, and to help the authorities in maintaining law and order, so very essential for the progress of the country.

Gentlemen, I am sorry I have dwelt so long on All-India matters. I now wish to place before this representative gathering the needs of local Muslims and the handicaps from which my unfortunate community suffers in this illustrious city. Although, the White Paper assures Muslims a separate seat in the next Federal Assembly by separate electorates, in the Upper Chamber only one general seat is proposed, which the poor Muslims can never even dream of capturing. The qualifications of the voters and the system of election to the Upper House is still under consideration. The population ratio of the Hindu and Muslim communities within the municipal limit is 52 and 48 per cent respectively, while the ratio of Muslim members in the Municipal Committee is only 37 per cent. Muslims have no, or very meagre, representation in the other local bodies of Delhi. There is a general desire among the Muslims that the Muslim *Auqafs* should be protected in this Province, so that the endowed properties may be fully safeguarded. I hope these local needs also will receive your due consideration.

I cannot close this address without a brief reference to the affairs in Palestine, and to the treatment accorded to the unfortunate Arab community of that place. Efforts are being made to turn the country into a Jewish State at their expense. We must here urge upon the Government the total withdrawal of the Balfour declaration.

I fear, gentlemen, I have taken much of your valuable time, and I beg you and the President to forgive me for it, and also for any shortcomings in the arrangements of the Reception Committee. Our arrangements have fallen far short of what they ought to have been, but we hope that you will be generous enough to accept our humble yet warm-hearted hospitality.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not take this opportunity to express my thanks to my honourable colleagues in the Reception Subcommittee, specially Khan Bahadur Syed Bahauddin, Khan Sahib S.M. Abdullah, Khan Sahib Mr. Rashid Ahmed, Khan Sahib Hafiz Mohammad Siddiq Multani, Khan Sahib H. Ghulam Hassan Khan, Agha Abdul Aziz and Syed Mohammad Husain, who have taken great pains and have worked hard for the success of the Session. We are most grateful to the Managing Body of the Anglo-Arabic College for the sanction to use this spacious hall, where we are assembling so comfortably during this winter night. The Honorary Secretary of the Reception Committee, Sheikh Ataur Rahman (Advocate), deserves my special thanks, who in spite of his professional engagements, took great pains in discharging the onerous duties and giving satisfaction to us all.

Nothing remains for me to say now, except to ask you, gentlemen, to join with me in praying to the Almighty for the success of this Session, for the establishment of unity and harmony in our midst, for the speedy attainment of our goal, and for all other heavenly blessings that can possibly be bestowed upon us.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF HAFIZ HIDAYAT HUSAIN

At the very outset, it is my most melancholy duty to mourn the death of Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Syed Ali Imam, Sir Mohammad Fakhruddin, Syed Hasan Imam and Khwaja Kamaluddin—all these were great in their line, greater still in their love for Islam. All of them were, in one way or other, connected with the All-India Muslim League, with unique and unsurpassed service to the credit of each. May their souls rest in peace. To their families and relations we offer our respectful sympathies in their bereavement.

In July last, the Council of the All-India Muslim League decided, under Rule 26 of the Rules of the Constitution of the League, to convene the annual meeting of the League in this historic city of the Mughals, and invited me to become the President. I confess to a feeling of embarrassment on my election, for I have always abstained from the limelight, and have been an unobtrusive worker in the cause of the country and the community. I had, however, no alternative left to me but to accept the honour, and I stand here before you to-day acknowledging, with gratitude, this marked token of confidence. Nevertheless, I am conscious of the fact that the position demands earnest and intensive work in the cause of the community. The situation has been

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1. Official Pamphlet, published by Cambridge Printing Works, Delhi.

intensified for more than one reason. In the first place, the unfortunate rift in the League should attract our immediate attention. You, gentlemen, as representatives of the community, have to determine in what light to treat demonstrations by an unrepresentative party caucus.

Reorganizing Muslim Unity

Efforts, however, must be directed towards bringing all Muslims under the banner of the League; and I have no doubt that with but little effort all cobwebs will be swept away as vapour does before a storm. This takes me to the consideration of other All-India Muslim organizations. I acknowledge the the most excellent work that has been done so far by all these institutions. Who dare deny the splendid constructive work of the All-India Muslim Conference, who can impugn the achievements of the All-India Khilafat Conference, who can doubt the lead of the All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema? But all these institutions suffer from an indistinct line of demarcation in the field of their activities. There is an overlapping of their functions, and there is no division of labour. I most earnestly wish that, instead of frittering away energies by running parallel political organizations with identical programmes, the lines of demarcation for the several institutions should be made more distinct. Without presuming to allot duties to other institutions, I trust it will not be denied that for the political rejuvenation of the Muslims of India, the All-India Muslim League is the fittest organization. It has borne the brunt of the work in the past; it is prepared to shoulder the responsibilities in the future. I confess to a period of ennui in the history of the League, and that too at a time when the need for a right lead to the community was the sorest. There was a similar split in the past as you see to-day, and the League lost its pre-eminent position in the political history of India and abroad. Let me very humbly warn you to beware. History is repeating itself. The enemies of the community are again at work; and disruptive forces are out with crocodile tears. This is the time for aggregation, not segregation. In aggregation lies our real strength. Let us bend our energies together to work with an honesty of purpose and singleness of aim for the safety and uplift of our community. On no occasion and in no circumstance, would you find me lacking in the performance of my duties as a common soldier, following the lead of my leaders, haversack on my shoulders.

I have claimed that the All-India Muslim League has a pre-eminent position in the political history of India. I crave your indulgence to refer you very briefly to the very genesis and history of the League to make my meaning clear.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan passed away in 1898, and with him, the Upper India Defence Association of the Musalmans. In 1901, when a great controversy raged round the question of the script and language to be used in the courts of the United Provinces, the Muslims of India lacked the services of a politi-

cal Organization. It was then that the late Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Moulvi Mushtaq Husain put before the Musalmans his scheme for the formation of a political association for the Musalmans, with the object of protecting and advancing their interests. The Association was still in an inchoate state when events of great magnitude occurred both in India and in England. The Musalmans were galvanized by these great events, and their leading men spontaneously came to think that the times required instant action, if self-preservation, in the political deluge that looked like swamping them as a community, was at all to be aimed at. The result of these deliberations was the famous Deputation to Lord Minto that went to Simla on October 1, 1906. The most important points which the Deputation pressed upon the Governor-General's attention, and which have since formed the basic plank of all Muslim claims, were two. In the first place, the Muslims claimed to be an Indian minority with a distinct culture and civilization of their own; and consequently they urged that they could no longer be treated as though they were a small factor that might, without unfairness, be neglected. In the second place, the Government was pressed to devise a scheme to select really representative men to represent Musalman interests. The Deputation also felt that the community must, in the conditions of India that were then emerging, point out to Government a representative body of men whom it could unhesitatingly accept as such. This was considered, both at Lucknow, where the draft of the Address was adopted, and at Simla, where the Address was presented; and it was deemed necessary to assemble a larger body of Musalmans to discuss the desirability of forming a political league of the community. In December, 1906, taking advantage of the session of the All-India Educational Conference at Dacca, the late Hon'ble Nawab Salimullah Bahadur circulated a tentative scheme for the formation of a confederacy, and invited a large number of leaders of thought among the Musalmans to Dacca to take part in the discussions. Several hundred gentlemen travelled to Dacca for the purpose; several thousands came from the Province of Eastern Bengal. As a result of these deliberations, the All-India Muslim League was founded at Dacca on December 30, 1906, and adopted the principles of the Address as its political creed. It has since fought the Muslim battle single-handed; its initial creed is still, over a quarter of a century later, the political creed of the Muslims of India.

When I look back over the vista of great names and great achievements that are indissolubly associated with the All-India Muslim League, I shudder to think what incalculable harm parties riven asunder from the body of the League may not cause. I therefore appeal once more to all the members of my community to cast off their petty differences; for are we not all united in the sole object of our mission—service to our country and our community? It is difficult to say that there should be no differences of opinion; honest differences should be encouraged rather than discouraged, for they are signs of life. But if we keep in mind those essentials, the bed-

rock on which the organization of the All-India Muslim League is founded, I have no doubt that our contribution to the service of the community and the country will not be insignificant.

In order to give the community as a whole that political education which is requisite for its political existence, there should be created, in every Province and in every headquarter of a district—even in every tehsil or *taluqa*—branches of the League to safeguard Muslim interests and to awaken among the Muslim public that consciousness which would ensure their safety and would contribute to the uplift of the country. The Muslims thus organized will then be a power for good in the land and their political organization—the All-India Muslim League—a really dynamic political force. I lay special emphasis on the political education of Musalmans for the reason that now that the orientation of Government is going to be radically different from that to which they have in the past been accustomed, and now that real political power is being vested in the hands of the public, the Muslim public must be made to appreciate the dangers that lie ahead of them, if their policy of *laissez-faire* in matters political does not undergo a change. With political education and political organization, the Muslims will be a factor in the land whose influence would be irresistibly felt in every walk of life. I believe in work among our masses.

The Distortion of Pan-Islamism

It is a fashion these days to charge the Muslims of India with pursuing a policy of segregation in politics and, as a logical corollary, being Pan-Islamists in their views. The barrenness and the fatuity of this charge have been exposed threadbare on more than one occasion. If I refer to it here, it is because I know from personal knowledge that propaganda pursued on these lines is consistently being carried on in India, and even more so in England, and that it has gained the support of some of those Members of Parliament who look at things only superficially and whose training and knowledge do not take them below the surface. All democratic institutions presuppose responsibility to the public. The Muslims are in a numerical minority throughout India, and also in all big provinces except the Punjab and Bengal. In both the latter provinces, their majority is only a bare majority and not an absolute majority like the one the great sister community of the Hindus enjoys in all the other provinces. Would legislatures composed of representatives drawn almost wholly from such absolute majorities be the representatives of the entire public, and would such legislatures answer the description of democratic institutions? No Musalman has ever impugned the right of the Hindu majorities to be in a majority in the central legislatures, and in all those provinces where they are in a majority. If Muslims have asked for weightage, it is only to make them effective minorities in legislatures; in no case have they asked for representation which will bring them to the level of the minorities in the

Punjab and Bengal Councils. Is it then fair for the majority community to agitate for the break up of a mere nominal Muslim majority in the Punjab and for a possible equality in Bengal—and all this in the name of nationalism? I know that in derogation of these rights, of the Punjab particularly, the bogy of Pan-Islamic and Afghan invasions are set up; and when in England last year, I listened to many morbidly emotional speeches that were delivered on the subject by some of those whom one would have credited with looking at things from a truer perspective. This talk of Pan-Islamism is nothing more, to my mind, than mere hallucination.

The idea of *political* Pan-Islamism, in the sense of unifying Muslims into one State, never existed; the ideal of Pan-Islamism is humanitarian, its meaning being that Islam is a factor for the combination of all races and nations, and that it does not recognize the barriers of race, nationality or geographical frontiers. It has never meant that the Indian Musalman has his face turned to Mecca and his back to India. It must be distinctly understood that the interests of the Musalmans of India are centred on affairs relating to India, and not on those outside India, and that the Musalman is as much a part of the Indian nation as any other people living in this land of ours. This bogy of Pan-Islamism is raised in order to injure the legitimate demands of the Muslims, by striking terror in the minds of Europeans and Americans, and has been helpful in enlisting sympathies in England of some of those Members of Parliament whom I have above described. It is doing great injustice to the Muslims to say and preach that the political inetrests of the Muslims are in serious and permanent conflict with the political interests of non-Muslims. I have said before that the All-India Muslim League is founded on the principle of protecting and advancing the Muslims' own separate inetrests, but working in unison with other political organizations for the uplift of the country. No doubt differences between the two communities are inevitable; but the question of conflict arises only when it is sought to deny this difference. It is only by a simple recognition of these differences that an organic whole, which it is the ambition of all patriotic citizens of India to build, can be formed.

Constitutional Issues

It is blurring the issue to invoke the period of the reforms of 1909 and 1916. None of these was destined to give real power to the people. The Constitution now envisaged is different from its predecessors. When real power is to come to the people, every community has a right to ask if it is in the picture in proportion to its importance; for if this is not so, the new Constitution must inevitably fail. The right of the majority to rule is always subject to the necessity that it should not outrage the feelings of the minority; for in that event, the latter is tolerably certain to fight in defence of its position. In a country like India where a majority can never become a minority and a minority can never aspire to become a majority, this is particularly true.

Patriotism therefore requires that the rights of all minorities, and particularly of such an important minority as that of the Muslims of India, must be rigidly safeguarded before any new Constitution is launched. Muslim demands have been reiterated from the platforms of the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference; and the Muslims have repeatedly entered into negotiations with the representatives of the majority community to satisfy the Muslims on these demands. Attempts were renewed at successive Round-Table Conferences; but everybody now knows that, over the question of one single seat in the Punjab, the promised blank cheque was torn into shreds on the first occasion, and on the second occasion, the reactionary forces overcame even the sole representative of the Congress, Gandhiji.

The decision of the communal question was forced on His Majesty's Government by the contending parties not having been able to come to any understanding between themselves. Now when the decision has been given, its reversal is sought, by means which hardly do credit, either to the political sagacity or even the political honesty of those of our contrymen who cry the loudest against it. The communal question has again been opened without regard to the fact that this means retarding the progress of the country, however unconsciously. A section now looks to the League of Nations for a solution; it wants a reference to it. These doctrinaire politicians forget that under the Constitution of the League of Nations, its functions are confined to international problems, i.e., problems which affect one independent country and nation in relation to another independent country and nation, and that the League of Nations is prohibited, by its very Constitution, from meddling in the internal questions of a State, for example, the communal problem within the geographical limits of India. Secondly, even if the League of Nations were not so precluded, where is its executive authority to enforce its decisions. Political forms of themselves accomplish nothing; their value depends upon the spirit which energizes them towards their appointed end. An institution or a form of Government which mirrored the distribution of opinion in society would be of no avail unless there was common agreement among its members about the principles they were to maintain. If, suppose, the decision of the League of Nations went against the Hindu Mahasabhaists—and by all accounts that is the most powerful organization among the Hindus to-day—what guarantee is there that that decision would be accepted? Thirdly, what has the League of Nations been able to do so far? It is notorious that its Minorities Committee meets but seldom, and that its decisions have not satisfied the minorities in countries which may be said to be homogeneous—and the reason is not far to seek. True, that there is gathered in the Assembly of the League each year as distinguished a collection of statesmen as it is possible to bring together in the modern world; but the absence from among them of that common mind about the range and intensity of international action which alone could make the League of Nations amply creative deprives it of essential effectiveness.

Witness, in support of my statement, the recent exit from the League of a Power's representative. It is an irony of fate that, synchronizing with the pathetic appeals for reference to the League of Nations of the communal question of India that were lately being made at Ajmere, the League of Nations was being set at naught by a major Power on international questions. The League of Nations is wholly unacquainted with Indian conditions—how can it be entrusted with the task of solving Indian communal problems? Let us get away from the headlines, the phrases and sensational perorations, and get down to facts, and consider quietly and dispassionately how the new problems could best be met.

The constructive approach demands that questions that have been decided should not be re-opened, and that our vision should be directed on to the onward march. Representative Muslims have said, more than once, that the Award has not satisfied the Muslims; it has not given them their due share in the Punjab and Bengal; it keeps the Frontier Provinces in shackles; it makes no pronouncement regarding Baluchistan; the Sindh question is put in Tartarus; the services question, the language question, the question of personal law, and sundry others which most vitally affect the Muslim in his day-to-day life remain unsolved. If, therefore, anybody has a cause for grievance against the Award, it is the Muslim; but partriotism has shown them a wiser course of not retarding the progress of the country by immediately disowning the Award. They reserve their fight for the things which are their due—by all canons of law and justice and in all consistency with the principles of democratic institutions— for proper occasions; they will continue the fight to secure their country what the Government of His Majesty is committed to: the attainment of fully responsible self-government for India. This is the Muslim policy; and I have no doubt in my mind that it is the correct policy.

Muslim Demands

I revert now to matters which pertain to those Muslim demands whose acceptance, as I have before explained, must be the *sine qua non* of all common agreements among the constituent communities of India for their support of the principles which underlie the future Constitution. These demands have been formulated over and over again, and have recently been placed before the Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference, by the late Sir Muhammad Shafi and by my humble self in a brochure that I published in London in January 1931 and circulated among the members of the Round-Table Conference. Some of the demands—as for example, grant of complete fiscal, legislative and administrative autonomy to the provinces, along with Residuary Powers; federation; separation of Sindh from Bombay; raising the Frontier Province and Baluchistan to the status of equality with other provinces in British India—are matters which are not exclusively Muslim demands. They have been advanced from non-Muslim platforms on more

than one occasion; but if anything is urged against them now, the tragedy is that it is urged on communal grounds. Residuary Powers for the provinces are opposed because their grant would make Provinces like the Punjab and Bengal independent of the Centre in all important matters—a Centre in which the utmost that the Muslims can claim is a third of the seats in the Federal Legislatures. The separation of Sindh—a province no bigger than some of the commissionerships of the United Provinces—is objected to because its population will have a majority of Muslims. Subvention by the Federal Government is objected to both for the Frontier Province and Sindh, but not for Orissa.

Of all the exclusively Muslim demands, I place the public services in the forefront. The question of the services is not a question of bread and butter alone—though this by itself is not negligible—but a question of service to the community and country, and the influence it wields. Unemployment among Muslim young men is increasing; and I therefore advocate increasing employment for them, particularly in the military and police forces, for which the Muslims have shown special aptitude. Statistics show that in many departments of both the Imperial and Provincial Governments the Muslims find no entrance. It is therefore essential that in all departments under the control of the Government of India or the Provincial Governments, including all institutions to whom grants in any form are given by either the Central or Provincial Government, the Muslim element in the services should be fixed in proportion to Muslim seats in the various relevant legislatures and that the fixation of this proportion should not be dependent merely on convention, but should have the sanction of law or statutory regulations. In the military and police the proportion of Muslims should be higher. It is of utmost importance that the claims of the Muslims in every branch of the services should be recognized, and that even in the formation of ministries constitutional prescriptions should be laid down for the appointment of Muslim ministers in the same proportion as that of the services. Under the White Paper proposals, there is no prescription that the ministry must be formed on the advice of the Chief Minister. Therefore, if the method of forming a ministry is left to develop in each province by usage in accordance with prevailing conditions, it is quite possible that no Muslim may be able to join a ministry in provinces where they are in minority.

The acid test of the success of the new reforms will be in their settlement of economic differences between various sectors; and one of these issues lies in the apportionment of the services. The Muslim's claim for an adequate proportion in the services must be statutorily settled. He does not claim employment merely on the basis of communal consideration. Well-qualified men among the Muslims are available, and have been available since a long time for employment in every branch of administration. With a proviso for basic qualifications and a latitude for reasonable local conditions, there

need be no delay in filling all the statutorily sanctioned posts. What the Muslim really wants is statutory protection in the services, otherwise there is every likelihood of his being elbowed out, as is happening in some cases even now—and in favour of those of other communities who are less qualified. The only reason for this is that the Muslim cannot claim the patronage of the employer, or of those whose influence counts towards securing employment.

I will briefly outline the demands of the Muslim community, so that there may be no mistake about them. In the forefront of these is the demand for separate electorates, which the Muslims are not, in the circumstances presently obtaining in the country, prepared to forego. So far, it is this demand, along with the Muslim seats in Bengal and Punjab, representation in the Central Legislature, and separation of Sind, which has been dealt with by His Majesty's Government; and it is to be regretted that the Prime Minister's declaration at the First Round-Table Conference, that in no province would a majority community be reduced to the position of a minority or an equality, has been violated, particularly in the case of Bengal. The Government has, however, not yet made up its mind with regard to other equally vital demands of the Muslims: for example, their share in the services; provision for the appointment of ministers from the Muslim community (both of which I have already dealt with above); safeguards for Muslim personal laws; protection of religion and the safe performance of religious rites; educational facilities; language and script; establishment of *Qazi's* courts; Muslim seats numbering one-third of the total membership in both the Federal Legislatures; introduction of substantial reforms in Baluchistan. All these are matters which need the immediate attention of the Government.

The White Paper Scheme

The White Paper Scheme is no doubt an advance on the present Constitution; it is also a great step forward towards the achievement of responsible government. Conservative opinion in England, led to some extent by Mr. Winston Churchill and Lord Lloyd, is creating an atmosphere in England which is very hostile to India—against giving it further powers, particularly in the field of law and order in the provinces, and for whittling down responsibility at the Centre. I think, however, that Government will be backed by a sufficient majority in Parliament, and outside, to carry the White Paper Scheme through; for, firstly, no real alternative to the general scheme of the White Paper has been propounded, even by the intelligence of Mr. Churchill, and, secondly, because responsible Indian opinion is veering round to the acceptance of this Scheme.

Not that I entirely approve of the White Paper; on the contrary, I am profoundly disappointed with many of its provisions. The Scheme does not grant as large a measure of fiscal, legislative and administrative autonomy to the provinces as it should. It makes no mention of the grant of Residuary

Powers to the provinces; it gives very excessive powers to the Governor-General and the Governor, particularly in the field of legislation; it does not make the High Courts exclusively Provincial subjects; it gives weightage and other discriminatory privileges to Indian States; it does not give the Muslims one-third of all seats in the Central Legislatures; it invokes the principle of a joint electorate in the elections to the Upper House of the Federal Legislature; it makes poor provision for the representation of Delhi Muslims in the Federal Legislatures; it makes no provision for representation of an adequate number of Muslim zemindars, Muslim labour, and Muslim commerce. All these are matters to secure which insistent efforts will have to be made persistently. I do not, all the same, share the pessimism of those who would rather be content with the *status quo* than accept the new Reform Scheme. This is a counsel of despair, though obviously with no sinister motive as its background. My humble advice is to co-operate and work out the reforms in a truely loyal spirit, and to go on consistently agitating, within constitutional limits, for further reforms.

The White Paper Scheme is yet a mere proposal, susceptible of unlimited editing by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. To condemn it outright, resolving the whole question by an article of faith, may be heroic, but it is wholly unsuited to politics. Accommodation and compromise are the only methods of progress in politics. The picture of the Constitution painted in the White Paper is a Federation of all units, composed of the provinces and the Indian States, at the Centre, and autonomy for the provinces. Federation, responsibility, and safeguards are the three legs of the constitutional tripod, and I will briefly deal with these three:

Federation: In the composition of the Centre, unless all the units composing the Centre possess full and equal rights, federation of the unequal States or units becomes meaningless. It is essential, therefore, that all units composing the Centre should possess the largest measure of autonomy, inclusive of the Residuary Powers, if the machinery at the Centre is to be adjusted adequately to the proportions of the problems to be solved; otherwise conflicts and difficulties are bound to occur.

Responsibility: It should not be forgotten that this is not a mere matter of policy, but is also a question of psychology. The present form of government at the Centre is not only very far from strong, but is entirely incompatible with autonomous units. Not only this, but the Princes of India have unequivocally declared that one of the conditions of their participation was responsibility at the Centre. Federation and responsibility therefore go together.

Safeguards: For the first time in the constitutional history of the country, power is being transferred from the Crown to the people of India. So far, India has been governed by the people of England; and these people are not anxious that safeguards of an effective nature should be embodied in the

Constitution, and that these safeguards must environ the Constitution in its infancy. Particularly so, because the Constitution being framed for India, firstly, postulates the break up of the unitary system, and, secondly, creates units for a Federation which, unlike the united and the new Germanic States, are non-existent in India so far.

These safeguards are of two kinds: one for the safety of the Constitution and the other for the safety of the minorities. Those for the safety of the Constitution are couched in very broad and general terms. If it is meant, as it is professed, that these safeguards will come into operation only in extreme cases, and only when there is a real conflict between public opinion, as reflected in the Legistlature, and Governor-General or Governor, then the safeguards must be made definite and beyond doubt. The sphere of interference of the Governor-General and the Governors must be very strictly defined, so that the Legislature and the country might, in the circumstances of a given case, know who was right and who wrong; otherwise there would always be a chance of constant friction and consequent breakdown of the Constitution. Two of the most important safeguards are those relating to (i) financial stability and credit of Federation; (ii) prevention of commercial discrimination. It is only gainsaid (by the White Paper) that there could be no effective transfer of responsibility unless there is, at the same time, an effective transfer of financial control. The White Paper has, to a certain extent, transferred financial control, and the safeguard relating to finances can come into play only when, on account of the minister borrowing recklessly or at exorbitant rates of interest, a breakdown of the Constitution is feared. But very unfortunately for the Finance Minister, though he will have authority in relation to all the subjects pertaining to his Department as for example, the raising of revenue, the allocation of expenditure and the programme of external and internal borrowing —he will be seriously handicapped in the discharge of his duties by the large bulk of income earmarked for expenditure in departments which are beyond his reach. Defence swallows the largest bulk of our income. Expenditure for the army has not been appreciably cut down. Only such armies should be maintained in India which are indispensable for its safety, and a definite programme should be laid down for the Indianization of the army. The process of Indianization should be more rapid, and as I have said before, young Muslims should be recruited in increasing numbers in the army. It is only thus that the country will be relieved of the heavy incubus of expenditure; and the money thus released could be devoted to the nation-building departments. Otherwise, the position of the Finance Minister, despite the powers that he may possess, would be anomalous in the extreme.

The second safeguard to which I want to refer relates to the prevention of commercial discrimination. The proposal in the White Paper goes very much further than what was agreed at the Round-Table Conference.

It is important that the key national industries, inclusive of cottage industries, so far throttled by the dumping of foreign goods should be safeguarded, even under powers of retaliation, as against foreign industries; otherwise the new Constitution will not begin with a happy augury for those arts and crafts in the manipulation of which Indian hands played such an important part, and which were eventually maimed by the substitution of machinery, unfair and, at times, cruel use of power, and an uncontrollable passion for gold.

The other class of safeguards for the safety of the minorities is misplaced. If the safeguard is meant for the welfare of a minority, it should be in the hands of a minority to bring it into operation when needed. This will give the minorities interest in the administration, and will also give them a sense of responsibility, for nothing breeds a sense of responsibility so much as the exercise of responsibility. If the operation of this class of safeguards were left in other hands than those for whose benefit it was devised, the experiences of the present system of administration, affording obvious examples of its barrenness and the fecundity with which irresponsibility breeds irresponsibility, would be repeated.

The Reserve Bank and Exchange Control

Let me now turn to the question of the Reserve Bank, which is engaging the attention of the country. It is important to recollect that a condition precedent to the establishment of a Federal Government is the inauguration of a Reserve Bank. The Reserve Bank, with the Governor-General behind it, will be entrusted with the control of currency and exchange. Thus the operations of the Reserve Bank will remain independent of the people's control. I am afraid this will not be acceptable to India. The Bank should be a shareholder's Bank, and should be free from political influence. Its capital should be largely Indian, as also its Directorate. There must be a good leaven of Indian officers in its management. The Bill, as introduced in the Assembly, provides for a minimum holding of gold and bullion of the value of Rs. 35 crore. To my mind, the amount is inadequate, and should in no case be less than Rs. 50 crore. The gold resources should be conserved by placing an embargo on the export of gold. Last of all, the Indian Legislature should have the right to amend the Reserve Bank Act without reference to Parliament or Secretary of State.

In close alliance with this subject, is the question of the exchange ratio and the linking of the rupee with the pound sterling. I have no doubt that the latter has kept the pendulum steady in India, and has resulted in keeping the finances on a stable basis; but keeping the possibilities of the future in view, power should be reserved to de-link the rupee from the pound sterling whenever it may be found desirable to do so. The ratio fixed at 18d., however, has been to the distinct disadvantage of India. All the world over, wholesale prices of commodities have certainly dropped; but the drop has been more

preciptous and steep in this agricultural country of ours than it could have been anywhere else. It is, therefore, essential that the ratio should be authoritatively fixed at 16d. to the rupee at the highest.

The Superior Services

Although I fully recognize the absolute necessity of inviting and encouraging British recruits for the superior services of India for sometime to come, I am equally anxious to relax the steel frame on as early a date as possible. To secure this, my solution, which I submitted to the Services Committee of the First Round-Table Conference, is that all services should be provincialized, that there should be A-Class and B-Class Services. The powers and emoluments of both the Services should be the same, but the A-Class should get oversea, exchange and other allowances to which members of the Imperial Services are entitled today. The B-Class shall be the present Provincial Services. If this is done, recruitment in Britain will not cease, for conditions of service in India will even then be attractive; and the people will have real control of the services satisfying the requirements of autonomous states.

Elasticity within Limits

There is another important matter relating to the White Paper. Fault has been found with it for being too wooden and inelastic inasmuch as the Scheme set out there has no inherent power of self-determination or self-expansion. I surely think that the Indian Legislature, and, for the matter of that, even the Provincial Legislatures, should have an inherent power of self-determination, as far as the details of the Scheme go; but once the bases of the Scheme have been settled by Parliament, none but Parliament should have the power to abrogate those bases. If this is not done, uncertainty and chaos would ensue.

Quick Implementation

Gentlemen, I have very briefly outlined before you the scheme of administration as it is going to evolve when the new Constitution comes into force. How long the new Constitution will take coming is difficult to prognosticate for the present. I hope it will not take long; for any further delay will defeat the very end in view, that of securing peace in this country. The one immediate call on the Muslim will then be to work it whole-heartedly and prove to the world that Indians are fit to shoulder the responsibilities of administration in their own country, despite diefferences of religion, tradition, culture and history.

Duties of Muslims

If the Muslims have been driven to seek safeguards, the necessity is not of their seeking. The irresistible logic of events, distractions of political vicissitudes and pressures of an economic kind have forced them to the con-

clusion that unless the new Constitution is hedged with effective safeguards for them, their future existence, compatible with their past history, their traditions and their culture, would be jeopardized. These safeguards, once secured, automatically convert the Muslims into a solid phalanx to secure, by constitutional and fair means, a system of administration for India which will give it an honourable and abiding place in the comity of nations of the world. Let the Muslims of India, however, as well realize their own position. No safeguards, however well entrenched, can give them real relief unless they organize themselves and learn how to stand on their own legs in the future India. The Muslim can even to-day be the deciding factor in Indian politics. Once his position is secured—and his demands are in no way inconsistent with democratic institutions—he has his country to work for. Islam has given India notions of fraternity, equality and justice that no system of religions of the world could inculcate. The Muslim is democratic at heart; he has his mission, and that mission is the service of mankind in terms of equality and justice. Let this mission be fulfilled once more; and let us all, Muslims and non-Muslims in this country, without minding the differences, work for our common ideal—the glory of the land of our birth.

Palestine

Let me for a moment turn my attention; with your permission, to the happenings outside India; and the one event that has attracted Muslim attention all the world over is the situation in Palestine. The sanctity of Palestine is a matter of faith with the Muslim. It was the Jazirat-ul-Arab that raised the storm of unrest after the Great War. The Arabs are by nature and constitution an independent race. The Arab will not tolerate the creation of a Jewish National State at his expense, come what may. Recent happenings in Palestine, involving the shooting of several Arabs and injuries to many more, demand an immediate enquiry. Jewish immigration must be stopped forthwith. British Imperial interests themselves require that the Balfour Declaration shall be immediately scrapped. I hope that the Government of India will not fail to impress on His Majesty's Government the intensity of feeling created by the present happenings in Palestine among the Muslims the world over, and practically among all Asiatic races.

Afghanistan

We have only very lately read of the diabolical crime committed in Afghanistan. To the Afghans and the Royal family our heart goes out in their affliction. May Almighty God bestow peace and prosperity to the country of our brave and noble neighbours.

Conclusion

Finally, gentlemen, I need not impress on you the importance of this Session of the League. Your deliberations and your resolutions will be a

beacon light for future generations. Time for practical work has arrived. Theories enshrined in resolutions without practical work is not countenanced by the faith of Muslims. Let us be up and doing, and God Almighty, in his unlimited beneficence and mercy, will help us in our just cause. I am aware of the feeling that has been created in the Muslim mind by some of the unkind utterances at the Hindu Mahasabha meetings and the speeches of the itinerant preachers of this body. Let us not be swayed by these feelings. We as Muslims must continue to have faith in the future of the country, and continue to make it as bright as possible. The country does not lack people who recognize that, in the onward march, no fleet can move under full steam till all the vessels of the fleet are made equally powerful. It is our duty, as citizens of India, not to lay behind refuelling in order to take our just place in the onward march. Those that think that they could reach the goal without all the vessels marching together are enemies of the country and are bound to founder.

The Muslims have so far taken an honourable place in the political history of India. They have studiously kept themselves aloof from all subversive movements; they have refused, as a community, to plough the barren sands of non-co-operation; they have made sacrifices worthy of Islam in the cause of the country. Let their future be worthy of their past and worthy of the best traditions of Islam.[1]

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SESSION

I. The All-India Muslim League records its deep sense of sorrow and horror at the dastardly assassination of His Majesty King Nadir Shah Ghazi of Afghanistan and considers his death a great loss to the Muslim world, and conveys its heartfelt sympathy and condolence to the bereaved royal family of Afghanistan and the Afghan nation.

Resolved further that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Afghan Consul-General. (From the Chair.)

II. The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss on the sad deaths of Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi, Sir Syed Ali Imam, Sir Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Syed Hasan Imam, Sir Fakhruddin, Mirza Ijaz Husain Saheb, and Khawaja Kamaluddin, who were all old and prominent members of the League, and conveys its condolences to the members of the bereaved families.

Resolved further that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the families of the deceased gentlemen. (From the Chair.)

III. Whereas owing to the failure of the two majority communities inhabiting India, viz. the Hindus and the Muslims, to come to an agreement, His Majesty's Government was forced to give a decision relating to some

1. *Source:* Official Pamphlet, published by the Star Press, Kanpur.

matters between the parties and, though the dicision falls far short of the Muslim demands, the Muslims have accepted it in the best interests of the country, reserving to themselves the right to press for the acceptance of all their demands, this Meeting of the All-India Muslim League condemns the activities of those who are trying to alter the decision in such a manner as to deprive the Muslims of those rights which have already been conceded to them, and considers that the best course for all the communities is to work together for the salvation of the country in the spirit of give and take, with a view to securing mutual confidence and goodwill, and strongly urges upon the Joint Parliamentary Committee to uphold the communal decision of His Majesty's Government. (Proposed by Maulana Mohammad Shafi Daoodi and seconded by Dr. Mufti Mohammad Sadiq.)

IV. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League considers it absolutely essential, for the proper representation of important and principal religious minorities in the Government of the Provinces and the Centre, that the Governor or the Governor-General should be enjoined to use his discretion in selecting his ministers in such a way that the following results my be obtained:

(a) Important and principal religious minorities may have their adequate representation.

(b) The minister or ministers selected must have the largest following, in the particular legislature, of members of his own community.

In this connection, this Meeting notes with satisfaction that the evidence given by the Secretary of State for India before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on July 11, 1933, in regard to these points is very helpful. (Proposed by Mr. S. M. Abdullah and seconded by Sheikh Rashid Ahmad.)

V. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League advises the Musalmans of India not to be in any way affected by the militant resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha or the utterances of the communalist Hindu leaders. It further advises the Muslims to co-operate with those Hindu and other non-Muslim organizations and individuals who sincerely believe in the progress of India as a whole, and are ready to work with the Muslims for the achievement of full responsible government by peaceful and legitimate means, recognizing the rights and aspirations of all communities inhabiting this vast country. (Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Yamin Khan and seconded by Prof. Mirza Mohammad Said.)

VI. This Session of the All-India Muslim League characterizes the speech recently delivered by Col. Wedgewood in the House of Commons as advocacy *for* a particular community and *against* the aspirations of the Musalmans, and hopes the British nation and Joint Parliamentary Committee will treat it as such. (Proposed by Haji Rashid Ahmad and seconded by Shiekh Ataur Rahman.)

VII. This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record

its emphatic protest against the policy of the British Government in trying to make Palestine the National Home of the Jews, and requests H.E. the Viceroy to represent to His Majesty's Government the feelings of the Muslims of India that the Balfour Declaration be immediately withdrawn, as it is opposed to the fundamental rights of the people entrusted to their control. (Proposed by Moulvi Karam Ali and seconded by Maulana Mazharuddin.)

VIII. This Session of the All-India Muslim League is strongly of opinion that, for the success of the new Constitution, it is essential that the Muslim damands which yet remain to be met in respect of the following matters be provided for in the new Constitution:

(i) Allotment of the Muslim seats, as one-third of either of the two houses in the Central Legislature.

(ii) Provision for adequate representation of the Muslims from special constituencies.

(iii) Election to the Federal Upper House by the direct method and separate electorates.

(iv) Declaration of fundamental rights relating to Muslim personal laws; establishment of *Qazi's* courts in matters involving Muslim rites and usages.

(v) Adequate representation of Muslims in Orissa, after its separation from Bihar.

(vi) Provision for restraining legislation if three-fourths of the members of any particular community oppose the passage of a Bill, as adversely affecting their religion or their special rights under the Constitution.

(vii) Reforms in Baluchistan.

(Proposed by Maulana Shafi Daoodi and seconded by Maulana Mazharuddin.)

IX. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League, having taken into consideration the letter addressed to its President by certain Muslim leaders of the Punjab, suggesting that advantage should be taken of the expected presence in this country of H.H. the Aga Khan and Mr. M.A. Jinnah, to hold a convention at some suitable place for the purpose of bringing about unity in the ranks of the League, expresses its full concurrence in the spirit of this proposal, and its readiness to accept, at all times and under all circumstances, the guidance and advice of such revered and trusted leaders of the community as the two above-named gentlemen, and authorizes the Council to take such steps in this direction as may be possible and desirable in consultation with H.H. the Aga Khan and Mr. M.A. Jinnah. (Proposed by Prof. Mirza Mohammad Said and seconded by Syed Bahauddin.)

X. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League, while fully supporting the extended franchise for women, is emphatically of opinion that women should be allowed to vote only on their own personal qualification, and not

on the qualification of their husbands or other relatives. (From the Chair.)

XI. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League lays special emphasis on the employment of Muslims in all branches of the Imperial and Provincial services, and all services under bodies to whom any sort of grant is given by the Government; and urges the Government to fix a minimum of employment for the Muslims at one-third in departments and services under the Central Government; and in the Provinces, at the ratio corresponding with the proportion of the Muslim seats in relevant legislatures. (Proposed by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and seconded by Dr. Mufti Mohammad Sadiq.)

XII. This Session of the League is emphatically of opinion that weightage should not be allowed to the Indian States entering the Federation in a manner that would upset the communal balance, and presses upon Government the desirability of allotting seats to various States in the Central Legislatures in proportion to the population of State. (From the Chair.)

XIII. (a) This Session of the League views with great concern the fact that only one seat, by the general electorate, is given to Delhi in the Upper Chamber, which it is next to impossible for Muslims to capture; and therefore it urges upon the British Government to provide one seat by separate election to Muslims, and, in case it may not be possible to provide a separate seat, that one seat be given to Muslims by rotation.

(b) This Session of the League is greatly disappointed that no seats by a separate electorate are provided in any of the Chambers of the Central Legislatures for the Muslims of Ajmer Merwara, and urges upon the Government to grant in the administration similar representation to the Muslims of Ajmer and other Central areas as to Delhi. (Proposed by Moulvi Syed Abdul Jabbar and seconded by Mr. Ijaz Hussain.)

XIV. (a) This Session of the Muslim League draws the attention of the Governor-General to the paucity of the Muslim representation in the Railway Services, and deplores that the percentage of Muslims has not increased in spite of repeated assurances given by the Government representatives on the floor or the Legislative Assembly.

(b) This Session congratulates those Muslim and Hindu members who sat on the Statutory Railway Board Committee in London for amicably settling the communal representation on the proposed Railway Authority, and thus paving the way for a harmonious working of the two communities, which would otherwise have been difficult. (Proposed by Sheilkh Rashid Ahmad and seconded by Syed Mohammad Taqi Hadi.)

XV. This Session of the All-India Muslim League draws the attention of the Governor-General to the paucity of Muslims in the services of the Imperial Bank and fears that the same will follow in the proposed Reserved Bank. (Proposed by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and seconded by Hafiz Mohammad Siddiq Multani.)

XVI. While the All-India Muslim League is the oldest political orga-

nization of the Musalmans and their oldest representative, this Meeting of the Muslim League considers it necessary that so long as the Muslim demands, as proclaimed on January 1, 1929, as well as the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah, are not incorporated in the Constitution Act, the All-India Muslim League should continue to co-operate with the All-India Muslim Conference, which is a body merely constituted for the express purpose of securing those demands and thus establishing a position for the Musalmans of India; therefore this Meeting authorizes the Council of the All-India Muslim League to send its representatives to the Conference, if and when it considers it necessary to do so. (Proposed by Haji Rashid Ahmed and seconded by Sheikh Ataurrahman.)

XVII. This Meeting of the Muslim League strongly protests against the aerial bombardment of the transfrontier tribes and strongly urges the British Government to abandon the forward policy which leads to repression and violence in the independent tribal areas. (Proposed by Maulana Mazharuddin and seconded by Maulana Karam Ali.)

XVIII. Resolved that, in the new Constitution, Residuary Powers should be vested with the component units of the Federation in order to bring all provinces and Indian States on a footing of equality in the Federation. (Proposed by Mr. S.M. Taqi and seconded by Haji Rashid Ahmad.)

XIX. Resolved that the following Members be elected Vice-Presidents of the League for the next term of three years (one from each province and one from the Native States: (1) Khan Saheb Haji Rashid Ahmad Saheb (Delhi); (2) The Hon. Nawab Bahadur Nawab Sir Muzzammil Ullah Khan Saheb (U.P.); (3) Begum Saheba Mian Shah Nawaz (Punjab); (4) Mr. M.A. Jinnah (Bombay); (5) Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto (Sindh); (6) M. Jamal Mohammad Saheb (Madras); (7) The Hon. Nawab Sir Sahebzada Abdul Qayyum (N.W.F. Province); (8) Khan Bahadur Nawab Gul Mohammad Khan Saheb of Quetta (Baluchistan); (9) Sir Abdurrahim (Bengal); (10) Maulana Shafi Daoodi Saheb (Bihar and Orissa); (11) Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhari, M.L.A. (Assam); (12) Khan Bahadur H.M. Wilayatullah Saheb, M.L.A. (C.P. and Berar); (13) Moulvi Syed Abdul Jabbar Saheb (Ajmere); (14) Mohammad Dawjee Dadabhoy Saheb (Burma); (15) Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir Kazi Aziz uddin Ahmad Saheb (Native States). (Proposed by Prof. Mirza Mohammad Mr. S.M. Said and seconded by Mr. S.M. Abdullah.)

XX. Resolved that Moulvi Sir Mohammad Yaqub be elected Honorary Secretary of the League for the next term of three years. (Proposed by Abdullah and seconded by Sheikh Attaur Rahman.)

XXI. Resolved that Khan Saheb S.M. Abdullah and Khan Saheb Syed Nawab Ali be elected Honorary Joint Secretaries of the League for the next term of three years. (Proposed by Sheikh Habiburrahman and seconded by Maulana Azmatullah.)[1]

1. Report of S.M. Abdullah, Hon. Joint Secretary, All-India Muslim League. Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

COUNCIL MEETINGS

A. The Meeting of March 4, 1934

The split in the ranks of the All-India Muslim League ended on March 4, 1934, when, at a combined meeting of both sections held in New Delhi under the presidency of Hafiz Hidayat Husain, a resolution was passed that the cleavage be made up and Mr. M.A. Jinnah be elected president of the united body. The following is the text of the resolution to this effect:

> As it is the wish of the community that the cleavage between the two sections of the All-India Muslim League be made up, and as, in pursuance of that wish, the office-bearers of the two sections have resigned from their respective places, and Mian Abdul Aziz has expressly stated that he would also resign in favour of Mr. Jinnah, and as Mr. Jinnah has expressed his willingness to accept the presidentship, it is hereby resolved that the two sections do amalgamate, and that the Councils of the two Leagues do combine and form a united body, and that the Constitution of the League adopted in 1922 shall remain in force.

Another resolution authorized Mr. Jinnah to fix the date and venue of the next annual session of the League.

The meeting appointed Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Secretary, Khan Bahadur S.M. Abdullah, Mr. Anwarul Aziz M.L.A., and Mr. Shah Masood Ahmed, M.L.A., Joint Secretaries.

B. The Meeting of April 1-2, 1934

First Day

The Council of the All-India Muslim League met at New Delhi on April 1, 1934. Mr. M.A. Jinnah was given an enthusiastic welcome on

his arrival. About 40 members attended. Among those present were Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Mr. Raza Ali, Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Mr. Masood Ahmed, Sir M. Yakub, Mr. Abdul Hafeez, Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan, Nawab Talib Mehdi, and Mr. S.M. Abdullah. Proceedings were not open to the press.

It was understood, as reported by the Associated Press, that Mr. M.A. Jinnah made a striking appeal for unity among all Muslim organizations with a view to confront Government with united demands. He reviewed the White Paper scheme very critically.

It was further understood that Mr. Jinnah emphasized the need for propaganda outside the country, and hoped to do his best in this direction when he returned to England, for which place he would sail on April 23. Some speakers expressed a feeling that Mr. Jinnah should stay in the country at this critical hour. Mr. Jinnah replied he could at any time come back to the country by air when needed, and that he would be promoting the interests of the country in England.

It was understood that the Council had a general discussion on the present political situation. Various opinions were expressed, and after about three hours' discussion the meeting adjourned till the next day; when resolutions were taken up. The general trend of discussion seemed to have been in favour of unity amongst the various Muslim organizations.

Mr. Jinnah was believed to have characterized the White Paper as intended to exploit Indians. He was said to have highly deprecated the proposed Constitution of Federation.

Maulana Shaukat Ali, it transpired, said nothing about the White Paper; but he appealed for unity. He favoured a compromise with the Hindus for, he said, if Muslims wanted to have discussions with Hindus, the latter would surely have them.

Begum Shah Nawaz and Mr. Yamin Khan also appealed for unity, but were of opinion that the White Paper should not be condemned. The Muslims should think of the consequences, for there would be a party in the country which would accept it and favour it. Mr. Yamin Khan suggested that they should have a dictator amongst the Muslims who should be obeyed.

Mr. Raza Ali, though he favoured concerted action by Muslims, thought that there was no harm in having the Muslim League and Muslim Conference as separate bodies, for they had an almost identical programme. They could, to his mind, work separately, and would thus be able to do more work.

Second Day

A few more Nationalist Muslims, including Mr. Asaf Ali and others, attended the second day's deliberations in their private capacity. The Nawab of Chhatari also attended the day's deliberations.

It was understood that Mr. Asaf Ali addressed the Council for about

an hour, in the course of which he declared that Nationalist Muslims were convinced that Mr. Jinnah was a man of principle, and that the differences of opinion that existed between Mr. Jinnah, himself and Nationalist Muslims were honest differences based on principle. They were entitled to have differences of opinion, and the Nationalist Muslims would take the chance to convert others to their fold. He wanted the Constitution of the League based, preferably, on the lines of democracy, so that they might have a bigger representation of the Muslim community.

It was further understood that in the course of his speech, Mr. Asaf Ali expressed the hope that under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, the doors of the League would be thrown open to all, and no attempt to monopolize the League would be made by any one section. It was this hope and Mr. Jinnah's return to the League which made it possible for the speaker and his friends to come and see a change of spirit in the League.

The Communal Award was a hornet's nest, and he did not want to complicate matters by commenting on it; but the White Paper was a great danger with which India was threatened. Muslims should concentrate on preventing the materialization of this danger, and any action in this respect would have his support. Mr. Jinnah commanded the respect of all, since he wanted India to walk along the path of progress.

It was understood that, in the voting on the first resolution moved by the Chair, one Nationalist Muslim opposed the motion, while the rest remained neutral.

Sir Mohammad Yakub, in addressing the meeting, congratulated Mr. Asaf Ali for his presence at the League meeting after a number of years. He said that if Nationalist Muslims had separated themselves from the League, it was of their own accord, and the League had not asked them to do so. He asked what improvement Dr. Kitchlew, who was a Nationalist Muslim and who had been the Secretary of the League for four years, had made in the position of the League. In conclusion, Sir Mohammad Yakub welcomed Mr. Jinnah, who was taking a keen interest in the League and was leading them towards unity.

Mr. Jinnah, in his address, made a survey of the whole situation. He appealed to the Muslims to do their best for the cause of the country and also financially assist the League. As for the call on him to lead the community, he said he was doing it to the best of his ability.

RESOLUTIONS

The Council of the League then passed several resolutions, the substance of which is given below (their exact wording is either not available or uncertain):

I. The League should accept the Communal Award so far as it went, until a substitute was agreed upon by the various communities, and on that

basis, express its readiness for co-operation with other communities and parties to secure such a future Constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country.

II. The Council strongly supported the proposal of a strong and influential deputation to wait on the Viceroy to lay before him the facts of how the Balfour Declaration had supported the Jews of the world to buy land and settle down in Palestine, which had deprived their original Arab inhabitants, Muslims and Christians, of their rights, and had ruined the peace of the Sacred Land. The Council also expressed its whole-hearted sympathy and support for the Arabs of Palestine.

III. The Council expressed great apprehension on the situation in Ajodhya and strongly condemned the reported excesses committed against Muslims in the area and called upon the Government to take speedy action for bringing the offenders to justice.

IV. The Council appointed a committee, consisting of Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury, Sir Mohammad Yakub, Haji Rashid Ahmed, Mr. Hilal Ahmad, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Husain Imam, Mr. Masood Ahmed and Mirza Mohammad Syed, to reconsider and amend the Constitution of the League and place their report before the next annual session.

V. The Council resolved that Provincial branches of the All-India Muslim League be revived and reorganized, and requested the following members of the Council to make efforts in this direction within their provinces and communicate the results of their efforts to the Secretary of the League by June 30: Mr. S.M. Abdullah and Mr. Asaf Ali (Delhi); Mr. Hidayat Husain (U.P.), Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury (Assam); Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed (Bengal); Mr. Husain Imam and Mr. Masood Ahmed (Bihar); Mr. Jamal Mohammad and Syed Murtuza (Madras); Mr. M.C. Chagla and Khan Bahadur Alibaakza (Bombay); Syed Habib Khwaja Gul Mohammad Khan and Begum Shah Nawaz (Punjab); Mr. Abdullah Haroon (Sind); Mr. Abdullah Yusuf (Ali N.W.F. Province); Mr. Wilayatullah and Mr. Yusuf Sharif (C.P.); Syed Abdullah Jabbar and Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg (Ajmer); Raja Ghazanafar Ali (Indian States).

VI. The Council expressed grave concern at the condition of Mr. Obeidullah Khan, and requested the Government to release him immediately—on humanitarian grounds, if not on political grounds.

MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT ON THE MEETING

Giving his impression of the meeting of the Muslim League Council, Mr. Jinnah, in an interview to the Associated Press, said:

After two days' deliberations of the Council meeting, which was the most representative that I have seen during my connection with the League, extending now to over 20 years, I must say I was immensely impressed with most of the speeches that were made there by various leaders, who came from

different provinces in India. The League is perfectly sound and healthy, and the conclusion I have come to is that Musalmans will not lag behind any other community in serving the very best interests of India. To condemn the White Paper, one does not require special arguments, one has only got to read the White Paper proposals and understand them, and that is enough. But while many of us feel that this treacherous scheme is almost at our door—and I for one have not hesitated to declare my views with regard to the scheme —the problem of all problems which still confronts us is how to avert the scheme being foisted upon India. That cannot be achieved, and will not be achieved, until there is unity between Hindus and Muslims.

India looks forward to a real, solid, united front. Can we even at this eleventh hour bury the hatchet, and forget the past in the presence of imminent danger, and close our ranks to get sufficient strength to resist what is being hatched both at Downing Street and in Delhi? It is up to the leaders to put their heads together, and nothing will give me greater happiness than to bring about complete co-operation and friendship between Hindus and Muslims; and in this desire, my impression is that I have the solid support of Musalmans. The Council has passed a resolution which is before the public. It clearly indicates how that unity can be achieved immediately. On my return to India, I have seen abundant evidence that public opinion, both Hindu and Muslim, thinks alike in terms of the political evolution of the country.

The emphasis which Muslims place on the Communal Award is only an indication of their desire to make sure that any national demand which they join to put forward on behalf of the country will incorporate the safeguards which Muslims consider to be a minimum. Muslims are in no way behind any other community in their demand for national self-government. The crux of the whole issue, therefore, is: can we completely assure Muslims that the safeguards to which they attach vital importance will be embodied in the future Constitution of India?[1]

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1. *Source: The Indian Annual Register, 1934*, Vol. I., pp. 317-319.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

BOMBAY, APRIL 11-12, 1936

The Twenty-fourth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Bombay April 11, 1936, in a specially constructed *pandal* under the presidency of Sir Syed Wazir Hasan, former Chief Judge of the Oudh Chief Court. There was a large gathering present, including about 200 delegates from outside. The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Quran; after which Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Chairman of the Reception Committee, read his address:

On behalf of the Reception Committee, and as its Chairman, it is my pleasant duty and proud privilege to welcome you to this City in the spirit of that cordiality and fellow-feeling for which Bombay has made a distinct reputation. I am, indeed, extremely grateful for the honour of this rare opportunity of meeting the chosen representatives of Muslim India, and I take the honour conferred upon me more as a tribute to the memory of my worthy ancestors than as a recognition of high political services and achievements on my part; for I am, as yet, a volunteer in the field of communal and national advancement, a sphere of work which by reason of its comprehensiveness can absorb and find a place for all workers high and low.

I invite you to our city, Bombay the beautiful, the Second City of the Empire, the city of politics and business, of business politicians and political businessmen, the city which has led in every phase of Indian life in modern times, and a city, above all, which is unhesitating in repeatedly coming to the help of suffering and distressed humanity. Bombay is the Gateway of India—a

gateway in every respect, even of ideas, influences and experiences. It is, therefore, very appropriate that the present epoch-making Session of the All-India Muslim League should be held in this city.

Ladies and gentlemen, much as it has been my desire and the desire of my Committee to make all possible arrangements for your conveniences and comforts in a manner befitting your high place as delegates to the Session, we are aware of the shortcomings in this regard. I request you to overlook these shortcomings in the spirit of Muslim forbearance, and courtesy; and I assure you with a full heart how highly the Muslims of this city value the opportunity extended to them of entertaining you to the extent in their power.

On behalf of the Reception Committee, it is also my duty to thank you for the readiness with which you have responded to the call of the League. When I look in front of me and consider the extent of the sacrifice which many of you may have made in attending this Session, my heart goes forth in gratitude to God for exercising our mind towards real earnestness and self-sacrifice in the common cause of Muslim amelioration. The all-round uplift of the Muslims is the main object of the All-India Muslim League, which has met to-day at a most important juncture in our country's history. The sun of the Reformed Constitution is rising on the horizon, after years of conjoint deliberation at the seat of Imperial power, when every community had its own opportunity to put its case in furtherance of its interests. After a period of collaboration, in which Muslim representatives played a worthy part on behalf of the welfare of our community, the Government of India Act 1935, embodying the principles of the Reformed Constitution, has been passed by Parliament and has received the Royal assent. On the eve of the introduction of the Reforms in the government of the country, it is our duty to examine the features thereof in the light of Muslim interests and requirements and consider such policy and procedure, both individually and conjointly with the sister communities, as will make the Reforms yield the best possible results from the point of view of Muslim welfare and national advancement. It is also our duty to take stock of the present situation as regards the status of the Muslim community, to consider the extent of the progress made as a result of our past efforts, in the different departments of Muslim welfare, and the augmentation of our efforts in the future.

The necessity for the holding a session of the League on the eve of the impending constitutional changes was urged by no less a politician than Mr. M.A. Jinnah, whose patriotism and unqualified devotion to Muslim well-being have been the mainsprings of the All-India Muslim League during the long period of its work and activity. It is needless for me to speak at any considerable length on the merits of our leader, Mr. Jinnah, who is held in high esteem by all the communities in the country and by the Government, and to whose incessant work on her behalf, all India owes a deep debt of gratitude. This is even more the case with Muslim India, whose cause he has

championed without fear or favour; and I assure you, ladies and gentlemen, when the history of present-day India comes to be written, the name of Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the fearless upholder of the Muslim cause, will find a place of everlasting renown.

As if to fit in with the requirements of the momentous character of the present Session, we have been given a President who is in every way well equipped to give the lead that our community needs at this juncture. Sir Syed Wazir Hasan is a well known figure among the founders of the All-India Muslim League. As the former Chief Justice of the Oudh Chief Court, our President has set an example in self-sacrifice by agreeing to guide us in the service of our community, rather than enjoying his well-earned rest and leisure. Example is better than precept, and it is the light of the lives of such men as our President that must illumine our path to progress and all-round prosperity.

It is not for me to stand for any length of time between you and our President, who will give us the lead at this momentous juncture, but you will certainly extend to me your kind indulgence to speak a few words on topics of vital interest to our progress and well-being. First and foremost is the question of our attitude with regard to the Reformed Constitution. I consider that whatever criticisms may be levelled against it, it has come to stay and my friends here are all agreed that it must be worked in a spirit of co-operation. The Reforms may not have gone far enough, but that is no reason for a counsel of despair and an attitude of negation. As a result of the unremitting labour of our leaders, we have found, in the Reformed Constitution, a measure of rights which must be used and applied to the best advantage. A detailed examination of the features of the Constitution, in so far as it affects our life and well-being, will be within the province of our President; but I hope that our attitude towards the working of the Reforms will be so framed and co-ordinated as to lay special stress on directing our efforts at improvement towards bringing more education to the poor, realizing better conditions for the agricultural and industrial classes, and improving relations between the various communities in the land.

It is a matter of no small gratification that, as a result of efforts in the past, much headway has been made in the matter of Muslim education. Education is the very breath of modern civilized existence; and a community that neglects the education of its sons and daughters has very poor chances in the struggle for existence and success, which is the most exacting feature of contemporary life. Illiteracy leads to indolence and superstition, producing, in its extreme forms, fanaticism and disharmony; and if the Muslim community is to take her rightful place among the sister communities in the land, working for, and sharing in peace, the common good with the rest of the country, there is no doubt that her sons and daughters must become blessed with the guiding light of education and reasoned understanding. Though the record of the past few years shows a creditable rise in the number of Muslim boys joining

schools, and colleges, much ground still has to be covered before at least half the number of our young men can be called educated. It is a work of steady toil, requiring the energy and sacrifice of all of us; and I sincerely hope that this aspect of Muslim regeneration will be kept in the forefront of our programme and worked at with devotion. In this connection, it is necessary for me to refer with special emphasis to the need of the education of Muslim women. The conditions of modern life have made education of women no less important than the education of men, if a society is to achieve all-round success.

The attention of our leader should also be drawn to the need of providing for vocational training in the courses of education, so that the unemployment of educated youths may be avoided as far as practicable. It has been an unfortunate feature of our present-day education that thousands of educated young men with high attainments in arts feel stranded as soon as they complete their course. Practical training for an industrial or commercial career, side by side with general education, will relieve the stress of unemployment and direct youthful energy into useful channels. It is also necessary not to neglect the aspect of the physical development of our youth. A short course of military training at the right period will make the community strong, vigorous and self-reliant, and imbue our youth with a feeling of fitness and confidence in the life's battle of them.

Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to state that, in common with the lot of our fellow-countrymen of our sister communities, the lot of the Muslim masses is deplorably bad. The resources of agriculture and industry, which form the mainsprings of our country's wealth and well-being, have been steadily drying up, with the result that after meeting the burdens of his work the worker is left with very little for himself. It may not be possible for us town-dwellers to visualize the extent of the misery prevailing all around; but true it is that the food and clothing problem for the masses is rapidly becoming very acute. Various causes have contributed to this pathetic situation; and I feel that the time has come when those who guide our destinies should put their heads together to find a solution for the relief of the distressed. It is an important problem on which the leaders of the country, in conjunction with the Government, should endeavour to do their best. I appreciate that this is a problem above all communal viewpoints, the lot of the poor in the country being the same, whether Hindu or Mohammedan. It is, therefore, necessary that the question should be approached in joint deliberation by the eminent leaders of all communities, and that steps be taken to improve the chances of agriculture and industry in the country.

This leads me to the basis of our relationship with the other communities. At their meeting held on February 26, 1935, the Council of the All-India Muslim League have passed a resolution that they "accept the Communal Award as far as it goes until a substitute is agreed upon by the

various communities concerned,'' and on that basis they express their ''readiness again to co-operate with any community or party with a view to securing such a future Constitution for India as would satisfy the people.''[1] That resolution puts our position in a nutshell, and I earnestly hope that, ere long, a settlement satisfactory to all will be reached and Indian unity will become an accomplished fact. What in my opinion is most important is the preservation of cordial relations in daily contact between the communities. The Mohammedan community constitutes an important limb of the great Indian nation, and it is my earnest desire that the Hindu and Muslim communities should disabuse their minds of all distrust and suspicion. In the circumstances in which India is placed to-day, it is likely that there will be points at issue between the communities, but that is no reason to disturb the atmosphere of cordiality which must reign supreme for the common good and welfare of the country at large. I appeal to our Hindu fellow-countrymen to take a large view of our efforts at self-realization. A strong, renovated and self-conscious Muslim community will be better fitted to fulfil its mission as part of the Indian nation than otherwise. Let it be plainly understood that our aim is not to secure more jobs or preferential treatment, but the general uplift of the 70 million Indian Muslims so that the structure of our national unity will be strong and complete. Our communal and separate efforts are justified to the extent of our need for constructive work and progress among the Muslims, so that in regenerating the Muslim community, we are regenerating a vital section of the Indian population. A certain amount of communal effort has therefore become a matter of necessity for the progress of our community, and I dare say our communalism is but a prelude to the attainment of full-blown nationalism.

I, therefore, appeal to you not to let anything come in the way of the preservation of happy and cordial relations with our countrymen of other faiths, and not to allow anything to interfere with the right approach towards large questions of paramount importance for the common good of the country.

The Muslim Community is a part and parcel of the vast Indian nation, comprising 70 millions human beings thrown in constant daily contact with others in the country, under the same Government, under the same law, enjoying the same privileges and suffering the same disabilities. As such, believe me, my friends, it is impossible for us to stand aloof or attempt to work out a salvation divorced from the rest. Unity is the bed-rock of nationhood, as it is also the essence of all religion. And no Constitution, however advantageous from our point of view, can work well or survive in the absence of inter-communal goodwill and harmony. Unity is therefore the prime need of the hour. Why, even an absolute *Swaraj* Constitution would be worthless for making a happy and peaceful life in the country without the forces

1. First passed at the Council Meeting in 1934—cf. Resolution I, p. 231.

of unity. The achievement of unity itself, in the first instance will enable us to frame a Constitution entirely after the choice of all the people inhabiting this country. I make bold to say that even the Constitution awaiting introduction will not do the country the amount of the good possible if the various sections of the people are not agreed to extract from it the measure of advantage and progress it is capable of yielding.

I have heard great men, men of right thinking and large outlook, say that true religion and religious belief do not stand in the way of goodwill and harmony in human relationships. On the other hand, it is the main function of religion to introduce into human conduct the golden virtues of unity and harmony, so that the elements of strife and discord may vanish and leave the people to live in peace and happiness. God is one and indivisible, and the different religions are but different ways of understanding Him. When such is the case, there is no warrant for any disunion on religious grounds.

For the sake of God, of our country and our community, let us make disagreement and discord a thing of the dead past, and let us invite others also to make it so. Let us approach our people and say that we cannot do without unity; and let us ask the Hindu leaders to say likewise to their people. Let India open a new chapter of life which will be grand in its harmonious conception, and efficient in working out the happiness and prosperity of our people, guided by that sublime and eternal balm—unity, the unfailing panacea of all human ills.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid, I have taken a bit more of your precious time than I expected. I now hasten to leave the field to my successors in the order of our programme.[1]

Mr. Jinnah on the President of the Session

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, in inviting Sir Syed Wazir Hasan to occupy the Chair, recalled the latter's services to the Muslim community and the country at large. He added that Sir Wazir Hasan was also prominently associated with the Lucknow Pact. In view of the vital importance of the present Session, when they had to formulate their attitude towards the coming Constitution, when they had to evolve a policy and programme for work inside and outside the legislatures, and they had to chalk out a plan for the much-desired communal unity, no one was more suitable than Sir Syed Wazir Hasan to give them the proper lead. Therefore, the eyes of Muslim India fell upon the 'soldier and warrior' to guide its political destinies.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SYED WAZIR HASAN

In January 1857 broke out what is in history called the 'Mutiny of the

1. Official Pamphlet, printed by Alhijaz Printing Press, Bombay.

Indian sepoys'. On Monday, May 10, the revolt reached its climax when the mutineers made themselves masters of the city and palace of Delhi. On September 21, Bahadur Shah, the 'aged titular Emperor of India' was arrested by Lieutenant Hudson, and with his arrest vanished the shadow of the great Muslim Empire of India and the Indian Empire of the Indians. Some English historians of India have called the Mutiny a 'fortunate accurrence'. Indeed, a more 'fortunate occurence' than the Mutiny of 1857 never took place in India. Attempts have also been made to justify such a description of the Mutiny. It has been said that the Mutiny "swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy pampered army ... it replaced an unprogressive, selfish and commercial system of administration by one liberal and enlightened ... Lastly it taught India and the world that the English possessed a courage and national spirit which made light of disaster, which never counted whether the odds against them were two or ten to one; and which made them confident of victory although the conditions for success appeared all but hopeless".

Gentlemen, I am half inclined to agree with this description of the Mutiny of 1857—but for different reasons.

Not only the real but the immediate cause of the Mutiny was oppression and economic exploitation of the people of India by that trading corporation, the East India Company. The pages of Indian history dealing with this period are written red with numerous instances of tyranny and economic suffering, and it is not necessary for the purposes of my address to recount them.

Sir Syed Ahmad, in his book, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*, has stated that the extreme poverty of the people of India, particularly of the Musalmans, caused by the numerous oppressive and predatory acts of the East India Company, was one of the chief causes of the Revolt of 1857.

Inspite of the fact that attempts have been made to challenge the opinion expressed by that great statesman and thinker as to the cause of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, all impartial historians have come to agree that Sir Syed's opinion was absolutely correct.

I will now state some of the reasons why I am inclined to share the view that the Mutiny of 1857 was a 'fortunate occurrence'. One of the direct results of the Mutiny was the extinction of the East India Company.

It must be admitted that the death of the Company marked the end of a rule whose depredations had resulted in great misery and suffering for the Indian people. In the days of the East India Company, and in the days immediately following its extinction, neither the people of England nor of India had developed the art of camouflaging their actions and policies to such a pitch of perfection as it attained soon after. In those days oppression was called oppression, and exploitation was called exploitation. It is a grim irony that those very interests which were formerly acquired with the help of deception or sheer brute force are now flaunted as legal and legitimate 'rights'.

The Royal Proclamation of 1858

Another reason why I am inclined to agree with the view that the Mutiny of 1857 was 'a fortunate occurence' is the fact that it was followed by direct connection of the Crown with the Government of India. Her most Gracious Majesty, the late Queen Victoria, issued her famous Proclamation on November 1, 1958, to the Princes and peoples of India. I will beg leave of you to quote a few passages from that Proclamation. Her Majesty said, "We hold ourselves bound to the nations of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." This unequivocal language created new hopes and expectations in India.

I presume that the interpretation of the words of Her Late Majesty quoted above will not be disputed. What are then the obligations of duty which bind Her Majesty to the people of India? Firstly they are the same which bind Her Majesty to all her other subjects, one of such obligations had been fulfilled by the predecessor of Her Majesty to her British subjects by Parliament passing the Reform Act of 1832, and again by passing the two subsequent Reform Acts during the reign of Her Gracious Majesty. The numerous legislative measures passed by Parliament granting self-government to various Dominions can be considered in the same light. The fulfilment of the same 'obligations and duties' to the people of India has still not come to pass, though a period of nearly a century has elapsed since the Queen's pronouncement. Not only have those obligations not been fulfilled, but they are frankly stated by the people of England to be mere illusions and a dim and distant 'goal' of His Majesty's Government in the realms of India.

Another significant and very material part of Her Majesty's Proclamation is as follows:

"And we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors." A few paragraphs after this occurs that part of the Proclamation to which I have already invited your attention. Having regard to the setting of these paragraphs and the scheme of the Proclamation as a whole, it would appear that the several parts of that announcement are interdependent. If that is so, it further follows that, in consideration of the fulfilment of the obligation of allegiance on the part of the people of India, a promise was made to fulfil the 'obligations of duty' in the part quoted above. I offer no apology for approaching the consideration of the contents of the Proclamation from a lawyer's point of view and for using legal phraseology. It is a legal document and must be interpreted as such.

Now, gentlemen, who can say that the Indian people have not fulfilled their pledge of allegiance both by word and deed. Need I remind, on your behalf, those who are apt to forget our magnificent—I was almost going to

say, our momentous—fulfilment of this pledge when England was fighting the Great War on the battlefields of Europe, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Egypt in 1914-18, on an issue which was wholly foreign to our own interest?

The Congress and Sir Syed Ahmad

The period which immediately followed the Proclamation was a period of deep demoralization and despondency for the Muslims of India. The Mutiny cut them adrift from their old moorings, economic and political. This feeling of despondency was aggravated by the fact that they found themselves wholly unprepared to take their rightful place in the new dispensations and adjustments which were rapidly coming into existence as a result of the impact between the Western and Eastern ideals, political and social institutions. After some controversy, the foundations of English Education in India were laid in 1833. While the Musalmans of India still possessed their great heritage, the Empire of India, though only nominally, and while they clung to that shadow, like a drowning person clinging to a straw, the Hindus of India had commenced to prepare themselves for the new order of things. The older of the universities in India were established in 1885, and the High Courts and the Legislative Councils between 1861 and 1863. In 1878 the Indian Association was founded in Bengal. In 1881 the Madras Mahajan Sabha was established; and the Bombay Presidency Association was started in January 1885.

Thus, it can be truly said that this process of assimilation had already been completed, or well nigh completed, by the Hindus when a small band of sincere and ardent patriots assembled together at Bombay on December 27, 1885. An unprejudiced reading of the history of those days must produce the conviction that the foundations of the movement to attain freedom for India were laid on that memorable morning of December 27, 1885, by that band of patriots. They little thought that the movement started by them would continue to exist 50 years thence; still less did they think that the struggle commended by them would assume such large proportions, and would, with the lapse of time, increase in bitterness and intensity.

Before I close this part of my address, I must draw your attention to a very significant statement contained in the manifesto issued by the convenors of the Bombay meeting. It was stated therein that the conference would be composed of delegates and leading politicians "well acquainted with the English language". The qualification of a good knowledge of the English language, when applied to the Musalmans of India as a class, automatically operated as a check to their admission in the National Congress as delegates. It was, however, natural in the circumstances of those days that the aforesaid qualification should be prescribed.

In the year 1869, Sir Syed Ahmad saw with great clarity of vision that

the only correct means of extricating the Musalmans of India from the slough of mental despondency and economic depression, into which they had fallen after the Mutiny, was to inculcate, into the minds of the younger generations of the Muslims of India, Western ideals of life and government. What those ideals were according to him can be gathered from his *Safarnama-i-Englistan*, which he wrote in the year 1869, while he was staying in London. They were above all 'patriotism and liberty of thought'. Obviously the object which Sir Syed had in view could not be achieved except through the education of Muslim youths in the English language and on Western lines. On his return from Europe, he first opened a school at Aligarh in May 1875, which was raised to the status of a college within two years.

Scarcely eight years had elapsed when the foundations of the Indian National Congress were laid in Bombay as described above. Sir Syed Ahmad correctly gauged the situation in which the Musalmans of India stood in the year 1885. He found that they were not prepared to take part in the active politics of the country, according to the standard laid down by the Congress. The generation which has passed since has repeatedly affirmed the accuracy of the diagnosis Sir Syed Ahmad made of the conditions and the circumstances then existing in India in relation to the Musalmans. Those circumstances and conditions were mainly these:

1. The Musalmans had not had enough time to prepare themselves to fit in with the new order of things and adjustments proposed by the Indian National Congress.

2. The disastrous results of the economic condition of the Musalmans of India brought about by the Mutiny of 30 years ago.

3. What might be a politically organized agitation for Hindus was likely to turn into another rebellion when applied to the Musalmans.

4. An assiduously nurtured suspicion and distrust of the Musalmans of India by the British people.

These were the causes which impelled Sir Syed Ahmad to advise the Musalmans of India against participation in the Congress movement. I very strongly repudiate the suggestion that Sir Syed Ahmad was opposed to self-government in the country, or that he was less patriotic in his ideals than the greatest patriot amongst any other section of the people. Five years before his famous speech of December 28, 1887, at Lucknow, he had delivered a speech in the Viceroy's Legislative Council in support of representative institutions as an ideal. But he had advised the introduction of such institutions into this country to be postponed until every section of the people of the country had attained equality in education *and achieved unity as one nation*. It is impossible to deny the truth and the widsom of these words. At least it will be agreed that December 1887 marks the dawn of political consciousness among the Musalmans of India.

Muslims Enter Politics

The next active step in their political life was taken by the Musalmans of India under the leadership of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk at Lucknow in October 1901. An institution with the name of Muslim Political Association was started. A programme of work was prepared; and expression was given to the view that having regard to the conditions then existing, it was not desirable to co-operate with the Indian National Congress in its political activities; that such a co-operation would be more injurious than advantageous to the political life of the Indian Musalmans as a corporate body. The scheme proposed by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was that a Muslim political association should be organized and constituted in every village, and a district association in every district, and a provincial association in every province, and that the association then founded should be an All-India association. Efforts were made to institute such an association. Then came the famous deputation of Muslims to Lord Minto, under the leadership of His Highness the Agha Khan, on October 1, 1906. In this Deputation both Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk took active part. The next step after this was the laying of the foundation of the All-India Muslim League at Dacca in December 1906. It is very interesting reading to trace the development of political thought and gradual widening of political ideals amongst the Musalmans of India in the speeches and writings of that veteran leader of the Muslims, *viz.* Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. In December 1912, the All-India Muslim League altered its Constitution by declaring that the foremost object of the League was the attainment of self-government suited to India. The present Constitution describes the same object in the following words: "Attainment of full responsible government for India, by all peaceful and legitimate means, with adequate and effective safeguards for Musalmans."

It was only six years before this momentous change in the Constitution of the All-India Muslim League that the Congress had expressed the opinion that the system of government obtaining in the self-governing Dominions should be extended to India. The Musalmans of India, therefore, were not much behind the Congress politicians in laying down self-government as the goal of our country's political development.

It will be seen that at the Congress Session held at Bombay in 1915, the Constitution was radically altered and the doors of entry into the fold of the Congress were thrown open to representatives of any association which had as one of its objects "the attainment of self-government within the British Empire by constitutional means". Thus the goal of both these political associations, the All-India National Congress and the All-India Muslim League was defined in practically the same language. At the same Session of the Congress, a resolution was passed instructing the All-India Congress Committee to confer with the executive of the Muslim League and frame a scheme of self-

government. This, as you are all aware, culminated in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. The Pact must go down in Indian history as a great landmark in the political evolution of the country, as a signal proof of identity of purpose and earnestness of co-operation between the two great sections of the people of India in the task of the attainment of responsible government. However, it soon became evident that the Lucknow Pact was not the last word on the question of adjustment of political differences between the Hindus and the Musalmans; nor in the new circumstances that had arisen could the Pact be treated as final. This attitude towards the Pact led to the formation of a committee to prepare a Draft Constitution for India. Out of the deliberations of this Committee emerged the Nehru Report.

In December 1928, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League both held their sessions in the city of Calcutta and the consideration of the Nehru Report engaged the attention of both the bodies. At the same time was convened what was called the National Convention.

The controversy in the Congress over the Nehru Report centred on two points: Firstly, whether the goal of political movement was to be Dominion Status as proposed in the Nehru Report or complete independence. The latter expression when used in juxtaposition to the former signified severence from the British Empire. The second point was the consideration of the issue of joint or separate electorates for the minorities, particularly in relation to the Muslims of India.

The Muslim League sent its representatives to the Congress to state its case. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was chosen as the spokesman. Mr. Jinnah expressed the willingness of the Muslim League to accept joint electorates subject to certain conditions. He stated those conditions. The amendment thus moved by Mr. Jinnah, on behalf of the All-India Muslim League, to the proposal of joint electorates made in the Nehru Report was summarily rejected by the Congress. So, once more, the Mr. Jinnah's efforts in the direction of an agreed settlement of this issue were thwarted. In my opinion this attitude of the Congress produced disastrous effects in the constitutional advancement of the country. Let us all hope that such effects were transitory, and that a *via media* may still be found for an amicable settlement between the two parties. It may be useful to remember the efforts of Mr. Jinnah, on our behalf, in the same direction in preceding years. While these momentous events were happening in Calcutta, a meeting of some prominent Muslim leaders of India was held at Delhi on December 31, 1928. As a result of the deliberations of the meeting the Muslim All-Parties Conference was formed and opened by His Highness the Aga Khan. The Conference could not have been opened under better auspices. My friend, Sir Mohammad Yaqub, speaking on the occasion, recalled that the deputation which waited on Lord Minto in 1906 and which resulted in the formation of separate electorates was headed by His Highness the Aga Khan, and that it was most fortunate

that now when the question of separate electorates was being re-examined, they should have the services of "the same gardener who first sowed the seed." My friend, Sir Mohammad Yaqub, truly observed further that there was no person in India except His Highness the Aga Khan who could make all the parties unite on one platform.

It is quite clear to me that the direct and immediate cause of the Conference having been brought into existence was the proposal of the Nehru Report to establish joint electorates under the new Constitution of India. The Conference dispersed after passing one single resolution demanding Muslim representation in the various legislatures and other statutory self-governing bodies through separate electorates, also laying down the percentage of such representation and asking for the introduction of constitutional reforms in the North-Western Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

The sequence of events at the Calcutta meetings clearly leads us to the inference that the need for a separate political organization would have been altogether avoided if the convenors of the conference had waited only a day longer to hear the results which attended the endeavours of the All-India Muslim League to reach an agreed solution. Anyway, the conference has served its purpose; and now that only a few days ago, again under the presidentship of His Highness the Agha Khan, it declared its object to be the attainment of Dominion Status for India, the reason for its separate existence has vanished. I deprecate all such utterances whereby it is said, either expressly or impliedly that the convenors of the conference were actuated by selfish motives. They were all men full of genuine patriotic fervour, and they sincerely desired to save the Musalmans of India, according to their lights, from committing political suicide. We may or may not agree with their views; but at all events, there is no occasion left now for agreement or disagreement on the comparative merits of the forms of electorates—separate or joint. The statutory provisions made in this behalf in the Government of India Act, must stand *pro prio vigore* until replaced by new provisions made by Parliament. It is also clear that Parliament will not interfere with the existing provisions unless and until the parties concerned produce an agreed settlement as a substitute thereof.

In these circumstances I appeal to all Musalmans, and particularly to the members of the Muslim Conference, to consider seriously the question of amalgamating the two organizations. I make this appeal in full trust and confidence that the desired fusion of the two bodies will soon be a *fait accompli*.

The All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference again met at Simla in August 1934, and both passed resolutions condemning efforts to upset the Award which, of course, was not incorporated in the Constitution Act till then; even the Bill embodying the proposed Constitution had not been placed before Parliament; but since then, as pointed out above, the Award has been put on the statute-book. The question, therefore, is set

at rest and is no longer a live issue. This, however, must not be taken to mean that the door for an amicable settlement is closed for ever.

I feel that I cannot leave the question of the Award without expressing my sense of deep pain at the attitude which the Congress adopted towards it.

On June 17, 1934, the Working Committee recorded the declaration of the Congress policy in respect of the Award. The declaration stated that, "since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the Communal Award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude towards it. The Congress claims to represent equally all the communities composing the Indian nation. Therefore, in view of the division of opinion, it can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion lasts." This declaration was affirmed by the Indian National Congress at Bombay in October 1934. It will be recalled that Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya had moved an amendment, the substance of which was the substitution of the rejection of the Award instead of the clause, "neither accepting nor rejecting it." It will also be recalled that Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya started a new organization called the Congress Nationlists Party, and has since been carrying on a vigorous propaganda against the Award. Thus the attitude adopted by the Congress had the double effect of the secession from the Congress of the Anti-Award Group and creating a feeling in the minds of the Musalmans that the Congress was not prepared to co-operate with them in the struggle to free the country from the yoke of foreign domination. The truth of the old saying that by trying to please all you please none was once more established.

The Congress in 1928 had failed to rise to the occasion when it rejected Mr. Jinnah's offer of joint electorates subject to certain conditions, and the Congress did the same in the 1934. The Congress failed to realize the far-reaching consequences of its policy of neutrality in the matter of the Award. To my mind this policy has made it more difficult to work out a programme of united and concerted action for the attainment of self-government for our country.

Political problems cannot be solved by attempts at phrase-making, however brilliant a piece of intellectual gymnastics the phrase may appear to be.

Now, who can doubt that Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya is the sincerest of patriots? Who can deny his great sacrifices in the cause of the political advancement of our country, and who can withold his tribute of respect and admiration for his life-long services to his nation? I am convinced, gentlemen, and I want you to bear the same conviction, that his difference with some of us on the question of joint versus separate electorates is honest, and the result of a prolonged consideration of all the circumstances which effect the task of nation-building. I will revert to the subject hereafter. But I appeal to him, on your behalf and on behalf of myself, that he may consider

the advisibility of approaching this vexed question from the point of view of endeavouring to bring about a settlement between the opinions, and not by an agitation, directed against the Parliament, so to amend the Constitution Act as to eliminate such provisions of the Act as are contained in what is called the Award. I extend this appeal to all other leaders of Hindu opinion who, it must be acknowledged, are sincere and selfless workers in the cause of India's political status.

Reverting to the meetings of the Muslim Conference, I must now mention another resolution which the Conference passed as regards representation of the Musalmans in the Central and Provincial services of the country. Here I wish to record my emphatic protest against the contemptuous attitude, with which my Hindu brethren dismiss this question as unworthy of any consideration. The insistence on the part of the Muslims for a settlement of their rights in the services of the country must not be construed as a desire to secure an ascertained share in the dignity and the honour of an office. To my mind the problem is purely economic, and its acuteness is very much aggravated by the extent of unemployment, particularly among the educated classes of this country. Is not Government service looked upon in India as one of the principal means of livelihood? Has not the Government so far taken no steps whatsoever to solve the problem of unemployment? The reception which the Government of the United Provinces gave to the Sapru Committee Report on unemployment does not inspire us with much confidence.

The question of services still awaits a settlement and it is desirable, in the higher interest of the country, that the settlement of this question should be an agreed settlement.

The Question of Indian Freedom

Now, gentlemen, I have already shown that the ultimate object of the constitutional advancement of the Muslims of India, as represented by their several political organizations, is the attainment of responsible government for our mother-land, and I have also shown that in its essentials the object of the Indian National Congress is the same; and there is no question that the object of various other political organizations in the country is the same, including the two new organizations of landholders of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It will serve no useful purpose to enter into any discussion as to the precise connotations of several words and phrases that have been used by politicians of our country, Hindus and Muslims, in this connection— such words and phrases as '*swaraj*,' '*purna swaraj*,' 'self-government', 'complete independence', 'responsible government', 'substance of independence', and 'Dominion Status'. For all practical purposes they must be taken to signify government of the country through legislatures elected on a broad-based franchise, if not full adult suffrage. It must be further laid down as a postulate that such government must be under the aegis not of the British

Crown, but of the Crown of the Emperor of India. Our allegiance to the Crown, whenever tested, has always been found to be firm and strong, and it bore no greater strain than it did during recent years. Temples and mosques were demolished, indiscriminate shooting and *lathi* charges were resorted to; our leaders of the movement for freedom were incarcerated; our people were sent to jail without a judicial trial; restraints were placed on the movements of our people on bare suspicions; freedom of speech and press was smothered; ordinances were promulgated and repressive laws were passed in abundance. Indeed, one can safely say that on the statute-books of India hardly any margin is left for the loyalty to the Crown to be written upon. Yet the people of India did not break their allegiance either in action or in words. One might ask, why? The answer is two-fold: It is to the interest of India, I will not say to remain a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth, because I do not like the description at all—nor does the description suit the actual and real Indian conditions—but because, having regard to the world-wide struggle and the policy of imperialist aggression, no nation can exist in isolation and the Crown is the link between the British and the Indian nations. All we want is an equality of status between these two nations. And this, gentlemen, as I have already shown, was promised to us by Her Most Gracious Majesty, the late Queen Victoria, as early as 1858.

It is said by British statesmen that they are putting us on the road to responsible government; but that they cannot enact a Constitution for complete responsible government, because we are not yet fit to assume this responsibility, and we are likely to commit blunders which will bring disasters in their train. The answer to this is that the charge is untrue, and that they and the whole world know that it is untrue. But even if it is true, does it not imply an admission on their part that their rule over India has been a dismal failure, and that they have been ruling this country in their own interest and not in the interest of the Indian people?

A word or two about the danger of disastrous consequences of the government of India by the people of India. It seems to me that the British nation, or at least the British Parliament, should be the last to make this assertion. It is significant that such disastrous blunders have been committed by the British Parliament mostly in relation to the political freedom of other people; and my fear is that unless the destinies of our people are placed into their own hands soon, history will have to record another instance of a 'disastrous blunder' on the part of the British Parliament. Britain lost her American colonies in consequence of a blunder; Britain was on the verge of losing Canada altogether when it was saved as a self-governing Dominion by Lord Durham. The case of Ireland is parallel to the case of India. In one respect, the latter's case is stronger. In the case of Ireland, successive Home Rule Bills were introduced by Gladstone, but the British Parliament refused to accept them. Parnell was an Irishman, but he was also a member of the

British Parliament. He pinned his faith on constitutional agitation and constitutional remedies. He, too, failed. The disaster which resulted from the failure of Gladstone, Parnell and many other Irish partriots make a gruesome tale; and I have no desire to excite your emotions. I therefore should not say more. Does it, therefore, lie in the mouth of British Parliament and the people of Britain to fling in our face imaginary dangers as a ground for witholding responsible government from India.

There is only one more matter which I wish to emphasize here. It should always be borne in mind that India is a continent; it should further be borne in mind that the Hindus and the Musalmans inhabiting this vast continent are not two communities, but should be considered two nations in many respects. So that when the British Parliament is witholding the inauguration of full responsible government in this country, it is resisting two great nations of the world and not only two communities. To describe them, for political purposes, as two communities is really creating an illusion. Are not the Hindus of to-day the inheritors of a glorious heritage of civilization, culture, literature, philosophy, and even a lost empire? Even to-day there are Hindu Princes who are possessed of kingdoms of vast areas and large populations. Then again look to their numbers, and compare them with any other group of people in Europe. What I have said of the Hindus can be said of the Musalmans also. Therefore, when you are differentiating these two people as an argument against the grant of responsible government to India, you are creating a difference to further your own interests. The two peoples described above form one greater Indian nation, and I have made it clear that the greater Indian nation is of one voice in its claim for self-government for her common mother-land.

When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were being introduced, we wanted some time limit to be fixed on the expiration of which full responsible government might become the constitution of the Indian Government. The British Parliament and the British people refused to fix any time limit. Now this absence of a time limit in those reforms may mean one of two things: (i) that the introduction of responsible government was being deferred till the end of time, or (2) that it will come after the lapse of a reasonable time.

I do not think Parliament would very much cherish the first interpretation to be placed on the omission of a time limit in the Constitution of those days; thus we are left with the second interpretation alone. We claim that a period of 16 years is a reasonable time; but still the new Constitution is neither giving us responsible government nor again fixing a time limit for the same.

The New Constitution

The worst feature of the new Constitution is that it has not got in it-

self the seeds of growth. There are no stages of development prescribed by the Constitution which may lead us finally to full responsible government. This brings me to the consideration of the Government of India Act, 1935. The subject has been thrashed thread-bare, and I propose to say very little in this connection.

Now, this Constitution has been 'rejected' by one section of the Indian people. (I am using the word 'rejected' because it has been used by that section.) On the other hand, it has been 'accepted' by another section of our people. (I am again repeating the word 'accepted'). But all sections of Indians are unanimous in condemning it as 'unsatisfactory'. Indeed it has been said that it is worse than the existing Constitution. Again, there is difference of opinion on the question of whether it should be worked or should be wrecked. Excepting the Jamiatul-ulema, all Muslim organizations have declared in favour of the former view.

I do not share the view that it is worse than the existing Constitution. In my opinion the Constitution of 1935 provides much larger scope and gives more powers to our ministers to carry out beneficent reforms in almost all the nation-building departments. They will not be hampered by the finance committees, having on their personnel non-elected and official members; and the Governor of a Province will hesitate much before interfering with the proposals of his ministers, so long as they do not materially affect law and order and the special interests of the European group. But this is all that can be said in favour of the new Constitution.

It empowers the Governor of a Province to issue ordinances, which, of course, in the absence of such a power, would have been issued by the Governor-General at the desire of a Governor. It also authorizes the Governor to pass Bills drawn up by himself into laws as legislative enactments.

These powers are in addition to the powers of acting "in his discretion" and exercising his "individual judgement". The scope of the exercise of the power last mentioned is left undefined and is, therefore, unlimited. This, to my mind, is perfectly clear from the provisions of Section 50 of the Government of India Act, 1935. Section52 merely states cases in which the Governor is laid under an obligation to exercise his "functions of special responsibilities". In other cases, his discretion is left unfettered as to whether he will or willl not exercise his "individual judgement" (*vide* Sub-section 3, Section 50). Section 52 lays down seven cases in which the Governor must act according to his "individual judgement". We are directly concerned with four of them, which are as follows:

(a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the province or any part thereof;

(b) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities;

(c) the securing to, and the dependents of, persons who are or have been members of the public services of any rights provided or

preserved for them by or under this Act, and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests;

(d) the securing in the sphere or executive action of the purposes which the provisions of chapter III of Part V of this Act are designed to secure in relation to legislation.

Clause (d) may be disposed of first. Chapter III of Part V relates to legal rights of British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom and British companies and vessels incorporated in the United Kingdom. The substance of that part of the statute is that the British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom and British companies and vessels incorporated therein are given all the rights which they possess under the laws of the United Kingdom and, in addition, all the rights which may be possessed by a British Indian under the federal or provincial laws of British India. Clause (d) empowers the Governor with executive authority to give effect to the provisions made by Chapter III Part V of the Act.

Now, gentlemen, I have not much quarrel with those provisions of law which are known as 'safeguards' on their own merits. Broadly speaking, perhaps they are necessary as safeguards are necessary in every Constitution, whether imposed by a convention or by a statute. My main objection, however, is that they are left to be applied or not to be applied according to the "individual judgement" of the Governor of the Province and his discretion may be exercised wholly arbitrarily. Take the case of clause (a). It will be wholly within his powers to convert an ordinary riot into a great "menance to the peace and tranquillity of the province". Mark the use of the word "tranquillity". Any zealous demonstration of religious feeling at a festival can come within the scope of the clause. When you come to clause (b), you have the expression "legitimate interests". Here again the determination as to what are and what are not legitimate interests is left entirely to the individual judgement of the Governor; and you may rest assured that except in the case of a European minority the Governor will always try, as he ought to, to avert a clash with the Ministry under this Act. Thus there is no safeguard against an aggressive minister or even a meek minister. The same comments apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to caluse (c). Interests and rights of such of the public services will certainly be protected where the members are either exclusively or in a majority Europeans even at the risk of a clash with the Ministry.

It seems to me that it is well nigh impossible to conceive of a dictator possessed of greater powers. The irony of the whole situation is that the Governor is authorized to use such powers, not by virtue of any convention or course of practice, but under express provisions of the law which professes to be a Constitution for the Government of India. It will be remembered that the people of India represented by the Indian National Congress and the

All-India Muslim League asked for these or such safeguards to be placed in the hands of the Legislature. They asked in 1916 for a provision in the following form: "provided that no Bills, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question. to be determined by the member of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution."

Coming to the federal sphere of the Act, my comments as to the safeguards are the same. I consider that it will be a waste of time and an act of supererogation to detain you with any criticism of that part of the Act. Suffice it to say that the Constitution of the Federal Government is any thing but federal. It simply collects together and consolidates all the forces which will effectually impede the development of self-government.

Let us for a moment get away from fictions and see the facts as they are. A Constitution is literally being forced on us by the British Parliament, which nobody likes, which no one approves of. After several years of Commissions, Reports, Conferences and Committees, a monstrosity has been invented and is being presented to India in the garb of this Constitution Act. It is anti-democratic, it will strengthen all the most reactionary elements in the country, and instead of helping us to develop on progressive lines, it will enchain and crush the forces working for democracy and freedom. The Muslim classes, the Muslim masses will suffer from the new scheme as much as any other section of the Indian people. Let me remind the Muslims of India that, of the demands put forward on their behalf before the Round-Table Conference, not many have been conceded. True, we got the separation of Sind; we got separate electorates; we got a bare majority in the Punjab; but we also demanded "the safeguarding of essential and vital interests of Muslims; a statutory guarantee of Muslim representation in various services; vesting of residuary powers in the provinces; representation of Muslims in the Central and Provincial cabinets by those commanding the greatest Muslim following in the legislatures, ...and reforms for Baluchistan" (*vide* the resolution of the All-India Muslim Conference, February 15, 1934). All this we did not get. In Bengal our majority has been sacrificed to protect the interests of the reactionary European merchant class—a class which is loyal to every thing else except the land which gives them enormous wealth. The demands conceded and the demands rejected were parts of an integral whole; when one part is granted and the other rejected, the value and the utility of the former is highly diminished, if not altogether lost. The result is that we all got the whole of the shadow, and none got even a fragment of the substance. We demanded political power and political freedom. The Muslims asked for the same, albeit with certain safeguards. This has clearly been denied to India. This, gentlemen, is the true and real character of the Constitution Act.

Need for a New Outlook

If to-day we find Sir Syed Ahmad's ideal incomplete and insufficient for the Muslims of India, it is because the whole development of events—political, social and economic in this country and in the rest of the world, has been due to causes and on lines which did not exist and which do not correspond to the conditions prevailing in the second half of the nineteenth century.

New problems have arisen to-day. It is not only a question of educating the middle class of the Muslims in India on Western lines and providing them with jobs; it is not only a question of infusing in them the ideal of Victorian liberalism. On the contrary, the present conditions compel us to go much deeper into the problems of the entire social regeneration of 70 million Muslims; of extricating them from the terrible poverty, degredation and backwardness into which they have fallen, giving them at least the rudiments of a civilized existence, and making them free citizens of a free land. We must realize, as people of other countries have realized, that a change is necessary, and that unless such a change is soon made, the whole of this social structure must come down with a crash, which will involve the extinction of not only the educated section of our people, but also of all privileged classes, whether they hold privileges by reason of caste, land or money. The foundations of the superstructure in which we are living to-day were laid centuries ago, and it is but natural that those foundations have ceased to be stable now. It is the duty—if it is not only an obligation created by motives of self-interest—of all of us, the educated classes, the capitalists, the land-holders, to combine together to lay the foundations of a new structure. Of course, in order that effort might fructify, sacrifices will have to be made on the part of all. Let me tell you that the building of such a social edifice will be more glorious, more humane and more just than the building of an empire. The question that now arises is how to create conditions which will favour the performance of this duty, and how to remove the obstacles from our path of progress in this direction. The existing system on which the government of our country is carried on is not only insufficient for our purposes, but is positively obstructive. Consider the paltry sums of money which are doled out for rural uplift, for unemployment; and remember that even those sums are derived from revenues raised by fresh and oppressive taxation. Consider also the slow pace at which Indianization of the services is being effected. The financial and economic policy of the Government is draining the already poverty-stricken country of its wealth, and wasting and mis-spending its resources. Parenthetically, I may express the hope that our new ministers will not launch projects of building more New Delhis, more Council Chambers and Back Bays. The details are too painful to describe. I pause here to observe that the continued existence of this deplorable state of affairs is wholly inconsistent with and a complete negation of the culture and traditions of Islam, which

were essentially based upon democratic fraternity.

The answer to the question formulated above indeed emerges from the very narration of the facts which I have briefly made in the preceding paragraphs, and it is this, that we must have a government of the people by the people and for the people, and that soon.

The next question is how to get it? So far as the working of the new Constitution is concerned, you have already decided to work it. I also do not believe that it is possible to wreck it, if by wrecking we simply mean creating deadlocks in the Legislature. Ample provisions have been made in the Constitution to meet that contingency; and I fail to see how we can profit by creating that situation. It is also obvious that just by working the Constitution we are not brought nearer to responsible government even by an inch. Therefore, something has to be done soon to attain political freedom. We are frequently told that our ideals must be cherished for all time to come as mere incentives to progress. We are told that these sweet dreams will save us from total annihilation. We are advised to wait with suspended breath for the automatic realization of our ideals.

Gentlemen, I am convinced that all this is said with the best of intentions and with an eye to serving the best interests of Muslim India; but I am equally convinced that those who tender such advice, either deliberately or unwittingly, forget the moral forces which have been let loose all the world over in modern times, in particular since the Great War. It is true that there are certain ideals which must always remain only ideals, such as the millennium and *Ramraj*. But surely, gentlemen, those are not and never have been the ideals of statesmen, or at least of sensible statesmen. Their ideals are always capable of being realized in as short a time as possible. Is our ideal of responsible government to be classed amongst the former or the latter? I leave it to you to answer this question. As regards the time-old policy of 'wait and see', I say that it is a counsel of despair and an acknowledgement of defeat. We cannot possibly accept this policy. Now what are the realities? The forces which I have briefly mentioned above are working at great speed. This cannot be denied. Let us therefore set our house in order as quickly as possible if we want to avert a disaster. It should be remembered that these forces are not expected to regulate their pace according to a time-table which we may choose to prescribe. I wish to hasten the inauguration of self-government in the interests of peace and order and of the well-being of all. I would have advised you to wait if I were certain that we would have responsible government within a reasonable time. No signs of conciliation or even of relaxing the stiff attitude of the British Parliament in this behalf is discernible. The new Act has done away with the preamble in the old Act, and Parliament has refused to use the expression 'Dominion Status' or an equivalent of it in the statute. Very learned and elaborate arguments have been put forward in the House of Commons for these omissions. The arguments may be per-

fectly sound, but what is the inference? I will leave it to you to draw your own conclusion. Again we asked for bread and got a stone. Now gentlemen, the past history of the British domination of India and the recent events, which it is not possible to state here in detail, all prove conclusively that the British people certainly treat our ideal of self-government as a distant millennium which may never become a reality.

Under these circumstances can anybody honestly blame us of impatience. Have we not waited with serene composure and patience for over a century, indeed since the commencement of the British connection with India?

Roads to Freedom

We must therefore devise ways and means to hasten the achievement of our goal. For this there are three well-defined ways, one of which we must adopt: (1) armed revolution, (2) non-co-operation and civil disobedience, and (3) progress on constitutional lines. If armed revolution succeeds, it must follow that our connection with the Crown or the Emperor of India must also be broken, and I have said already that this would be detrimental to our broader national interest. An armed revolution in India would never succeed, and an unsuccessful revolution would mean a great calamity for the Indian people. We also cannot organize such a revolution in this vast country.

The way of non-co-operation and civil disobedience has been tried and found wanting. It has no precedent in history, and it will certainly not appeal to the Musalmans of India. It is said, on the one hand, that our resorting to non-co-operation and civil disobedience in the past years has at least resulted in bringing a reformed Constitution into existence; but it is also said, on the other hand, that these movements set the hands of the clock back, and the we would have got a better Constitution if these movements had not come into existence. It is not necessary to decide between these two claims. One result however, is, indisputable. These movements have brought a crop of repressive ordinances and laws in their train which are still on the statute-books. It is also clear that those in power are not willing to yield to such moral influences alone. Srijut Babu Rajendra Prasad, in his Presidential Address at the last session of the All-India National Congress, said, "To my mind Truth, Non-violence and *Khadi* represent a triple force whereby we can achieve the whole of the Karachi programme and more....I would say emphatically that we should do nothing that compromises by one iota the creed of non-violence." Addressing the socialists he said, "my friends, the socialists are keen on a more inspiring ideology and would hasten the elimination of all that stands for exploitation. I should like to tell them in all humility, but with all the force at my command, that there is no greater ideology than is expressed by the creed of Truth and Non-violence and the determination of the country not to eliminate the men that stand for exploita-

tion but the forces that do so. Our quarrel is with the sin and not the sinner which we all have to a greater or less degree. Compulsion will react on us with redoubled force; conversion, however slow it may seem, will be the shortest cut and will mean a new contribution to history and civilization."

Gentlemen, these are certainly the words of a saint, but it is equally certain that they are not the words of a political leader who wants his people to help in the most grim of all struggles, the struggle for freedom. Because some Americans and Frenchmen of kindred spirit have applauded the moral virtues of non-violent political movements it will not, I am convinced, make them "a new contribution to history and civilization".

Gentlemen, we have no other choice left but to work on the lines of what is compendiously called 'constitutional agitation'. I confess that I am not particularly happy over the expression. Its meaning, however, is well understood. It has one great advantage, it can be pursued both inside and outside the legislatures, and should be pursued in both these spheres. But to be of any use, it must be effective, almost compelling in its result, and it cannot be so unless and until it is the voice and the act of a united India.

Gentlemen, it seems to me that the existing political circumstances of our country present no obstacle in effecting unity. The object of all political organizations—Hindu, Muslim and Agricultural—is avowedly the attainment of self-government for India. The question of separate and joint electorates has been set at rest, and we shall be well advised to leave it there. In the higher interests of the country, I appeal for unity not only between Hindus and Muslims as such, but also between the various classes and different political organizations. Such a unity will not only make an ideal a reality, but it will also give an opportunity for political adjustment amongst all concerned. Even in the past there was no difference on essentials, and there is none now. The differences in detail have also ceased to exist. Is there any moral justification left for perpetuating differnces when the supreme need of the country in its struggle for freedom is unity? A united India will be a force to be reckoned with, not the helpless victim of callous and irresponsible government. The pressure which can be brought to bear on imperialism when we are united, when we have behind us the support of the entire Indian nation, will be irresistible in its momentum; then the voices of our leaders will not be compared to the barking of dogs by British statesmen; then it will be India which will dictate its terms to its adversaries. Is it asking too much that for the sake of our common interests, those interests on which depends the very existence of the Indian nation, we put in the background our differences, if any, and present a united front on all questions relating to India's freedom?

Unity on a New Basis

This unity should not merely be an abstract and distant ideal. We must give it a concrete shape by organizing the broadest strata of the entire

Indian people, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians, on the basis of a common programme of action. We should immediately set about, in co-operation with other progressive political parties in the country, to find such minimum measure of agreement as would enable us to act together. I suggest for your consideration the following programme of our immediate aims:

(1) A democratic responsible government, with adult franchise, to take the place of the present system.

(2) Repeal of all exceptionally repressive laws and the granting of the right of free speech, freedom of the press and organization.

(3) Immediate economic relief to the peasantry; State provision for educated and uneducated unemployed; and an eight-hour working day, with fixed minimum wages for the workers.

(4) Introduction of free, compulsory primary education.

A programme of this nature will give us the opportunity to organize a nation-wide movement; it will arouse the political consciousness of millions of our countrymen; it will bring together the various communities and create a spirit of mutual confidence; and finally, it will bring such pressure on the Government that it cannot be ignored. Its inevitable consequence will be that we shall be brought nearer to our goal of freedom. The salvation of the Indian people can only come through their own united efforts. And there is no other method of creating this unity than action on the lines of a programme that cuts through our communal divisions and has an appeal, not only for the patriotic section of our upper classes, but for millions of our poorer country men.

A Call to Unity

I suggest that, in order to work out the details of this programme, a letter should be issued over the signatures of the permanent President of the League and of the Indian National Congress to all political organizations, consisting of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs etc., alike, to attend a meeting at the earliest opportunity. This meeting may be called upon

(a) to settle an annual programme of action, to be worked both inside and outside the new legislatures and local boards, and

(b) to draft a Constitution for India.

This body should also elect a permanent committee to see that agitation on the basis of the settled programme is carried through in the country as effectively as possible; to organize the electoral compaign; and generally to give a lead to the country on all important political issues which may arise from time to time.

Before I end, I must touch on the question of the reorganization of the Muslim League. I suggest that we should immediately undertake the formation of district branches of the League all over the country. A group of about 25 young Muslims should be enroled to do this work in each province; and out

of the members of the newly formed League branches should be formed Provincial Leagues in each province which, in their turn, should elect the delegates to the All-India body.

For all this money will be needed, and I want to make an earnest appeal to you to take up immediately the question of raising a fund of at least Rs 500,000. The League Council should work out the details for the collection of this fund. We should ask a group of ladies to make a tour of the country to organize the League throughout the length and breadth of India and to collect the funds proposed above.

Gentlemen, we are face to face with great and momentous problems. Our proceedings are being watched with anxious interest, not only by the Musalmans of India, but by the entire Indian nation. Our decisions should give Muslim men and women a clear lead, so that they may take their fullest possible share in all our national activities.

I want to make a special reference to our women here. Their great and heroic qualities compel me to make a special appeal to them to take a greater share than they have so far done in the national movement. Muslim women in other parts of the world have obtained their emancipation and are participating in the public life of their respective countries. There is no reason why Indian Muslim women, together with the women of other communities, should not do the same.

Gentlemen, I want to finish my address on a note of hope. We have undoubtedly great and difficult tasks in front of us, but we have right on our side. With united and organized efforts, with faith, hope and determination in our hearts to lead us on, success will very soon be ours—*Amin, Allaho-Akbar*.[1]

After this Address, the Session adjourned till the next day.

Final Sittings

The second day's sittings of the League, which re-assembled in the morning, passed several resolutions before it adjourned for lunch.

RESOLUTIONS I-IV

The first offered respectful condolences to His Majesty King Edward VIII and Queen Mary on the sad demise of His late Majesty King George, and the second offered its loyal congratulations to King Edward on his accession to the throne, and assured him of the loyalty of the Musalmans of India. Condolence resolutions were also passed on the death of Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Secretary of the League, and on the deaths of Mr. Sharif Canji, Syed Makhdum Rajan Bux, and Sheikh Makbul Husain.

1. Official Pamphlet, printed by R.P. Bajpai, Krishna Press, Allahabad.

RESOLUTION V

The Annual Report of the League presented by Sir Mohammad Yakub, reviewing the activities of the League since its last session and the financial difficulties encountered by the organization, was adopted.

RESOLUTION VI

The Session then recorded its gratitute to Mr. Jinnah in the following resolution:

> This important meeting of the All-India Muslim League offers its gratitude to Mr. M.A. Jinnah for his valuable services rendered in connection with the Shahidganj Mosque question; at a time when no other leader could venture to undertake the responsibility, Mr. Jinnah, having realized the depth of the real feelings of the youths of the Punjab, went to Lahore and made the Government of the Punjab accept the demands of the Musalmans, and thus gave a great impetus to the Musalmans of the Punjab in general and the youths of the Province in particular. (Proposed by Haji Mohammad Aminuddin Sahrai and seconded by Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan.)

RESOLUTION VII

The following resolution was moved by Mr. Ali Bahadur and seconded by Kazi Kabiruddin Ahmad.

> Resolved that a committee of the following members be formed in order to revise and ammend the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League in order to bring it to the present day requirements of the Musalmans of India and present their report at the next meeting of the Council of the League. The Secretary of the League will be convenor of this committee. 1. The Hon. Syed Husain Imam 2. Moulvi Sir Mohammad Yakub Kt. 3. Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhari and 4. Mr. Ali Bahadur Khan.

The resolution was passed after a heated discussion in which Sir Mohammad Yakub dealt with charges levelled against the authorities of the League by the mover that they had been indifferent to meeting the wishes of the Muslims in general in this respect.

RESOLUTION VIII

On the subject of the Constitution, Sir Syed Wazir Husain, President of the Session, stated that he had committed a mistake in fact when he said in his address, the previous day, that the League was prepared to work the Constitution. It was not so, as the question was left to be decided by the open session.

Mr. Jinnah then moved the following resolution, which was seconded

by Sir Currimbhoy:

The All-India Muslim League enters its emphatic protest against forcing the Constitution as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, upon the people of India against their will, and in spite of their repeated disapproval and dissent, expressed by various parties and bodies in the country.

The League considers that, having regard to the conditions prevaling at present in the country, the Provincial Scheme of the Constitution be utilized for what it is worth, in spite of the most objectionable features contained therein, which render the real control and responsibility of the Ministry and the Legislature over the entire field of the Government and the administration negatory.

The League is clearly of the opinion that the All-India Federal Scheme of the Central Government embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is fundamentally bad. It is most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India *vis-a-vis* the Indian States, and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realization of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government and is totally unacceptable.

The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the Central Scheme before it is inaugurated; or else the League feels convinced that it would not bring peace and contentment to the people, but on the contrary, it will lead to disaster if forced upon the people and persisted in, as it is entirely unworkable in the interest of India and her people.

In moving this resolution, Mr. M.A. Jinnah traced its history and examined in detail what they got under it. He said that in this Constitution there was only 2 per cent of responsibility and 98 per cent of safeguards and special responsibilities for the Governor-General. Even this 2 per cent of responsibility was hedged in by the constitution of the two Houses of the Federal Legislature.

Referring to the efforts made at the Round-Table Conferences to bring about an agreement between Hindus and Muslims, Mr. Jinnah asserted that unfortunately their terms were not acceptable to the majority community. Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah asked if there was any basic common agreement in favour of the coming Constitution. (Shouts of "No, no".) He advised the Indians to do with it what the Germans had done with the Treaty of Versailles, which was also forced upon them.

He examined ways and means of putting pressure on the British Government to modify the Constitution. Armed revolution was an impossibility, while non-co-operation had been tried and found a failure. This only left constitutional agitation, which meant work inside and outside the Leagisla-

true to release the forces which would make the British Government bend. But it could not be one community. It required all communities to stand shoulder to shoulder. He asserted that the Congress would never reach the goal which they all desired, unless and until they approached the Muslims. But whether the Congress recognized their claims or not, the Muslims owed it not only to their own community, but to their country at large, to organize themselves and march along the road to freedom, and ultimately attain their goal. If they succeeded in doing so, the Congress would be forced to accept them.

Raja Ghaznafar Ali, supporting Mr. Jinnah's resolution, said that the Federal part of the Constitutional Scheme was yet incomplete, as it involved the condition of the entry of Indian Princes into it, which hitherto had not been fulfilled. Princes in their own interests, as well as those of British India, should refuse to enter the Federation until and unless there was complete unity between the various communities in British India and friendly understanding between the Government and the people of this country.

Syed Husain Imam also supported the resolution. He said that there was only one political aim open to Indians, and that was to secure freedom. It was time to unite for achieving this end, and not for fighting among themselves. He thought that the present Constitution was better than the coming one, as the former contained seeds of growth.

The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION IX

Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, moving the next resolution, said that it was an essential corollary to Mr. Jinnah's resolution on the Constitution Act, as it was designed to give practical effect thereto. By this means they would be able to send their true representatives to the Legislatures and popularize and carry out the policy enunciated in Mr. M.A. Jinnah's resolution.

> Whereas the Parliamentary system of Government which is being introduced in this country, with the inauguration of the new Constitution, presupposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate and co-operation between groups with proximate aims and ideals, and ensures the working of the Constitution to the best advantage; and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the Provincial Governments, it is essential that the Muslims should organize themselves as one party, with an advanced and progressive programme, it is hereby resolved that the All-India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching Provincial elections, and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship, consisting of not less then 35 members, with powers

to constitute and affiliate Provincial Election Boards in various provinces, having regard to the conditions of each province, and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid object.

The resolution was seconded by Haji Rashid Ahmad and supported by several speakers. It was then carried unanimously.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

X. Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Deputy President U.P. Legislative Council, be elected Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League for the next term of three years. (Proposed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah and seconded by Sir Mohammad Yakub.)

XI. Resolved that the election of 15 Vice-Presidents be postponed *sine die*, and the question of the abolition or continuance of so may Vice-Presidents be left over for consideration by the Committee appointed to revise the Constitution and Rules of the League. (Proposed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah and seconded by Sir Mohammad Yakub.)

XII. Resolved that the election of the two Honorary Joint Secretaries be left to the Council of the League. (Proposed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah and seconded by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.)

XIII. Resolved that the election of one-tenth the number of the members of the Council to be elected by the open Session be left to the consideration of the Council of the League. (Proposed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah and seconded by Mr. S.M. Abdullahh.)

CONCLUSION

Sir Wazir Hasan, in his concluding remarks, said that Mr. Jinnah's resolution extended the hand of friendship and co-operation not only to the Congress but to all political orgainzations. "We must remember we are a minority section of the great nation of India. We are prepared to co-operate with every other political organization in the country on the great struggle for attaining freedom. It remains for the majority section to respond. The work we will have to do independent of any other organization."

Referring to the Government of India Act 1935, Sir Wazir Hasan said that they must make the best use of it. "Remember that success or failure of the experiment by utilizing the reforms to the best of our abilities, within the limits of the law, for the benefit of our country, depends on the character of representatives you send to the Legislatures. Be very careful to secure the best men to represent you in the Lesgilatures," he concluded.[1]

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1. *Sources*: *The Indian Annual Register, 1936*, Vol. I, pp. 293-297, and Official Record of Resolutions, published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY - FIFTH SESSION

LUCKNOW, OCTOBER 15-18, 1937

The Twenty-fifth Session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at Lalbagh, Lucknow, on October 15, 1937, in a well-decorated *pandal* with seating accommodation for 5,000.

In the course of his welcome address, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Raja of Mahmudabad said:

We are here to decide many and difficult questions, questions which will not only affect our own community but the whole of India, in fact the world. I say 'the world' because means of communication and transport have developed so rapidly that we cannot completely isolate ourselves from the rest of the people that inhabit the globe. What happens in India to-day is of vital importance to Asia and other continents to-morrow. Events in China, Spain and Palestine have more than national importance. The solution of the problems in these countries will affect us all, especially in Palestine, where our brother Muslims are carrying on an unequal yet gallant struggle against overwhelming odds, against money and machineguns.

The eyes of Islam are watching their first *Kibla*. Indian Muslims are also watching the developments in that country with grave concern. Any further inroads upon the rights of the Arabs of Palestine may start a conflagration which could lead to disastrous results. Not only the Musalmans, but all nations, and people of all nations, who believe in justice disapprove of the gross injustice done to the Arab race.

A delicate political situation has been created in our own country.

The majority community refuses to recognize even the existence of the Muslim community as such, and it refuses to work in co-operation with our leaders for national advancement.

We have been dubbed reactionaries, we have been maligned, and personal attacks have been made against us. But I repeat that there is not one Musalman who sits here to-day who does not want freedom of thought and action, and who does not want to have a free country to live in. They that call us reactionaries must remember that they are talking to Musalmans—Musalmans whose religion teaches them that without liberty they cannot truly live. We want liberty for our country, but we also want liberty for our community. It is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be adequately represented. No real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it.

We have before us a scheme for the reorganization of our League. I cannot anticipate your decision upon that scheme. But I know that you are aware that, since our last Constitution was framed, the political situation in the country has changed greatly. It is therefore essential for us to make the whole community conscious of its rights in politics, and to unite the Muslims into one living organization.

It is for you to advocate measures of reform. We have already made our position clear in regard to Federation. A programme must be chalked out for the removal of poverty and the betterment of the condition of the masses. Whatsoever programme we agree upon must be workabel. The practice of holding out high hopes and not fulfilling them is not one that commends itself to Muslims. We believe in deeds, not words.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

This Session of the All-India Muslim League is one of the most critical that has ever taken place during its existence for more than the last thirty years.

The Policy and the Programme that you are called upon to formulate and lay down involves the fate and the future of the Musalmans of India and the country at large. On April 12, 1936, the Muslim League, at its (Twenty-fourth) Session, for the first time in its history, undertook a policy and programme of mass contact. The League considered the prevailing conditions, and surveyed the situation that we had to face in the forthcoming elections on the eve of the inauguration of the new Provincial Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935; and it had no alternative but to enter the field and contest the elections to the Provincial Legislatures. It was also felt that there was no alternative but to utilize the Provincial Constitution for what it was worth, although it was far from being satisfactory. I may here reproduce the resolution that was passed on April 12, 1936:

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1. *The Indian Annual Register*, 1937, Vol. II, pp. 402-403.

> Whereas the Parliamentary system of Government which is being introduced in this country, with the inauguration of the new Constitution, presupposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate and co-operation between groups with proximate aims and ideals, and ensures the working of the Constitution to the best advantage; and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the Provincial Governments, it is essential that the Muslims should organize themselves as one party, with an advanced and progressive programme, it is hereby resolved that the All-India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching Provincial Elections, and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship, consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate Provincial Elections Boards in various Provinces, having regard to the condition of each province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects.

Muslim League Boards and Elections

In pursuance of that decision, the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was established in June, 1936, and Provincial Boards were also established in various provinces, to give effect to the resolution and the instructions of the League. This was not done without difficulty; and it was no small task to be performed, in the absence of any previous preparations or any existing sufficient organization and machinery. It was a stupendous undertaking to contest elections in all the provinces, specially as Musalmans all over India are numerically in a minority and weak, educationally backward, and economically nowhere. Never had any systematic effort been made for their social and economic uplift; whereas our sister communities have gone far ahead with their organizations and their systematic programmes supported by a large bulk of people—especially the Hindus, who are not only in a majority, but better trained, more disciplined and far better equipped educationally, economically and financially.

But here I may mention that, within a short time of about six months' work, before the elections were over, the results were very hopeful, and there is no need for us to despair. In each and every province where a League Parliamentary Board was established and League parties were constituted, we carried away about 60 to 70 per cent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates; and since the elections, I find that hundreds of District Leagues have been established in almost every province, from the farthest corner of Madras to the North-West Frontier Province. Since April last, the Musalmans of India have rallied round the League more and more; and I feel confident that once they understand and realize the policy and programme of

the Muslim League, the entire Musalman population of India will rally round its platform and under its flag. The Muslim League stands for full national democratic self-government for India.

Words and Deeds

A great deal of capital is made out of phrases for the consumption of the ignorant and illiterate masses. Various phrases are used such as *Purna Swaraj*, self-government, complete independence, responsible government, substance of independence and dominion status. There are some who talk of complete independence. But it is no use having complete independence on your lips and the Government of India Act, 1935, in your hands. Those who talk of complete independence the must mean the least of what it means. Was the Gandhi-Irwin pact in consonance with complete independence? Were the assurances that were required before the offices could be accepted and the Provincial Constitutions could be worked consistent with *Purna Swaraj*, and was the resolution, after the assurances were refused, accepting offices and working the Provincial Constitution enacted by the British Parliament, and forced upon the people of India by imperialistic power, in keeping with the policy and programme and the declarations of the Congress party? Does wrecking mean working? These paper declarations, slogans and shibboleths are not going to carry us anywhere. What India requires is a completely united front and honesty of purpose, and then by whatever name you may call your government is a matter of no consequence so long as it is a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

The Congress Attitude

The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last 10 years, has been responsible for alienating the Musalmans of India more and more, by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu; and since they have formed Governments in the six provinces where they are in a majority, they have by their words, deeds and programme shown, more and more, that the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands. Wherever they were in a majority and wherever it suited them, they refused to co-operate with the Muslim League parties and demanded unconditional surrender and the signing of their pledges.

The demand was insistent: abjure your party and foreswear your policy and programme, and liquidate the Muslim League; but where they found that they did not have a majority, as in the North-West-Frontier Province, their sacred principle of collective responsibility disappeared, and promptly the Congress party in the Province was allowed to coalesce with any other group. Any individual Musalman member who was willing to unconditionally surrender and sign their pledge was offered a job as a minister, and was passed off as a Musalman minister, although he did not command the confidence or the respect

of an over-whelming majority of the Musalman representatives in the legislatures. These men are allowed to move about and pass off as Muslim ministers for the 'loyal' services they have rendered to the Congress by surrendering and signing the pledge unconditionally; and the degree of their reward is the extent of their perfidy. Hindi is to be the national language of all India and the *Bande Mataram* is to be the national song, and is to be forced upon all. The Congress Flag is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry. On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community have clearly shown their hand: that Hindustan is for the Hindus. Only the Congress masquerades under the name of nationalism, whereas the Hindu Mahasabha does not mince words. The result of the present Congress Party policy will be, I venture to say, class bitterness, communal war and a strengthening of the imperialistic hold as a consequence. I dare say that the British Government will give the Congress a free hand in this direction, and it matters very little to them—nay, on the contrary, it is all to the good, so long as their interests, Imperial or otherwise, are not touched and the defence remains intact—but I feel that a fearful reaction will set in when the Congress has created more and more divisions amongst Indians themselves, and made a united front impossible.

Here it will not be out of place to state that the responsibility of the British Government is no less in the disastrous consequences which may ensue. It has been clearly demonstrated that the Governor and the Governor-General who have been given the powers, and special responsibility, to safeguard and protect the minorities under the Constitution which was made so much of by Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, during the controversy of the assurances demanded by the Congress Party, have failed to use them, and have thereby been a party to the flagrant breach of the spirit of the Constitution and the instrument of instructions in the matter of the appointment of Muslim ministers. On the contrary, they have been a party to passing off men as Muslim ministers by appointing them as such, although they know full well that they do not command the confidence of the Muslim representatives or the public outside. If in a matter like this, the Governors have shown their utter helplessness and disregard for their sacred obligations, which were assumed by the British Government for the protection of minorities, could they, or would they, be able to afford protection in a hundred and one other matters which may not come up to the surface to be known in the day-to-day working of the Legislature and the administrative machinery? These are very serious and noteworthy signs of the times. The one wholesome lesson that I ask the Musalmans to learn, before it is too late, is that the path before the Musalmans is therefore plain. They must realize that the time has come when they should concentrate and devote their energies to self-organization and the full development of their power, to the exclusion of every other consideration. I have pointed out before that a section of the Musalmans is divided, that there

is a group that stands with its face turned towards the British. If they have not learnt by now of the bitter consequences, they will never learn. God only helps those who help themselves. There is another group which turns towards the Congress; and they do so because they have lost faith in themselves. I want the Musalmans to believe in themselves and take their destiny in their own hands. We want men of faith and resolution who have courage and determination, and who would fight single handed for their convictions, although at the moment the whole world may be against them. We must develop power and strength till the Musalmans are fully organized, and have acquired that power and strength which must come from the solidarity and the unity of people.

No settlement with the majority is possible, as no Hindu leader speaking with any authority shows any concern or genuine desire for it. An honourable settlement can only be achieved between equals; and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other, there is no solid ground for any settlement. Offers of peace by the weaker party always mean a confession of weakness, and an invitation to aggression. Appeals to patriotism, justice and fairplay and for goodwill fall flat. It does not require political wisdom to realize that all safeguards and settlements would be a scrap of paper unless they were backed up by power. Politics means power and not relying only on cries of justice or fairplay or goodwill. Look at the nations of the world, and look at what is happening every day. See what has happened to Abyssinia; look at what is happening to China and Spain—not to speak of the tragedy of Palestine, to which I shall refer later.

The Congress High Command speaks in different voices. One opinion is that there is no such thing as a Hindu-Muslim question, and no such thing as a minorities' question in the country. The other high opinion is that if a few crumbs were thrown to the Musalmans in their present disorganized and helpless state, you could manage them. They are sadly mistaken if they think that the Musalmans can be imposed upon. The All-India Muslim League has now come to live and play its just part in the world of Indian politics; and the sooner this is realized and reckoned with, the better it will be for all interests concerned. The third opinion is that there is no light to be seen through the impenetrable darkness; but as the Congress goes on acquiring strength and power, so the past promises of the blank cheques remain unfilled and unsigned.

I want the Musalmans to ponder over the situation and decide their own fate by having one single, definite, uniform policy which should be loyally followed throughout India. The Congressite Musalmans are making a great mistake when they preach unconditional surrender. It is the height of a defeatist mentality to throw ourselves on the mercy and goodwill of others, and the highest act of perfidy to the Musalman community; and if that policy is adopted, let me tell you, the community will seal its doom and cease to play its rightful part in the national life of the country and the Government. Only

one thing can save the Musalmans and energize them to regain their lost ground. They must first recapture their own souls and stand by their lofty position and principles, which form the basis of their great unity and which bind them in one body politic. Do not be disturbed by the slogans and such taunts as are used against the Musalmans, 'communalists', 'toadies' and 'reactionaries'. The worst "toady" on earth, the most wicked communalist to-day amongst Muslims, when he surrenders unconditionally to the Congress and abuses his own community, becomes the nationalist of nationalists to-morrow! These terms and words and abuse are intended to create an inferiority complex amongst the Musalmans, and to demoralize them; and are intended to sow discord in our midst and give us a bad name in the world abroad. This is the standard of a propaganda which can only be treated with contempt.

The All-India Muslim League certainly and definitely stands to safeguard the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities effectively. That is its basic and cardinal principle. That is the *Casus belli*. That is why the Muslim League and those who stand by it have incurred the displeasure of the Congress; for what else are we doing which the Congress object to? Congress is doing exactly what we decided two years ago. The League is not going to allow the Musalmans to be exploited either by the British Government or any other party or group inside the Legislature or outside. The Congress, with all its boasts, has done nothing in the past for the Musalmans. It has failed to inspire confidence and to create a sense of security amongst the Musalmans and other minorities. The Congress attempt, under the guise of establishing mass contact with the Musalmans, is calculated to divide and weaken and break the Musalmans, and is an effort to detach them from their accredited leaders. It is a dangerous move but it cannot mislead anyone. All such manoeuvres will not succeed, notwithstanding the various blandishments, catchwords and slogans. The only honest and straightforward course is to give the minorities a fair deal. All the talk of hunger and poverty is intended to lead the people towards socialistic and communistic ideas, for which India is far from prepared. The Muslim League, in the present conditions, considers the policy of Direct Action suicidal and futile. Two such attempts have hitherto failed, and have entailed untold misery and suffering to the people. It (Direct Action) had to be wound up after two decades of persistent efforts in that direction, with the result that a more reactionary Constitution is forced upon the people—and the Congress is working it now!

To ask, through a resolution, that the Governor-General convey to the Secretary of State for India that he call a Constituent Assembly on the basis of adult franchise is the height of all ignorance. It shows the lack of any sense of proportion. A Constituent Assembly can only be called by a sovereign authority and from the seat of power—a special body of men chosen as representative, with the authority of the sovereign people, to frame such a

Constitution for the Government of the country as they may think proper, whose function then ceases. The Constitution so framed by them would automatically take its place and function as the Constitution of the Government of the country. Who is to constitute the electorates on the basis of adult franchise, and how many representatives will be chosen by these electorates constituted on the basis of adult franchise, and what will happen to the minorities in such constituencies, and what will the electorates understand by and how will they make their choice of this special body of men with final authority and power to frame the Constitution of this great Subcontinent? Who will direct the machinery to choose the special body of men with representative authority to frame such a Constitution as they may think proper? Who will set in motion the machinery? And above all, what will happen to the minorities in such a body? Is the Congress really serious that the Secretary of State is going to carry out all these requirements, when, only a few days ago, the representative of the British Government, speaking with the highest authority, His Excellency the Viceroy, said that he was full of hope that they might succeed in securing the Federation of India in the near future, that when he came out to India, he had expressed the hope that the Scheme of Federation was, on the whole, one calculated to secure Federation within a reasonable time after the inauguration of provincial autonomy, and that his experience of the last 18 months had confirmed him in that view regarding the establishment of Federation within a reasonable time.

Taking the country as a whole, the Congress is still far from occupying the seat of authority; and it is a travesty of realities to think of the British Government calling a Constituent Assembly, and as for the ability of the Congress to do so, that is pure moonshine. Let the Congress first bring all principal communities in the country and all principal classes of interest under its leadership. To ask a foreign Government who is the ruling and sovereign authority in this country to convene such a body before even the communal problem has been solved, and before all important communities in India have accepted the leadership of the Congress, is like putting the cart before the horse—and to forget that one-third of Indian India stands on a very special footing, constituting the Indian States and Ruling Princes.

Instead of ploughing the sands, let the Congress at least concentrate and see that the All-India Federation Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which is more reactionary than even the present Central Constitution, is not brought into being; for now it is emphatically and confidently asserted by those who speak with authority on behalf of the British Government that it is soon going to be inaugurated. What is the Congress going to do? Do they think that they can, single-handed as a party, prevent it? Or will some other formula be evolved, and the Congress quietly accept it as a *fait accompli*, as it has done the Provincial Constitution, in spite of all the rantings of some of the foremost leaders of the Congress against it.

May I now turn and refer to the question of Palestine? It has moved the Musalmans all over India most deeply. The whole policy of the British Government has been a betrayal of the Arabs, from its very inception. Fullest advantage has been taken of their trusting nature. Great Britain has dishonoured her proclamation to the Arabs, which had guaranteed them complete independence for the Arab homelands, and the formation of an Arab Confederation under the stress of the Great War. After having utilized them, by giving them false promises, they installed themselves as the Mandatory Power with that infamous Balfour Declaration, which was obviously irreconcilable and incapable of simultaneous execution. Then, having pursued the policy to find a national home for the Jews, Great Britain now proposes to partition Palestine, and the Royal Commission's recommendation completes the tragedy. If given effect to, it must necessarily lead to the complete ruination and destruction of every legitimate aspiration of the Arabs in their homeland—and now we are asked to look at the realities! But who created this situation? It has been the handiwork of and brought about sedulously by the British statesmen. The League of Nations has, it seems, and let us hope, not approved of the Royal Commission's scheme, and a fresh examination may take place. But is it a real effort intended to give the Arabs their due? May I point out to Great Britain that this question of Palestine, if not fairly and squarely met, boldly and courageously decided, is going to be the turning point in the history of the British Empire. I am sure I am speaking not only of the Musalmans of India but of the world; and all sections of thinking and fair-minded people will agree, when I say that Great Britain will be digging its grave if she fails to honour her original proclamation, promises and intentions— pre-war and even post-war—which were so unequivocally expressed to the Arabs and the world at large. I find that a very tense feeling of excitement has been created and the British Government, out of sheer desparation are resorting to repressive measures, and ruthlessly dealing with the public opinion of the Arabs in Palestine. The Muslims of India will stand solid and will help the Arabs in every way they can in the brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odds. May I send them a message on behalf of the All-India Muslim League—of cheer, courage and determination in their just cause and struggle, and that I am sure they will win through?

To the Musalmans of India in every province, in every district, in every tehsil, in every town, I say: your foremost duty is to formulate a constructive and ameliorative programme of work for the people's welfare, and to devise ways and means for the social, economic and political uplift of the Musalmans. We shall not hesitate to co-operate with any party or group in any practical and constructive programme for the welfare and advance of a province or the country, I entreat and implore that every man, woman and child should rally round the common platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League. Enlist yourselves by hundreds and thousands as quickly as you can as members of the

All-India Muslim League, Provincial Leagues and District Leagues. Organize yourselves, establish your solidarity and complete unity. Equip yourselves as trained and disciplined soldiers. Create the feeling of an *esprit de corps*, and of comradeship amongst yourselves. Work loyally, honestly and for the cause of your people and your country. No individual or people can achieve anything without industry, suffering and sacrifice. There are forces which may bully you, tyrannize over you and intimidate you, and you may even have to suffer. But it is by going through this crucible of the fire of persecution which may be levelled against you, the tyranny that may be exercised, the threats and intimidations that may unnerve you—it is by resisting, by overcoming, by facing these disadvantages, hardships and suffering, and maintaining your true convictions and loyalty, that a nation will emerge, worthy of its past glory and history, and will live to make its future history greater and more glorious not only in India, but in the annals of the world. Eighty millions of Musalmans in India have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their hands, and as a well-knit, solid, organized, united force can face any danger, and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your own hands. Take your vital decisions—they may be grave and momentous and far-reaching in their consequences. Think a hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal, and I feel confident that success is with you.[1]

Third Sitting

The third sitting of the open session of Muslim League was held in the Pandal at Lalbagh, Lucknow, on Sunday, October 17, at 10:30 a.m. Mr. M.A. Jinnah presided.

Among those present were Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, the Nawab of Chhatari, Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, Dr. Syed Husain, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Kuli Khan, Mr. Fazlul Haq, Begum Shah Nawaz, Miss Jinnah, Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Dr. and Begum Rahman, Syed Murtaza Bahadur, the Raja Saheb of Nanpara, Sheikh and Begum Habibullah, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman, Syed Hussain Imam, Mr. and Begum Wasim, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Begum Aijaz Rasool, Sir Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, Maulana Qutubuddin Abdulwali, Mr. and Mrs. Hasan Mufti Enayetullah, and Malik Barkat Ali.

First a condolence resolution was moved from the Chair as follows and adopted:

RESOLUTION I

This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and sudden demise of Dr.

1. Official Pamphlet, printed and published by Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi.

M.A. Ansari, Sir Fazle Husain, Sir Ross Masood, Sheikh Mahmood Ali and Khan Bahadur Masoodul Hasan. The League conveys its heartfelt condolence to the members of their bereaved families. (From the Chair.)

Then after the Report of the Secretary had been adopted, Maulana Hasrat Mohani moved the following resolution:

RESOLUTION II

The object of the All-India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic States in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution.

The change of the League creed to 'full independence' was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, explaining the resolution, said that the word 'complete' had been intentionally kept out as its interpretation by Congress had made it meaningless. Some meant by complete independence Dominion Status. Others *Purna Swaraj*, etc. Further, the Congress creed did not define the form of independent India. The speaker said that the Congress wanted a unitary form of Government, while the Muslims were totally opposed to such a form. The League wanted a federation of free States in India.

Proceeding, the speaker said that nationalism was opposed to socialism, and as such a Congress socialist could not think of nationalism in the right sense.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani further explained that personally he was opposed to the safeguard clause in the resolution. He did not want any safeguards, but to satisfy the moderates the clause had been incorporated. Another concession to the moderates was that there was no mention of severance of the British connection. It was possible within the terms of the resolution to remain within the British fold if necessary.

Another important feature of the resolution was that the Indian States could not come into this federation until and unless they had attained the status of free States first.

Concluding, Maulana Hasrat Mohani said that he had failed to carry his independence resolution in the Ahmedabad Congress Session due to the opposition of Mahatma Gandhi; but the speaker felt happy that this had enabled him to move it in the League, and felt sure it would be passed unanimously.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan seconded the resolution. He said that Muslims always thought in terms of independence. India did not comprise a single nation. If that were so, then according to the best principles of democracy, the Muslims would always be at the mercy of the majority community. They refused to submit to that position. Muslims should strive to achieve inde-

pendence, and then assist other communities to gain their independence.

Mr. Shamsul Husain supported the resolution on behalf of the Muslim youths of Bengal. He did not believe in a defensive policy. Only an offensive policy proved to be the best defence in the long run. He urged Muslims to unite and organize politically, socially and economically. He asked whether Islam permitted the existence of Rajas and Nawabs. He urged the League to enlist the support of young Muslims by giving them a definite constructive programme to work out.

Maulana Mazharuddin said that the creed of 'full independence' should have been declared long ago. Independence could only be achieved by the sacrifices of the majority, but the minority community should also play its part. Muslims would establish their own Government in their majority provinces, and in the minority provinces would try to establish only such a Government as would safeguard the minority interests with their co-operation.

Mr. Abdul Waheed of Peshawar said that the Frontier Muslims had joined the Congress because they were incapable of understanding the League creed, which was not full independence. He hoped that they would now work with the League as it was changing its creed to what they desired.

He said that the Congress movement was regarded by the people of the Frontier as the Khilafat movement, and invited the leaders of the Muslim League to come to the Frontier and educate the masses. He further urged that the Muslim minority in the Hindu provinces should be protected in the same way as the Muslims protected the Hindus in the Frontier, where they formed 5 per cent of the total population.

Syed Murtaza Bahadur said that the League was in no way behind the Congress in its desire to secure complete independence for India. He strongly supported the resolution.

Syed Abdur Rauf Shah of the Central Provinces said that the Muslims of majority provinces were not fully aware of the hardships and disabilities of the Muslims in C.P. He was, however, glad to announce that Muslims there were staunch supporters of the League. He believed that even the League's former creed of 'full responsible Government' was better than the Congress' creed of 'Complete Independence'. Though the C.P. Muslims fully realized that the fruits of complete independence would be enjoyed by the Hindu majority, they were fully prepared to sacrifice everything for its attainment.

Mr. Husain Imam said that mental reservation was unknown to Muslims. Muslims meant what they said. From now on they would live and die for independence. Concluding, he said that the League's creed was a message of freedom, not only for Muslims, but for all minorities.

Mr. M. Ghayasuddin supported the resolution on behalf of the Punjab Muslims as well as on behalf of the Unionist Party. Proceeding, he said that only those could expect justice who themselves did justice to others. In

this respect, the Unionist Party had given a lesson to other provinces by its just treatment of the minorities in the Punjab.

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi congratulated the League on accepting the creed of complete independence. By this the League was proclaiming its readiness to take its proper place in the comity of nations. He deplored the obsession of a section of the Leaguers with the policy of the National Congress. The speaker felt that a *bania* mentality and statesmenship went ill together. The League should now show the Brahmanic and Mahatma-ridden Congressites what complete independence meant. The League, however, should always be prepared to stretch a helping hand to the Congress whenever the need arose.

The League did not want to go to London and Moscow for its political ideology. The Muslims had all they wanted in the Quran.

The principle of minority safeguards, the speaker painted out, was now an accepted principle of international law.

Concluding, the speaker said that he wanted to send a message of friendship, amity and concord to the Congress, and to tell the Hindus that they were prepared to lead them to independence. They should become friends, otherwise the third party would take advantage of their discord and stay indefinitely in the country.

Mr. I.I. Chunrigar of Bombay said that his was a minority province, but the Muslims of Bombay Presidency stood shoulder to shoulder with the Musalmans of other provinces. No Musalman could ever accept any Government falling short of full and complete independence.

The resolution for a change in the League creed had provided adequate safeguards for the minorities, which was not done by the Congress. He hoped that the change in creed would help them to achieve their objective.

Munshi Azhar Ali was glad that the change in creed of the Muslim League would be announced at the session being held in Lucknow, where, once before, an important and historical pact was drawn up in 1916.

Choudhri Khaliquzzaman said that on the resolution depended the secret of Muslim statesmenship. It was said that the plea for safeguards of Muslim rights and privileges was being decried by the Congress. He emphatically declared that nobody wanted independence more than the Muslims. But it was bad statesmanship to say that the safeguarding of minority rights was not necessary for the establishment of independence in India.

The unity of Muslims, which was apparent at the League Session, was not due to fear but due to the fact that Muslims did not want the Governors to be entrusted with the safeguards. It was false and utterly useless for the Congress to say that the Muslim masses were with the Congress. The problem was an economic one. It was for the Congress to form a programme and policy for uplift of the masses, because they were in power. The League did not want rights for the leaders but for the masses, and these must not be

withheld from them.

He denied that the League was a capitalist body, and said that no community was poorer than the Muslims. The few capitalists in the community were ready to give up their estate and property if the Congress was prepared to persuade the Hindu capitalists to give up their property. The Raja of Mahmudabad, the speaker said, had so many times declared that he was ready to give up his estate if it was decided to abolish the zemindari system. But the speaker was sure that the Congress would not be able to abolish the capitalist system, the Hindu millowners, merchants and landed aristocracy being too strong for them.

Begum Mohammad Ali said that the Muslim race had been independent from time immemorial. They only wanted to enjoy their just rights. She appealed to Muslim women to come to the forefront, and to join the League and fight for the cause of the community.

The resolution was passed unanimously by all standing amidst shouts of *Hindustan Azad*, *Islam Zindabad* and *Allah-ho-Akbar*.[1]

OTHER RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE SESSION

III. (i) The All-India Muslim League declares, in the name of the Musalmans of India, that recommendations of the Royal Palestine Commission, and the subsequent statement of policy presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament, conflict with their religious sentiments and in the interests of world peace demands its rescission without further delay.

(ii) The All-India Muslim League calls upon the Government of India to issue instructions to the representatives of India at the Assembly of the League of Nations that in view of the failure of the present Mandatory to carry out the terms of the Mandate, which was never accepted by the Arabs and the rest of the Islamic world, and in order not to prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Arabs, they shall demand the annulment of the Mandate and disassociate themselves from any decision tending to perpetuate it, and thus to violate the fundamental right of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine to choose the form of Government best suited to their needs and requirements, as guaranteed to them under international treaties.

(iii) The All-India Muslim League appeals to the rulers of Muslim countries to continue to use their powerful influence and best endeavours to save the holy places in Palestine from the sacrilege of non-Muslim domination and the Arabs of the Holy Land from the enslavement of British Imperialism backed by Jewish finance.

Sources: *The Pioneer*, Lucknow, October 18, 1937; *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League from October 1937 to December 1938.* Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, 1944.

(iv) The All-India Muslim League places on record its complete confidence in the Supreme Muslim Council and the Arab Higher Committee under the Leadership of His Eminence the Grand Mufti, and warns the local administration in Palestine not to aggravate the resentment already created in the Muslim world by a policy of repression, as advocated by the Royal Commission against the people of the country, ostensibly to uphold law and order, but in reality calculated to further the interests of aliens through the scheme of partition.

(v) The All-India Muslim League expresses its entire confidence in the Leader and Members of the Delegation selected by the Palestine Conference held on September 24 and 25, 1937, and appeals to every friend of the Arabs in Palestine to raise a united voice to redress their grievances.

(vi) This Session of the All-India Muslim League warns the British Government that if it fails to alter its present pro-Jewish policy in Palestine, the Musalmans of India, in consonance with the rest of the Islamic world, will look upon Britain as the enemy of Islam and shall be forced to adopt all necessary measures according to the dictates of their faith. (Proposed by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and seconded by Maulana Karam Ali:)

IV. This Session of the All-India Muslim League condemns the present policy of the Government of India with regard to Waziristan, and is of opinion that the forward policy is against the best economic and political interests of India, and calls upon the Government and people of India to change and come back to the close border policy. (Proposed by Mr. Husain Imam and seconded by Syed Murtaza Bahadur.)

V. This Session of the All-India Muslim League condemns the wanton demolition of the Shahidganj Mosque at Lahore, as a most intolerable interference with the Law of Islam, and in view of the fact that this demolition was carried out in broad daylight, under the protection of British troops and British guns, calls upon the British Government to restore the mosque to its original condition, and thus avoid an inevitable conflict between the Muslims of India and the British Government, whose representative in the Province failed to perform his elementary duty of protecting an admittedly Muslim mosque. (Proposed by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, and seconded by Prof. Malik Enayatullah.)

VI. This Meeting of All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the attitude of the Congress in foisting the *Bande Mataram* as the national anthem upon the country, in callous disregard of the feelings of Muslims, and considers this song not merely positively anti-Islamic and idolatrous in its inspiration and ideas, but definitely subversive of the growth of genuine nationalism in India.

This Meeting further calls upon the Muslim members of the various legislatures and public bodies in the country not to associate themselves in any manner with the highly objectionable song. (Proposed by Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan and seconded by Mr. Moulvi Syed Badruddoja.)

VII. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League deprecates and

protests against the formation of Ministries in certain Provinces by the Congress Parties in flagrant violation of the letter and the spirit of the Government of India Act 1935 and the instrument of instructions, and condemns the Governors for their failure to enforce the special powers entrusted to them for the safeguard of the interests of the Musalmans and other important minorities. (Proposed by Malik Barkat Ali and seconded by Mr. I.I. Chundrigar.)

VIII. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League records its emphatic disapproval of the Scheme of the All-India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, and is opposed to its introduction, and urges upon the British Government to refrain from its enforcement, as it considers the Scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally, and to those of the Muslims in particular. (Proposed by Syed Husain Imam and seconded by Maulana Hasrat Mohani.)

IX. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League is strongly of opinion that, in the absence of an agreed settlement between the communities, the introduction of joint electorates for local bodies will be inconsistent with the spirit of the Communal Award, and will be injurious to the cause of the true representation of Muslims in these bodies, particularly in view of the present strained relations between the communities, and calls upon the Muslim Members of the Assemblies to oppose the introduction of joint electorates for local bodies in provinces where separate electorates exist at present, and to introduce them in provinces where they do not exist to-day. (Proposed by Mr. Muinullah and seconded by Mr. Zahur Ahmad.)

X. As the Urdu language was originally an Indian language and was the result of the interaction of Hindu and Muslim culture, and it was spoken by a greater part of the people of this country, it was best suited to develop a united nationality, and the attempt to replace it by Hindi might upset the structural basis of Urdu, otherwise known as Hindustani, and adversely affect the growth of comradeship between the Hindu and Muslim sections (of the people), the All-India Muslim League calls upon all the Urdu-speaking people of India to make every possible endeavour to safeguard the interests of their language, in every field of activity with which the Central and the Provincial Governments were concerned, and wherever the Urdu language is the language of the area, its unhampered use and development should be upheld, and where it is not the predominant language, adequate arrangements should be made for teaching it as an optional subject, and in all Government Offices, Courts, Legislatures, Railway and Postal Departments, provision should be made for its use.

Efforts should also be made to make Urdu the universal language of India. (Proposed by Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad; seconded by Maulana Karim-ur-Raza Khan, Mr. Hasan Riaz, Mr. Ghulam Hasan, and Mr. S.M. Hasan Khan.)

XI. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the British Government to take immediate steps to replace the present arbitrary form of Government in Baluchistan by a democratic one similar to those in other provinces of India. (Proposed by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and seconded by Prof. Enayatullah.)

XII. Whereas the system of land settlement in the Province of Assam known as the 'Line System' interferes with inter-provincial migration of population, infringes the fundamental rights of citizenship, and inflicts great hardship on immigrants, leading to the creation of a landless class numbering thousands of people, the All-India Muslim League resolves that the 'Line System' be immediately abolished. (Proposed by Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhri and seconded by Maulana Akram Khan.)

XIV. This Session of the All-India Muslim League directs the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to take immediate steps to frame and put into effect an economic, social and educational programme with a view:

to fix working hours for factory workers and other labourers;
to fix minimum wages;
to improve the housing and hygienic condition of the labourers and make provision for slum clearance;
to reduce rural and urban debts and abolish usuary;
to grant a moratorium with regard to all debts, whether decreed or otherwise, till proper legislation has been enacted;
to secure legislation for exemption of houses from attachment or sale in execution of decrees;
to obtain security of tenure and fixation of fair rents and revenue;
to abolish forced labour;
to undertake rural uplift work;
to encourage cottage industries and small indigenous industries both in rural and urban areas;
to encourage the use of *Swadeshi* articles, specially hand-woven cloth.
to establish an industrial board for the development of industries and the prevention of exploitation by middlemen;
to devise means for the relief of unemployment;
to advance compulsory primary education;
to reorganize secondary and university education, specially scientific and technical;
to establish rifle clubs and a military college;
to enforce prohibition;
to abolish and remove un-Islamic customs and usages from Muslim society;—
to organize a volunteer corps for social service; and to devise measures for the attainment of full independence and invite the co-operation of all political bodies working to that end. (Proposed by Raja Amir

Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad and seconded by Ali Bahadur Habibullah.)

XV. Resolved (a) that this Session of the All-India Muslim League approves and adopts the Constitution amended by the Subjects Committee on the report of the Special Committee appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League, by a resolution passed at a meeting held in Delhi on the March 21, 1937; (b) that the amended Consititution shall come into effect on February 1, 1938; (c) that the President be authorized to appoint, from amongst the members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, committees in every province to organize Provincial, District and Primary Leagues, according to the amended Constitution by December 21, 1937; and (d) that all elections of delegates and members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League shall be held in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, and shall be intimated to the office of the All-India Muslim League by January 20, 1938.[1]

1. *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League from October 1937 to December 1938*. Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. 1944.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SPECIAL SESSION

CALCUTTA, APRIL 17-18, 1938

A Special Session of the All-India Muslim League opened in Calcutta on April 17, 1938, under the presidency of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the open, floodlit amphitheatre of the Mohammad Ali Park, accommodating over 15,000 people. There were several women on the dais, and over 2,000 delegates from different parts of India, British Baluchistan, and Burma attended the Session.

The following is the full text of Mr. Fazlul Huq's welcome speech:

Brethren in Islam, I have great pleasure in extending to you, on behalf of the Reception Committee, a most cordial welcome. We offer you all our most grateful thanks for having taken the trouble to come to our Province to participate in the momentous deliberations of this Special Session of the Muslim League.

Perhaps in the whole history of the Muslim League, never before have such weighty issues awaited the deliberations of the representatives of the Muslim people, as will come up before the present one. Gentlemen, we are passing through times which are extremely critical for the Muslims of India. On one side, we find the Congress with all its might, organization and resources, determined to crush and subdue the Muslims, and on the other side, we find the Hindu Mahasabha, with all its communal bigotry, characteristic intolerance, narrow political outlook, and unholy intentions, devoting its energies to the frustration of Muslim hopes and the suppression of the legitimate rights and liberties of the Muslim community. The Hindu Mahasabha

has never made any secret of its intentions. On the contrary, its leaders have repeatedly proved, by speech and action, how deep-rooted in them is their antagonism to Muslim aspirations.

The time has come for us to review what steps the Muslims have taken so far to counteract these sinister forces which aim at the complete enslavement of the Muslim people of India. We must ask ourselves whether we are as yet sufficiently organized, united and prepared, or whether we are still divided amongst ourselves and, therefore, unprepared.

If we could lay our hands on our hearts and say that we, as a community, are organized and united and that our ranks are sufficiently consolidated to enable us to resist the onslaughts, and to defeat the dangerous machinations of our highly organized political antagonists, then well might we have rested content. But gentlemen, are we convinced of the strength and solidarity of our defences? If not, is it not our supreme duty to marshal all our scattered forces and assemble them under the banner of our one and only representative organization—the All-India Muslim League? Is it not our duty also to prove to the world that the Muslims of India have not yet forgotten the command of their Holy Book which says: "Hold fast by the convenant of Allah all together, and do not create dissensions amongst yourselves."

The Muslim Position in Bengal

Gentlemen, in the whole of Eastern India, Bengal is rightly regarded as the stronghold of Islam. The population figures perfectly justify Bengal's claim to this position. Let me present before you some facts and figures to show the numerical strength of the Muslims of Bengal, as compared with other countries and other proivnces of India. In the whole of British India, the total Muslim population is 67,058,610, of whom 27.5 million have their habitation in Bengal. The Muslim population in Bengal is nearly half of the entire population of Great Britain, and also of France; it is seven times that of Turkey; three times that of Iran; four times that of Arabia; and three times that of Afghanistan and Egypt taken together. Muslims in Bengal alone number four millions more than the total population of the Punjab, eight times the Muslim population of Madras, and four times that of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. One would have thought that in a land within the confines of which one single community had such numerical superiority, that community would hold absolute sway, and its culture and traditions would prevail. But it is a thousand pities that, due to certain circumstances regarding which the world at large has little knowledge, the actual conditions are entirely different. Gentlemen, time and occasion do not permit me to go into a detailed analysis of the causes which have reduced the Muslims of Bengal to the present deplorable state, causes which stand as impediments in the way of their prosperity and progress; but with your permission, I shall briefly mention a few of them.

First of all, let me tell you of that chapter of the political history of Bengal which commenced with the battle Plassey. Immediately after their success at Plassey, in 1757, the East India Company, not only set themselves to advance their commercial interests, but they also had recourse to every possible means calculated to bring this country under their political sway. Of the various policies which they adopted in order to gain this end, the first and foremost was the suppression of the Muslims in every way open to them and to the utmost limit of their power. The heartless methods which the East India Company adopted, and the cruel treatment which they meted out to Muslims in pursuance of this deep-laid policy, have no parallel in the whole history of the civilized world. Steadily but persistently and with grim resolve, the East India Company pursued that policy, the sole aim of which was to reduce the Muslims to greater and greater depths of poverty, illiteracy and emasculation. Up to the beginning of the 19th century this policy continued to operate with unceasing rigour and was fruitful of dire consequences to the Islamic people. Soon the national existence of the Muslims as a distinct race was almost at an end, and the object with which that policy had been initiated was all but fulfilled. But, gentlemen, the cup of Muslim suffering had still in it some dregs which they had yet to drain. Fresh weapons were forged to impoverish, emasculate and even annihilate their national existence. In 1819 a new Regulation was enforced, which is known as the Resumption Regulation. This regulation empowered the East India Company to resume all *lakhiraj* lands which the Mughal Emperors had bestowed or settled upon their subjects. It must be remembered in this connection that the Company had, in the year 1765, secured from Emperor Shah Alam the right to the Diwan of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; and therefore, they were perfectly entitled to fix, in their own right, the rents of big zemindaries and small holdings alike. However, their object was not to systematize the land-tenures in Bengal, but to deprive the Muslims of their supremacy in the country by depriving them of their landed possessions. At the time when the Resumption Regulation was enforced, 95 per cent of the zemindars of Bengal were Muslims; but within 10 years after the completion of proceedings under this Regulation, the position was completely reversed, and the number of Muslim zemindars fell from 95 to a mere 5 per cent. I cannot do better than quote, in this connection, the remarks of Sir William Hunter in his well-known book, *The Indian Musalmans*, where he described the death-blow which the Muslim community received with regard to its position as a political entity, in consequence of the ruthless manner in which the Resumption Regulation was carried out. Sir William Hunter says, "A large part of this sum was derived from rent-free lands by Musalmans or by Mohammedan foundations. The panic and hatred which ensued have stamped themselves for ever on the rural records. Hundreds of ancient families were ruined and the educational system of the Musalmans, which was almost entirely maintain-

ed by rent-free grants, received its death-blow. The scholastic classes of the Mohammedans emerged from the 18 years of harrying, absolutely ruined. Any impartial student will arrive at the conviction that while the Resumption Laws only enforced rights which we had again and again most emphatically reserved, yet the Resumption Proceedings were harsh in the extreme, and opposed to the general sense of the Indian people. Prescription cannot create rights in the face of express enactments, but 75 years of unbroken possession give rise to strong claims on the tenderness of a Government. Our Resumption officers knew no pity. They calmly enforced the law. The panic of those days is still remembered, and it has left to us a bitter legacy of hatred. Since then the profession of a Man of Learning, a dignified and lucrative calling under Native Rulers, has ceased to exist in Bengal.

"The Mohammedan foundations suffered most: for with regard to their title deeds, as with regards to all other matters, the former conquerors of India had displayed a haughty indifference, unknown to the provident and astute Hindu. We demanded an amount of proof in support of rent-free tenures, which in the then uncertain state of real property law, they could not have produced in support of their acknowledged private estates. During 75 years we had submitted under protest to a gigantic system of fraud and the accumulated penalty fell upon a single generation. Meanwhile the climate and the white-ants had been making havoc of the grants and title-deeds which might have supported their claims. There can be little doubt that our Resumptions fell short of what had been stolen from us, but there can be no doubt whatever that from those Resumptions, the decay of the Mohammedan system of education dates. The officer now in charge of the Wahabi prosecutions cites them as the second cause of the decline of the Musalman community in Bengal."

Shortly after this, yet another terrible blow was aimed at the life of the Muslims as community—a blow which laid the community absolutely prostrate and helpless. In 1835 the Court language was suddenly changed from Persian to English, in flagrant violation of the East India Company's treaty with Emperor Shah Alam. This change deprived Muslims of their language of culture and sustenance, and at one blow the entire Muslim people was relegated to a position of backwardness. Muslims of those days, as the East India Company knew very well, were disinclined towards English education, not only because of their disgust at the cruel and barbarous treatment to which the English had subjected them, but also because in the whole country there was not a single educational institution where they could acquire such education in an atmosphere of their own culture and civilization. Such schools or colleges as then existed for the imparting of English education had been established by Christian missionaries, and the teachers were either Christians or Hindus. In this connection, the well-known historian Sir William Hunter has depicted the feelings of the Muslims of those days in these significant words: "The

language of our Government schools in Lower Bengal is Hindu, and the masters are Hindus. The higher sort of Musalmans spurned the instructions of idolators through the medium of the language of idolatry."

Gentlemen, my narration of this tale of sorrow has not yet reached its conclusion. During the middle of the 19th century still further blows were struck at the Indian Muslims which completed their downfall. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which kindled the fire of revenge in the hearts of the British against Indians in general and the Muslims in particular, had its repercussions in Bengal also. Into the woeful chapter that followed the Mutiny, I shall not enter here. Suffice it to say that things came to such a pass towards the end of the 19th century that the hearts of even a few, justice-loving Britons were moved. Some of them, who were eminent writers and historians, felt impelled to draw the attention of the outside world to the plight to which the Muslims had been reduced. But by then the victim was at his last gasp and the very people who had made India so great and so glorious had been forciby reduced to the position of helots in their own land.

So much for the historical past. Coming to more recent times, we find that even after the British policy in India had undergone a reorientation, there was considerable unwillingness to concede the Muslims their rights in full, much less to make atonement for the past. Great injustice was done in the matter of allocating seats to Muslims in the Councils under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. The subsequent Communal Award has to some extent made up for that injustice, but we are still the victims of a grave wrong because, although the Muslim population in Bengal is about 56 per cent of the whole, yet not more than 48 per cent of the seats in the Province's Legislative Assembly have been allotted to our community. The result has been that the Muslims cannot run the administration of a province in which they are in an unquestioned majority without entering into coalition with or depending on the support of other parties. In other provinces, however, where Congress has secured majorities, it can and has formed Ministries of its own without caring to take into account the wishes or the feelings of the Muslim minorities. Therefore, gentlemen, our first problem is to find some means of getting redress for the wrong done to us by the Communal Award, which has reduced Muslim majorities to minorities.

The Folly of Dissentient Muslims

Our second problem is to devise ways and means to bring their folly and their guilt home to Muslims who have been deceived by the high-sounding but insincere promisses of the Congress, or who have betrayed the Muslim cause by deserting the community and joining hands with its avowed opponents, in order to serve their own selfish ends. Through the conduct of some of our own men are Muslim ranks being thus disintegrated. If it had been a question of fighting the Congress and the Mahasabha only, then surely all their designs

and all their tactics would have been of little avail against the united front of Islam, and this humbler servant of yours would have smashed through the net work of Congress and Mahasabha wiles as easily as one sweeps away fragile gossamer. But the conduct of these dupes of the Congress and these betrayers well-nigh dishearten me; and I sometimes ask myself if a community which can still produce so many foolish or treacherous men is worth striving for, praying for, and weeping for. Yet, gentlemen, we must not, we cannot and we will not yield to despair. It is of the very essence of the spirit of Islam to persevere all the more in the face of dangers, difficulties and impediments. It is our incumbent duty to bear constantly in mind that in India we hold the integrity and safety of Islam as a sacred trust. We are born into these traditions inherited from generation to generation, and the sacred duty to protect Islam and uphold its traditions devolves upon us as a heritage from our forbears. Shall we be found wanting in the fulfilment of the duties of this glorious trusteeship? Shall we allow our cherished national, cultural and social traditions to be thus resolutely and ruthlessly assailed, and yet do nothing to prepare ourselves and marshal all our resources to resist the onslaught and to maintain and preserve our national rights and our cultural heritage?

Speaking particularly of Bengal, let me now ask a few questions of those misguided Muslims who are trying to build a house apart from the united house of Islam and who have, through their action jeopardized the solidarity of Musalmans.

Where is the difference between the published programme of the Seceders in Bengal and the programme which the Coalition Party has worked out with all earnestness and promptitude? What justification, then, had these Seceders to break away from the Coalition Party of Bengal? Do they not see that the Congress, in its own majority provinces, has not admitted any other party into coalition with it, and that, in any case, coalition with it can be only on such terms as amount to the virtual effacement of the Muslims as a separate political entity? Even our Coalition Party, in spite of its numerical strength, has been forced to enter into alliance with certain other groups. The Krishak-Proja Party and the Independent Proja Party together number not more than 30 members in the Bengal Assembly and the Bengal Council. How then, can they hope to form a Ministry in Bengal without the aid of such parties as the Congress? And if they attach themselves to the Congress, how can they for a moment hope to achieve anything that will confer any real benefit upon the Muslims and the masses of Bengal?

Gentlemen, I have already taken up much of your time, but before I resume my seat, I wish to make here and now a revelation to you and to the world at large. The Congress has, during recent months, again made overtures to me offering me the Premiership in a Congress Coalition Cabinet in Bengal. If I had responded to those overtures, I should have still been the Premier and continued to be, perhaps for an indefinitely long period. But

such a Premiership would have been no better and no more real than the Kingship of Shah Alam or the Nizamat of Mir Jafar. Had I thus signed, with my own hands, the death warrant of Islam, with what face would I have stood before my Maker and His Prophet on the day of final reckoning? But let it not be supposed that I am against an honourable agreement with the Congress. I declare that, consistent with the Islamic principles of peace and toleration, I am prepared to agree to work with the Congress on the following terms. First, the Congress should come to an honourable mutual understanding with the Muslim League, and reshuffle its Ministries in the various provinces in coalition with the League Parties in the respective legislatures. Second, the Congress should come to an honourable agreement with the League in the matter of appointments to public services and in matters pertaining to the social and cultural life of the Muslim people. Third, the Congress should mediate in the Shahidganj question between Muslims and Sikhs, and bring about a settlement which will be acceptable to both the communities, and which will ensure peace and the cessation of the present unrest.

But gentlemen, it is useless, in the light of past experience, for Muslims to expect from the Congress anything like fair and equitable treatment. I shall give you one typical example of the callousness of Congressmen towards Muslim sentiments. The other day, when Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was reciting, in the U.P. Assembly, the tales of oppression on Muslims in different places, and was even giving concrete instances in support of his allegations, what were the Congressmen in the House doing? They were laughing and ridiculing him. Here were, indeed, not one but many Neros all fiddling to express their unholy glee at the burning of Rome. If a hundredth part of such oppression had been visited on the Hindus then, indeed, would the Ganges have been afire from end to end. But the sufferings of Muslims are, to the Congress, matters for mockery and laughter.

A Contrast in the Treatment of Minorities

Let us contrast the plight of the Muslims in the Congress Provinces with the conditions of Hindus living in non-Congress Provinces. In this Province, for instance, there has neither been communal rioting, nor can anyone cite a single instance of oppression on the minority community. In Congress Provinces riots have laid the countryside waste. Muslim life, limb and property have been lost and blood has freely flowed, but here in Bengal not one head has been broken nor one drop of blood shed. There the Muslims are leading their lives in constant terror, overawed and oppressed, but here the Hindus are leading perfectly happy peaceful lives—a circumstance that delights and gratifies us. There mosques are being defiled and the culprits never found, nor is the Muslim worshipper unmolested; but here worship proceeds unhampered in Hindu temples and none dare defile them, because we

resolutely set the law in motion against any evil doer who would defile or desecrate any community's place of worship. There you will find many instances where Muslim officers have been unjustly treated or deprived of their legitimate rights; here I defy anyone to cite a single instance where a Hindu officer has been unfairly treated by us. I assure you that our treatment of the minorities in our charge is such that the Congress Ministers may well take a leaf out of our book and emulate our example.

The Congress loudly proclaims itself to be the friend of the tenantry. And yet, what has the Congress Ministry done in Bihar for the Kisans as compared with what we have done for the *Projas* in Bengal? Let me give you a few salient points of contrast. In Bihar the *salami* has been retained at 8 per cent, while in this non-Congress Province of Bengal it has been abolished altogether. In Bihar the right of zemindars to realize rent through certificates still obtains; but here it has been done away with. Here in Bengal we have also stopped the enhancement of rent for a period of 10 years; but in Bihar no such relief has been given to the poor tenants. That is the picture in Bihar, and this is the picture in Bengal. And yet Congressmen call themselves better friends of the masses than we of the Bengal Coalition and the Muslim League.

The Muslims Must Stand and Fight Alone

Gentlemen, I wish I could conclude, for already I have taxed your patience enough. But before I sit down, I must frankly and freely express my conviction that we, the Muslims of India, must stand on our own legs and fight our battles alone. Let us once and for all abandon all hope of protection through the so-called safeguards in the Constitution. We must shape our own destiny unaided by any outside authority, and in spite of our political opponents. British authority in India has, indeed, ceased to function and the sceptre is slipping fast from British hands. True that the British still hold sway in Delhi and Simla, but that sway increasingly lacks reality, and is becoming more and more like that of the successors of Aurangzeb. After all, the British came to India as traders, and as traders they are now anxious to remain—they would sooner part with power than with trade. They believe that their commercial interests will be best served through an alliance. Their guarantees to the minorities, and particularly to the Muslims of India, have proved to be shallow through and through. The sooner we cease to rely on them the better. We must fight the battle of Islam alone and with all our resources. Let us resolve to fight it to the bitter end, relying on the justice of our cause, undaunted by the gathering forces against us. Let us prepare to fight, if need be, on a double front, with our backs to the wall. If Panipat and Thaneswar must repeat themselves, let the Muslims prepare to give as glorious an account of themselves as did their forbears.

Conclusion

Gentlemen, I apologize for the length of this speech, but I have done

no more than to give you a recital of bare facts, which I challenge any one to contradict. I am deeply grateful to you for the patient hearing you have given me, and I once more bid you welcome to Bengal to deliberate upon the momentous issues that are before our community to-day. May the All-Merciful God guide these deliberations on the right lines, and may your decisions bring nearer the day of Islam's deliverance in India.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

After the last Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League which took place on October 15, 1937, I should like to place before you a brief summary of the work done and the various events that have occurred since. You know that at the last session the Constitution and the Rules of the All-India Muslim League were overhauled, and some very important changes were embodied in them. The new Constitution has now come into operation and according to the resolution of the All-India Muslim League, committees have been appointed in various provinces to organize Provincial and District Leagues all over India; and I am glad to tell you that in every province District Leagues have been established, and during the last six months, they have enrolled members not by hundreds, not by thousands, but by lakhs.

Political Awakening

During my tours in different parts of India I found a tremendous political awakening and enthusiasm among the Musalmans, and there is almost an insatiable desire amongst the people to come under the banner of the All-India Muslim League. This enormous mass of support that is rallying around the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League requires to be harnessed, mobilized, co-ordinated and controlled. Then alone, with proper guidance, shall we achieve the goal for which we are fighting.

We have to a certain extent freed our people from the most undesirable reactionary elements. We have in no small degree removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section who used to pass off as Maulanas and Moulvis. We have made efforts to take our women with us in our struggle and in many places that I visited they took enormous interest and participated in various functions and gatherings.

We have to carry on and maintian the policy and the programme of the Muslim League on a political plane. Within less than six months we have succeeded in organizing Musalmans all over India as they never were at any time during the last century and a half. They have been galvanized and awakened in a manner which has astounded and staggered our opponents. Musalmans have shaken off their torpor and shed the miserable state of despair and demoralization into which they were sunk so deep. They are beginning to realize that they are a power. They possess the strength, the potentialities of which they have not yet realized; and if only they will take their affairs in

their own hands and stand together united, there is no power that can resist their will.

Shahidganj Day

The Council of the All-India Muslim League had decided to observe the 18th of February as the Shahidganj Day. Meetings were held all over the country, and the reports that have been received in the office show that the League's word reached the far-off corners of the country. In practically every city and town, and even in some villages, the resolution of the League was carried out.

I am fully conscious that to-day the Shahidganj question is uppermost in the mind of every Musalman throughout India, and there can be no doubt that the feeling and sentiment amongst them is genuine and sincere, and there can be no question that the demolition of the mosque has deeply wounded their religious susceptibilities. The average man feels that his mosque was ruthlessly and wantonly destroyed. It is to be regretted that a great community like the Sikhs should have been carried away and have resorted to the ruthless action of domolishing the mosque in the manner in which they did.

At the same time, I realize that certain individuals on both sides were and have been aggressive to each other, and that they created a situation which has involved the two great communities into the position of an impasse. I deplore the excesses committeed on both sides, and deeply regret the loss of lives of innocent members of both the communities, and deprecate the resort to methods which resulted in destroying innocent lives. The question viewed in its true perspective is very easy of solution, if only both the communities will realize their moral obligation to each other, and put down certain mischievous and aggressive elements that make the task more difficult for an honourable settlement.

I appeal to the leaders of the Sikh community to rise above the question of prestige or *amour propre*, and I advise the Musalmans, while recognizing their deep feelings and sharing their religious susceptibilities, which I have no doubt are genuinely and deeply wounded, to realize that the way to a settlement is not reached by dictation from one community to the other.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League has already passed a resolution to which I would draw the attention of the delegates present here. It runs as follows:

"In view of the decision of the Punjab Premier, expressing his readiness to resign, even if the majority of the Muslim Members give their verdict disapproving action foreshadowed in his recent pronouncement with regard to the Shahidganj question, the Council realize that the main burden and responsibility rests with the Muslim representatives of the Punjab Legislature and the public generally. The Council appreciate that the gravity and the nature of the issues involved are present to the mind of Sir Sikandar Hayat

and his Government. The assurance given by him, in his pronouncement, of his making an earnest attempt to bring about an honourable settlement of the question is the best course in the opinion of the Council; and in this direction lies the way of restoring and securing a permanent peace and goodwill between the two great sister communities, Muslims and Sikhs, whose moral responsibility to each other, whose interest and welfare, and the larger interest of the Province and the country, demand that, with their great history, religion and traditions behind them, they should rise above the verdicts of judicial tribunals and the decisions of legislatures and Government, and rise to the occasion and come to an honourable settlement of their own; that failing such a desideratum of mutual agreement of the parties concerned, which will be most unfortunate, the Council note, with great satisfaction, the determination of the Punjab Government that it will not fail to explore and exhaust all constitutional avenues open to them to find a satisfactory and just solution of the problem, to which, Council are glad, they are already applying themselves; and that, while the final decisions as to the policy and the line of action can only be decided by the All-India Muslim League, the Council, in the meantime, are willing and ready to render all the assistance and help they can towards the solution of the matter."

It is now for you, ladies and gentlemen, to give your most anxious consideration to this question of Shahidganj and determine upon the policy and line of action that may seem proper to you.

The League and Provincial Legislatures

There are Muslim League Parties functioning inside seven out of the eleven Provincial Legislatures. The large majority of Muslim Members in all these seven Provincial Assemblies belong to the Muslim League Parties, and the membership of those Parties is increasing every day. The Muslim League contested, with great success, a number of bye-elections to the Legislative Assemblies in various Provinces. The Council of the League appointed a committee to chalk out an economic, social and educational programme for the Musalmans. The report of the Committee is being awaited with great interest.

We greatly deplore the communal riots that have taken place in the United Provinces and other Provinces. It is being publicly stated by the Congress Ministers in these provinces that the responsibility for these riots rests on the shoulders of the Muslim League. It is most deplorable that a Minister of the Government should make such loose and untrue statements. These allegations against the Muslim League are absolutely without any foundation, and are being used as a blind against the incapacity of the Congress Government in those provinces to protect the lives and property of the people of the province. All sorts of malicious propaganda is being carried out to discredit the Muslim League. But, God willing, the Muslim League, in spite

of all this, will go on getting stronger every day.

A few months ago the Muslim community was like no man's land but to-day it has come into its own and there is no power on earth that can now keep it dormant or inactive. The Musalmans have realized that their salvation lies in organizing themselves under the banner of the Muslim League; and once they are organized, they need fear no one.

Numerous representations and complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to Musalmans in the various Congress Provinces, and particularly to those who were workers and members of the All-India Muslim League. Therefore, the Council were obliged to appoint a special committee, under the chairmanship of Raja Mohammad Mehdi Saheb, to take such steps as may be considered proper, and to submit their report to the Council and the President.

The Council also decided to authorize me, as the President, to take all necessary steps to form a Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature, with power to the party so formed to coalesce with any other party or group whose policy and programme is approximately the same as that of the All-India Muslim League. In pursuance of that resolution, I am glad to inform you that a Muslim League party in the Central Legislature, in both the Houses, has been formed and will function in the Legislature, under the supervision and control of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, from the next session of the Central Legislature.

The Hindu-Muslim Question

Although some of the pronouncements of the President and other leaders of the Congress at Haripura created an impression of a really genuine desire for the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question—and in pursuance of that, Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have written to me, and I have replied to their letters, and the correspondence is going on—yet there is no slackening on the part of the Congress in the determination of their set purpose to annihilate every other party, and particularly the All-India Muslim League.

The Congress attitude, so far as it can be summed up, is first that the Communal Award must go lock, stock and barrel; secondly, that there must be no separate electorates; and thirdly, that there must be no differential franchise, and if possible, there should be no reservation of seats for any community.

The result of this will be obvious: Musalmans will be wiped out from securing any adequate representation either in the legislatures or in the municipal, local and district boards—as did happen in Bihar recently, since the Government have even removed the cummulative voting which existed before they assumed office.

The Congress resolutions about fundamental rights and declarations with regard to religion, culture and language are nothing but paper resolutions.

There is not the slightest doubt that the most aggressive attitude was taken up by the Congress Government on the threshold of their assuming office. They endeavoured to impose the *Bande Matram* song in the legislatures, and it is only after much bitterness and opposition that it has been dropped. They are pursuing a policy of making Hindi a compulsory language, which must necessarily, if not completely, destroy—at any rate, vitally undermine the spread of the development of Urdu; and what is worse still, is that Hindi with its Hindu Sanskritic literature and philosophy and ideals will and must necessarily be forced upon Muslim children and students.

In various parts of India, serious difficulties are put in the way of Muslims enjoying the liberty of observing their religious rights freely. It is one thing to make every high-sounding declaration, such as the Congress are in the habit of making, and its Working Committee of repeating them; it is quite another thing to translate them into action—and so far, the Congress are preaching one thing, and practising just the contrary.

The President of the Congress, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, having quoted these paper resolutions about the so-called protection of religion, culture and language, proceeded to state: "The time is opportune for renewing our efforts for the final solution of the problem. I believe I am voicing the feelings of all Congressmen when I say that we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism."

Here I wish he was speaking on behalf of all the Congressmen as he believed he was! It is no use masquerading under the name of nationalism. The Congress is a Hindu body mainly. It is begging the whole question to say that 'we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution' and qualify it by saying 'consistently with the fundamental principles of nationalism' as if the Muslim League were opposed to the fundamental principles of nationalism. Muslims have made it clear more than once that, besides the question of religion, culture, language and personal laws, there is another question, equally of life and death for them, and that their future destiny and fate are dependent upon their securing definitely their political rights, their due share in the national life, the Government, and the administration of the country.

They will fight for it till the last ditch, and all the dreams and notions of Hindu Raj must be abandoned. They will not be submerged or dominated, and they will not surrender so long as there is life in them.

Equality with the Congress

The Muslim League claims the status of complete equality with the Congress, or any other organization, and we have our problems to solve. We have, under the present conditions, to organize our people, to build up the Muslim masses for a better world and for their immediate uplift, social and

economic, and we have to formulate plans of a constructive and ameliorative character, which would give them immediate relief from the poverty and wretchedness from which they are suffering more than any other section of the people in India.

I welcome a policy of live and let live. I welcome an understanding in matters economic and political. But we cannot surrender, submerge or submit to the dictates or the ukase of the High Command of the Congress, which is developing into a totalitarian and authoritative causes, functioning under the name of the Working Committee, and aspiring to the position of a shadow cabinet in a future republic.

The Muslim League is not only carrying on a struggle for the Muslims; it maintains that all other important minorities must have the same sense of security and a place in the sun of India, where they will enjoy their rights and privileges as free citizens, and not be ground down by caste-tyranny and caste-rule.

In my opinion, the Congress is making one of the greatest blunders by pursuing its present policy. The High Command of the Congress has no policy except opportunism and arrogance. They are utilizing their organization, because it happens to be the largest and most powerful, to treat every other party with contempt, and they imagine that they have already become the rulers of India. It is astounding that they believe that they have conquered six provinces absolutely, and in the seventh they have a dominant voice, as the majority in the coalition of the North-West Frontier Province are Congressmen. They talk of drums beating, and they believe that it will not be very long before the remaining four Provinces fall before the conquering heroes of the High Command of the Congress.

But to the Musalmans, I say that they must realize that there cannot be any honourable settlement between two parties when one claims to be superior to the other, and has for its aim and object the domination and dictation of the other. Honourable settlement can only be achieved between equals, and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other, there is no solid ground for any settlement.

Besides even if a settlement does come, unless the Musalmans are fully organized and have forged sanctions behind them, as well as the solid and united backing behind them, the agreements, pacts or treaties can only be treated as a scrap of paper—i.e., unless they can be enforced by a power from behind, which will see that the terms are carried out and maintained.

Therefore, my appeal to the Musalmans is: Don't depend upon anybody. You must depend upon your own inherent strength. The Musalmans have not yet realized what power and strength they would possess if they were properly mobilized as one solid people. We have to go through a great deal of spade work and suffering. Our opponents will use all possible means of suppression. They may practice tyranny and may persecute us;

but I am confident that we shall emerge out of that ordeal better, stronger than we have ever been.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SESSION

The League met for the second day on April 18, and discussed and passed the following resolutions.

Mr. Hussain Imam moved the first resolution which ran as follows:

RESOLUTION I

> This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of appreciation of the efforts of the Huq Ministry in Bengal and the Saadullah Ministry in Assam, particularly for resisting the machinations of the Congress to break through these fronts, and appeals to every Musalman to accord whole-hearted support to the Ministries in Bengal and Assam.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Imam deprecated the disunity in the Muslim ranks of the two provinces. For the first time in history, the majority community in Bengal had got power into their hands, which their Hindu brethren could not tolerate because of their historic prejudices. The Muslim League appealed to the Congress to come to the right path, and to give up the tactics of trying to divide the Muslims. He asked those Muslim Members who had left the Coalition Party to realize the real intention of the Congress, and to come back to the fold of the Muslim League.

Mr. Badarudzoha, Khan Bahadur Haji Rashid Ahmed, Mr. Ashrafuddin Choudhury, Syed Murtaza and Mr. Jafar Ahmed supported the resolution, which was then carried.

RESOLUTION II

The main resolution of the Session, regarding the Shahidgunj dispute was moved by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Leader of the Opposition in the U.P. Assembly:

> While endorsing the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed at Delhi on March 20, 1938, this Special Session of the All-India Muslim League, in view of the fact that the Punjab Government has given an assurance to the effect that they were adopting every means for arriving at an honourable settlement of the Shahidganj problem, assures them of its co-operation and assistance in bringing about the settlement, and appeals to the Musalmans to create and maintain a peaceful atmosphere in order to facilitate that settlement.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Khaliquzzaman said that the Shahidgunj affair had ceased to be a mere provincial problem, and had assumed all-India importance. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan had assured the Muslim League that he was trying his best to solve the problem, and he was ready to resign as

soon as the Muslims considered that his attitude on Shahidgunj was not consistent with the League's decision. It was possible that the decision of the League with regard to this matter might not satisfy all, but they were passing through a critical time and must proceed cautiously. They must see to it that they did not give a handle to their enemies to put a check on the growth of the League. Political foresight demanded that they should give Sir Sikander full opportunity to tackle the problem. There was no other way.

Discussing the Civil Disobedience movement, he said that this method at the present stage would hamper Sir Sikander. The Muslims of India had given Sir Sikander a chance to settle the problem; and to threaten him at this stage with Civil Disobedience would put him in a very embarrassing position.

Prof. Enayetullah from the Punjab, supporting the resolution, said that the Muslims of Punjab should give Sir Sikander an opportunity to settle the difficult problem. There could be no peace in the Punjab until the problem was honourably settled for the Muslims. He accused those who were carrying on Civil Disobedience to be the agents of the Congress, and said that their movement was designed to wreck the Muslim community of the Punjab. It was the duty of the Muslims to see to it that the Ministry of Sir Sikander remained in power. Criticizing the Congress, he said that Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, when invited to mediate in the Shahidganj dispute, had refused to intervene.

Mr. Habibullah, supporting the resolution, said he believed that as the matter concerned the two great communities of Muslims and Sikhs, a settlement would not be difficult. Had they to deal with the *bania* Congress, it would have been otherwise. Sir A.H. Ghuznavi also supported the resolution, which was then carried.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan then addressed the gathering. Speaking in Urdu, he said that he was there to explain to them the problem on which they had given a sensible decision. He assured the gathering that he realized the pain and distress which the Shahidgunj affair had given to the Muslims of India, and he was no exception. It was not very easy to settle this problem. It required great foresight, patience and political wisdom to solve it. After his declaration, to which a reference had been made, the atmosphere in the Punjab had greatly improved. He could tell them that the majority of the Muslims and Sikhs wanted an honourable settlement. Under the circumstances, he was sure that it would be possible to arrive at a settlement. His position was very delicate, and he could not give vent to his feelings; but he would like to assure his Muslim brothers that if his activities did not satisfy them, he would be ready to resign.

Proceeding, Sir Sikandar said that when Mr. Jinnah organized the Muslim League, Punjab and Bengal did not at first join him. Mr. Jinnah's leadership had been challenged because two provinces where the Muslims were in majority had not joined the League. It was naturally a challenge to

the Muslims of India. So he (Sir Sikandar) decided to give Mr. Jinnah all support. Accordingly, he went to Simla and Lucknow, and he assured Mr. Jinnah that they of the Punjab and Bengal were behind him. No misunderstanding could tear them away from the League.

Sir Sikandar also appealed to the Bengal Muslims to work together, as they had been doing in the Punjab, so that they might not hear the disturbing reports of intrigue which they heard from time to time. If the Muslims of Bengal and of the Punjab split up, it would be disastrous not only for the two provinces, but also for other provinces, and Indian nationalism would also suffer.

RESOLUTION III

Mr. Zahur Ahmed, then moved the following resolution:

> This Special Session of the All-India Muslim League views with alarm the large number of communal riots which are taking place in U.P., Bihar, C.P., Bombay and other provinces, resulting in the loss of life and property of the Musalmans. In the opinion of the League, Congress Governments have signally failed to discharge their primary duty of protecting the Muslim minorities in their provinces, and it declares that, if immediate steps are not taken to protect the Musalmans by the Congress Governments, the consequence to the country as a whole will be disastrous. The League congratulates the Muslims in villages and towns on the patience and forbearance that they have shown during these occurrences. This League calls upon the Provincial League to collect all necessary information about all these incidents, and to submit their reports to the Council of the All-India Muslim League at an early date.

Mr. Husain Imam seconded the resolution. In putting the resolution to the vote, Mr. Jinnah said that the Council had appointed a responsible committee to enquire into all allegations of ill-treatment in the provinces in which the Musalmans were in a minority. When they had reported, they would not allow themselves to rest content till they vindicated themselves. The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION IV

Moved by Mr. Ziauddin and seconded by Mr. Aurangzeb, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, the following resolution was passed:

> This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League calls upon the Musalmans of India to take special steps to combat the Congress anti-Muslim activities in the Frontier Province.

Maulana Shaukat Ali, after thanking the Reception Committee, said that the Muslim League was prepared for an honourable settlement with the Congress for further progress of the country, but on condition that the Cong-

ress had faith in the League. When Muslims were in the Congress it was really a national organization; but it had now become a different thing. If the Congress wanted a settlement with the League, it must cease setting Muslim against Muslim. That game did not pay, and the sooner it was given up the better.

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq urged the assembly to take a solemn pledge to bring the entire Muslim population of India under the banner of the League.

Proceeding, Mr. Huq said that His Excellency the Viceroy the other day went out of his way to say that six provinces of India were now being administered by the Indian National Congress. His Excellency forgot, for the moment, that four provinces of India were being administered by non-Congress Ministries, and that these provinces were determined not to allow the Congress to come into power there. He was not afraid of criticizing any authority, however highly placed it might be. Only the other day, His Excellency the Viceroy asked Mahatma Gandhi to see him before the former left for Simla. Why did Lord Linlithgow ask Mr. Gandhi to see him? It was because the question of Federation was hanging in the balance, and possibly His Excellency thought, and his advisers also had told him, that the solution lay with Mahatma Gandhi. "The solution", continued Mr. Huq, "does not lie there. There are other parties to be consulted. His Excellency may not know; but let me make it clear that no problem worth the name connected with any question relating to the administration of India can be solved without reference to the All-India Muslim League. The League is not yet properly organized, but it is still worth hundreds of National Congresses. Each and every one of the League is a lion and a tiger and ready to shed the last drop of his blood for the sake of Islam."

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, in his concluding speech, dilated upon various suggestions made at the Conference. He said that the time was not yet ripe to raise funds to meet the propaganda that was being made by the Congress in the Frontier, nor could the League officially start a paper of its own. He felt that the Session had been a wonderful success, and urged every Muslim to become a member of the League.

As regards Mr. Fazlul Huq's reference to the Viceroy's meeting with Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah said that the time was coming when higher authorities than even H.E. the Viceroy would have to consult the League. He was sure that time was coming. He had absolute faith in his people, and knew that his people would not fail him or the League.

With these remarks the Session came to an end.[1]

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1. *Source: The Indian Annual Register, 1938*, Vol. I. p . 377-387.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION

PATNA, DECEMBER 26-29, 1938

The Twenty-sixth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League was opened at Patna on December 26, 1938, and continued for the next three days under the presidency of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Syed Abdul Aziz, Chairman of the Reception Committee, traced the historical importance of Bihar and Patna, the City's splendour under the Mauryas, and the zenith of glory it reached during the rule of the Mughals. "The downfall of the Mughal Empire plunged the unfortunate Musalmans of India into a state of helplessness and bewilderment; and for a long time, they could do little but mourn their fate. Subdued and awestruck by the new regime set up by the British, they at first remained distrustfully aloof from all new ideas and movements, and took no steps to reform or improve themselves in accordance with the changed conditions of the times. A new awakening later came over them, and they showed that they were still a force to reckon with. They played a prominent part in the memorable struggle for independence which took place in 1875. In Bengal, Bihar and Mysore, they shed their blood like water to stem the tide of foreign domination. The wars waged by Seraj-ud-Dowlah, Mir Kasim and Tippu Sultan to preserve the independence of the country will always remain enshrined in history as some of the noblest examples of patriotic endeavour."

Mr. Aziz said that in 1916 the Muslim League, keeping pace with the Congress, demanded independence for the country; and as a proof of the sincerity and earnestness of the Musalmans, whom it represented, it signed a

pact with the Hindus. It was fully realized by the Musalmans that to attain freedom for the country, it was essential for the Hindus and Musalmans to be united and welded into one strong nation.

"But the Nehru Report of 1926 shattered the foundation of unity, and destroyed all hopes of concerted action in the cause of freedom. It became apparent to the Musalmans that the demand for independence by the sister community was nothing more than a cloak for gaining political domination to the exclusion and detriment of the other communities living in the country." Mr. Aziz ascribed the late Maulana Mohammad Ali's opposition to the Nehru Report to this reason, and said that Musalmans all over India became distrustful of Congress professions. He accused the Hindu leaders of sidetracking the issues raised by Mr. M.A. Jinnah and Maulana Mohammad Ali, at the Calcutta Convention, for the amendment of the Nehru Report; and said that at the Round-Table Conferences the Musalmans gave ample proof of their sincerity, but the Hindu leaders did not join them in evolving a satisfactory solution of the communal problem.

In this connection, Mr. Aziz observed that the "fear of the Musalmans that the Congress in reality wanted to establish a Hindu Raj in which the military and external powers of the British would remain intact, while the administration and internal powers were vested in the Hindu majority, who would set about reducing the Musalmans to a state of serfdom, has been amply justified and confirmed."

At present, there were many conflicting and contradictory ideologies in India—Nationalism, Bolshevism, Fascism, etc. —and these had only served to make India's political, social and cultural problems still more complex by creating new differences and accentuating the existing ones. In these circumstances, Mr. Aziz saw the need for Musalmans to organize themselves for the purpose of self-preservation. Gandhiji and his followers wished to base the future development of India on the cultural background of Hindu history and ideology in the name of nationalism. But recently a new party had come into prominence, which intended to reconstruct a united Indian nation by obliterating all religious differences and setting up a new civilization, based on Western thought and ideals. Though not an open enemy of religion, the party considered it unnecessary, or of only minor account, and this new creed of Socialism was undoubtedly highly detrimental for the Musalmans.

Mr. Aziz said that the Musalmans' reluctance to participate in the Congress programme was not the result of any lack of love for their country; nor were they oblivious to the need of solving its economic problems. What they objected to were the means and methods proposed by the majority community. He held that Nationalism and Socialism were opposed to Islamic ideals, and said that, apart from the effects of the grant of Provincial Autonomy, the movements he had referred to were some of the other causes which had

served to give the Muslim League a new lease of life.

"The Musalmans cannot join hands with the Socialists", said Mr. Aziz, stressing the Musalmans' inability to co-operate with the Congress and the Socialists. The Socialists, he said, had a materialistic view of life, and considered religion a superfluity, and the Musalmans did not agree with the solution of economic problems that they offered. As regards the Congress, he did not consider it to be sensible for the minorities to leave their fate in the hands of the Congress, which he described as a "preponderantly Hindu body, having in its ranks a considerable number of wealthy capitalists and bigoted politicians, determined to serve their own communal and economic interests."

Speaking on the policy of the League, Mr. Aziz said that the League had no wish to quarrel with others on account of their views. It would only identify itself with such movements as accorded with Islamic ideals and principles, and which were directed towards securing the greatest amount of good for all. "It will not allow the kisans to be persecuted and tyrannized over by the zemindars, nor will it try to gain their support by holding out promises to them that were incapable of fulfilment. Similarly, it is prepared to label the landowning class as a set of tyrants and oppressors." He also said that the League would try to steer a similiar middle path between Labour and Capital, by securing higher wages and better conditions of employment for Labour, without making it unprofitable for capitalists to invest their money in industrial enterprises. He said that the critics of the League did not realize that it was good omen that the Musalmans, hitherto a backward section of the people, were organized. If they had remained disunited, they would not be able to contribute to the progress of the country. Mr. Aziz concluded by enumerating the grievances of the Muslims.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

I thank you for the great honour that you, the people of Patna and Bihar, have done me. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that such a large number of people have come from all parts of Bihar, and from all over India to attend this Session. I thank them for the trouble they have taken. I also thank those who have taken great pains to make this Session a success and who have built this wounderful "pandal" and made all these marvellous arrangements.

Before I come to deal with the problems which are engaging our attention, I must express our joint and deep sorrow at the passing away of Maulana Shaukat Ali. Maulana Shaukat Ali was a great man, a man who was always ready and willing to make any and every sacrifice for the cause in which he believed. He was a colleague and a personal friend of mine. He never

1. *The Indian Annual Register, 1938*, Vol. II, pp. 343-344

swerved even by an inch from the path he had chosen and served the cause of the Muslim League with unflagging zeal to the very last. It is not only a personal loss, but, I am sure, also a national Muslim loss, which is mourned all over India.

Another great figure, a world figure, who passed away is Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. His death has come as the greatest blow to the Muslim world. He was the foremost figure in the Muslim East. In Persia and Afghanistan, in Egypt and, of course, in Turkey, he proved, to the consternation of the rest of the world, that Muslim nations were comming into their own. In Kemal Attaturk the Islamic world has lost a great hero. With the example of this great Musalman in front of them as an inspiration, will the Muslims of India still remain in quagmire? (Cries of "No, no.")

The Muslim League has already deplored the loss of Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal. His death, too, is an irreparable loss to Muslim India. He was a personal friend of mine and a singer of the finest poetry in the world. He will live as long as Islam will live. His noble poetry interprets the true aspirations of the Muslims of India. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us.

The Falsehood of the Congress

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now refer to the position of the Muslim League. It was only three years ago that we laid down the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay. The position at that time was this. Of the intelligentsia of the Muslims who were in the forefront of what is called political life, most—I do not say all—were careerists. They chose their place according to their convenience, either in the bureaucratic camp or in the other camp, that is, the Congress camp. Those who thought that they could better their position by joining the bureaucratic camp joined it. The others thought they could get position and power in the Congress camp, and joined that camp. Their object was how best to make careers for themselves. So far as the masses were concerned, and so far as my dear young friends, the Muslim youth, were concerned, they were all hypnotized by the Congress faleshood. The youth believed their slogans and catchwords. They were caught right in the net that was spread for them by the Congress. They were led into the belief that the Congress was fighting for the freedom of the motherland. Being honest themselves, they could not believe that other people could be otherwise. They were led to believe that the question was really an economic one, and that they were fighting for *dal-bhat*, for labour and the *Kisans*. Their pure, untutored minds became easy victims of the Congress net. When we, who saw through the game and understood the inward meaning of the Congress leaders' move, tried to make them understand that they were being misled, we were dubbed reactionaries, communalists, and much else besides.

That was the position in 1936. I am glad to say that things have now changed. One thing has been demonstrated beyond doubt, namely that the Congress High Command wanted the Musalmans to be a mere understudy of the Congress, mere footpages of the Congress leaders, to be used, governed and brought to heel when they had served the purpose of the Congress. The Congress leaders wanted them to submit unconditionally to Hindu Raj. That game has now been fully exposed. We have got ample proof of it. The Chairman of the Reception Committee has indicated some of those proofs in his address. I congratulate him for his most eloquent exposition of the true state of affairs in this country and also of the aims and objects of the Congress.

The Congress has now, you must be aware, killed every hope of Hindu-Muslim settlement in the right royal fashion of Fascism. The Congress does not want any settlement with the Muslims. It wants to thrust its own terms on the Muslims of India. As the Chairman of the Reception Committee has said in his address, the Congress wants the Muslims to accept the settlement as a gift from the majority. The Congress High Command makes the preposterous claim that they are entitled to speak on behalf of the whole of India, that they alone are capable of delivering the goods. Others are asked to accept the gift as from a mighty sovereign. The Congress High Command declares that they will redress the grievances of the Muslims, and they expect the Muslims to accept the declaration. I want to make it plain to all concerned that we Muslims want no gifts. The Muslims want no concessions. We, Muslims of India, have made up our mind to secure our full rights, but we shall have them as rights, not as gifts or concessions.

As I have said before, there are four forces at play in this country. Firstly there is the British Government. Secondly there are the rulers and peoples of the Indian States. Thirdly there are the Hindus; and fourthly, there are Muslims. The Congress press may clamour as much as it likes; they may bring out their morning, afternnon, evening and night editions; the Congress leaders may shout as much as they like that the Congress is a national body. But I say it is not true. The Congress is nothing but a Hindu body. That is the truth and the Congress leaders know it. The presence of the few Muslims, the few misled and misguided ones, and the few who are there with ulterior motives, does not, cannot, make it a national body. I challenge anybody to deny that the Congress is not mainly a Hindu body. I ask, does the Congress represent the Muslim? (Shouts of "No, no" which were repeated as indicated below.)

I ask does the Congress represent the Christians? ("No.")

I ask does the Congress represent the Scheduled Castes? ("No.")

I ask does the Congress represent the non-Brahmans? ("No.")

I say the Congress does not even represent all the Hindus. What about the Hindu Mahasabha? What about the Liberal Federation? The Congress, no doubt, is the largest single party in the country. But it is

nothing more than that. It may arrogate to itself whatever titles it likes: the Congress High Command, in the intoxications of power, like persons who are drunk, may make any claims it pleases them to make. But such claims cannot alter the true character of the Congress. It remains what it is—mainly a Hindu body.

Congress Determined to Crush Minorities

Such claims might have hoodwinked some people for some time, but they cannot hoodwink all the people all the time—and can certainly not hoodwink the Muslims any longer. I am convinced— I think you are also now convinced, and many who are not yet convinced will soon be convinced, and those who are honestly mistaken now, not those who are dishonest in their conviction, will also be convinced—that the Congress is not a national body. It is a misfortune of our country, indeed it is a tragedy, that the High Command of the Congress is determined, absolutely determined, to crush all other communities and cultures in this country, and to establish Hindu Raj. They talk of *Swaraj*, but they mean Hindu Raj. They talk of National Government, but they mean only Hindu Government. But the bubble has been pricked too soon. Intoxicated with power gained under the new Constitution, with their majority in six or seven provinces, the Congress has had its game exposed a little too soon. What did the Congress do when it came to power? With all its pretensions of nationalism, it straightaway started with the *Bande Mataram*. It is admitted that *Bande Mataram* is not the national song, yet it is sung as such, and thrust upon others. It is sung not only in their own gatherings, but Muslim children in Government and Municipal schools, too, are compelled to sing it. Muslim children must accept *Bande Mataram* as their national song, no matter whether their religious beliefs permit them to do so or not. It is idolatrous and worse—a hymn of hatred for Muslims.

Take the case of the Congress flag. Admittedly it is not the national flag of India. Yet that flag must be respected by everyone, and hoisted on every Government and public building. It does not matter if the Muslims object to it, the Congress flag must be paraded as the national flag of India, and be thrust upon the Muslims.

Take next the case of Hindi-Hindustani. I need not add to what has already been said on the subject by the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Is there any doubt now in the mind of any one that the whole scheme of Hindi-Hindustani is intended to stifle and suppress Urdu? ("No.")

Take next the Wardha Scheme of Education. Were the Muslims taken into confidence when the Scheme was under preparation? The whole Scheme was conceived of, and its details worked out, behind the back of the Muslims. Who is the author of the Scheme? Who is the genius behind it? Mr. Gandhi. I have no hesitation in saying that it is Mr. Gandhi who is destroying

the ideal with which the Congress was started. He is the one man responsible for turning the Congress into an instrument for the revival of Hinduism. His ideal is to revive the Hindu religion and establish Hindu Raj in this Country, and he is utilizing the Congress to further this object.

The reaction of the Muslims to such a scheme of education could not but be what it has been all over the country. You have seen the Pirpur Report,[1] and I need not add to what has been described in that document. The position may be summed up in one sentence. To-day the Hindu mentality, the Hindu outlook, is being carefully nurtured, and Muslims are being forced to accept these new conditions and to submit to the orders of the Congress leaders. This Hindu outlook is daily interfering with the normal life of the Muslim. The Musalmans are being forced to accept Hindu ideals in their daily life. Have Muslims anywhere done anything of the sort? Have they anywhere sought to impose Muslim culture on the Hindus? Yet whenever Muslims have raised the slightest voice of protest against the imposition of Hindu culture on them, they have been branded as communalists and disturbers of peace, and the repressive machinery of the Congress Governments has been set in motion against them. Take the cases that have occured in Bihar. Who have suffered suppression of culture under the Congress Government? It is the Musalmans. Against whom are the repressive measures taken, prohibitory orders issued—and among whom are arrests made? It is the Muslims. I should like to know a single instance—I am prepared to learn and correct myself—a single instance where the Muslim League, or Muslim individuals, may have tried to force their own culture upon the Hindus in the last eighteen months.

Muslim Awakening of National Consciousness

I do not wish to dwell any longer upon this. I have done with it, so for as the Congress is concerned. As regards the Musalmans, I can say that it is a matter of great congratulation to the All-India Muslim League that it has succeeded in awakening a remarkable national conciousness among the Muslims. Muslims, as I said before, were like men who had lost their moral, cultural and political consciousness. You have not yet got to the fringe of acquiring that moral, cultural and political consciousness. You have only reached that stage at which an awakening has come—your political conscience has been stirred.

Today you find—apart from the fact of whether the Congress claims are right or wrong—today you find that the Hindus have to a very large degree acquired that essential quality, moral, cultural and political consciousness—and it has become the national consciousness of the Hindus. This is the force

1. On the hardship, ill-treatment and injustice meted out to Muslims in Congress Government Provinces, issued on November 15, 1938, by the Committee appointed by the League Council on March 2 , 1938, chaired by Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur, and comprising five other members.

behind them; that is the force I want the Muslims to acquire. When you have acquired that, believe me, I have no doubt in my mind you will realize what you want. The counting of heads may be a very good thing; but it is not the final arbiter of the destiny of nations. You have yet to develop a national self and a national individuality. It is a big task; and as I have told you, you are yet only on the fringe of it. But, I have great hopes for our success. The developments that have already taken place are almost miraculous. I never dreamed we could make this wonderful demonstration that we see to-day. But even then, we are only on the fringe of the problem.

Palestine

Among the immediate issues we have to grapple with, which may come up before the Subjects Committee, is the question of Palestine. I know how deeply Muslim feelings have been stirred over the issue of Palestine. I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national freedom. You know the Arabs have been treated shamelessly—men who, fighting for the freedom of their country, have been described as gangsters, and subjected to all forms of repression. For defending their homelands, they are being put down at the point of the beyonet, and with the help of martial laws. But no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices, such as the Arabs of Palestine are making. All our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers. They are being subjected to monstrous injustices which are being propped up by British Imperialism with the ulterior motive of placating the international Jewry which commands the money-bags. That question we will have to consider.

The Situation in the Indian States

Another question that will come up for consideration is the situation that is developing in the Indian States. You have heard the Chairman of the Reception Committee on that subject. One point I should like to add to his observations. As you are all aware, we are in full sympathy with the aspirations of the States' people. I am convinced, however, as I am convinced about the real objects of the Congress, that the motive of the Congress championing the rights of the States' people is far from what it is made out to be. I would like to put only one question. Why all this agitation in the States? Why are all the forces being let loose in the name of the Arya Samajists and the Hindu Mahasabha in Hyderabad State? I would ask the Congress, what is it doing in Kashmir? The Arya Samajists, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress nationalists, as also the Press, the subservient Press of the Congress, why are they silent about the affairs of Kashmir State? Is it because Kashmir is a Hindu State? Is it because the vast majority of the Indian subjects of Kashmir State

are Muslims? I have no doubt about the real meaning of the Congress solicitude for the people of the Indian States.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has said, in one of his speeches, that the Congress wants to make an alliance with the peoples of the Indian States. May I ask do they want to make an alliance only with those who are Hindus or also with the Musalmans? According to the present Constitution of the Muslim League, the League cannot interfere in the affairs of the Indian States. But I want to make it clear that if the Congress pursues its compaign in Muslim States like Hyderabad, with the ulterior motive which undoubtedly is inspiring it at present, the Muslim League would have to consider afresh the question of interference with the affairs of Indian States. We cannot leave our Muslim brethren in the Hindu States at the tender mercies of their oppressors and those who wish to exploit them.

Federation

The next question that you will have to consider is that of Federation. Let the Congress continue to say that they will never accept the Federation. But I tell you I do not at all believe in the professions of the Congress. The Congress will tumble into it just as it tumbled into the provincial part of the Constitution. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was loud in his declaration the other day that whatever individual Congressmen might say here and there, the Congress as a whole was determined to reject the Federation lock, stock, and barrel. I do not believe in such declarations. I know another Congress leader has said that revision and modification will satisfy them; and if the elective principle was accepted, it would appease the Congress. Yet another leader has declared that if the Federal Scheme could be so altered as to give them the substance of independence, the Congress might work it, and in that way the undesirable and unworkable Federal Constitution might be made a desirable and workable one. I say the whole idea behind the Congress leaders' move is once again to deceive the Muslims. I want to tell these leaders, however, that they cannot deceive the Muslims any more. The Muslims are not what they were three years ago. The whole game of the Congress is and has been to get a substantial majority in this wretched, highly objectionable and rotten Constitution which they want to enjoy. If they get a majority, they will accept the Federation with utmost glee; and then they will begin to pursue their nefarious scheme of destroying the Muslim culture and organization, and to build up the Congress organization, as the one and only totalitarian organization, on the Fascist pattern. Then they will be able to establish their ideal of Hindu Raj in Hindustan.

Congress Intrigues

The Congress leaders know what they are aiming at. They have got their majorities in seven provinces, and have Congress Governments there.

There are only four provinces left. The covetous eyes of the Congress leaders are now cast upon these provinces. Every now and then they declare that the non-Congress Governments in these provinces are tottering, aye, tottering in spite of their majorities, struggling on their last legs. The Congress leaders think that in these four provinces the Ministries are not very strong. But it is not difficult to see through the Congress game. They want to see a Congress Government in whichever of these provinces they can. I had a talk with some friends of the North-West Frontier Province. I am told that in that Province our co-religionists—credulous Pathans as they are—have been told that the Congress is for the good of the people, that the Muslim League is the supporter of Imperialism and an ally of Imperialism. I say there cannot be a greater falsehood than the allegation that the Muslim League is an ally of Imperialism. Inside the legislature or outside the legislature, have I on any single occasion supported Imperialism, not to speak of proving myself an ally of Imperialism? (Shouts of "No, no.")

I am sure that, even if there were a few Muslims who had thought in the past that the Muslims might gain their ends through an alliance with British Imperialism, they have now been thoroughly disillusioned. I say the Muslim League is not going to be an ally of anyone, but would be the ally of even the devil if need be in the interest of Muslims.

(A pin-drop silence suddenly appeared to seize the house at this stage. Mr. Jinnah paused for a moment and then continued.)

It is not because we are in love with Imperialism; but in Politics one has to play one's game as on a chess-board. I say the Muslims and the Muslim League have only one ally, and that ally is the Muslim nation; and the one and only one to whom they can look for help is God. (Applause.)

The Congress game with regard to Federation is very clear. If the Congress can gain control over the Federal machinery, then, by means of the direct and indirect powers vested in the Federal Government, the Congress would be able to reduce to a non-entity the Government of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq in Bengal and the Hon'ble Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in the Punjab; so that, in the end, the Congress would have seven provinces where they would enjoy an overwhelming numerical majority as a gift of God, and the other four provinces where Muslims dominate would be the feudatories of the Congress High Command.

If I am right in my judgement, that is the objective of the Congress. Therefore, I say the Congress opposition to the Federation is not honest. Am I to blame for it? Am I wrong? ("No.")

Face to Face with a Life and Death Struggle

Ladies and Gentlemen, now it is for you and you alone to make your decision. All the responsibilities will be yours. You are face to face with a life and death struggle. You should not allow your attention to be deflected

by small questions: so and so have not been taken into the Working Committee of the League; so and so should not be in the League. Such small matters should not divert your attention from the main issues confronting the community. Only this morning some young men came to me and complained about the personnel of the League. They said that certain persons, whose names I need not mention, should not be in the League. To these young men, as well as to the others, I say that the Muslim League is not yet what it should be. I am prepared to admit that there are men who are not true Leaguers. But the Muslim League is the organization of all Muslims. It is your oganization. Let me tell my young friends, if they want to purify the Muslim League, if they want to raise the Muslim League to the highest glory, it is no use keeping out and finding faults with it. Come in, and if there is anything wrong with it, put it right.

Therefore, I appeal to everyone: Come into the Muslim League. It is your organization. It is not the property of this man or that man. It is your organization, and you can make it as you like and what you like? I think I have said all that I had to say. You will forgive me for having made the speech extempore. My health did not permit me to write out my speech. Besides, I have already made so many speeches. The last speech I made was at Karachi, only in October last. I expressed my views on that occasion as on other occassions. My views are therefore well-known.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to me to see that a great awakening has taken place among the Muslims. They have grasped the real issues. That is a great beginning. Having made this great begining, if you now harness your energies and mobilize your forces like a disciplined army, victory will be yours.

Concluding Remarks in Urdu

Mr. Jinnah then addressed the gathering in Urdu. He appealed to them to close their ranks. He said that when the Congress started the Muslim Mass Contact campaign, they threw out a challenge that the Muslim masses were with them. The Assembly by-elections in the U.P. and the more recent one at Hazaribagh in Bihar had given the proper reply to the Congress challenge. And now the Congress refused even to set up their own candidate in the by-election to the Central Assembly (caused by the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali).

What had happened, he asked, to the Congress Muslim Contact Campaign? He added that the Congress should now give up this Contact affair.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that they were now told that there was no possibility of a settlement, and that the Muslims were to be won over on independent lines. "Let us wait and see what those independent lines are."

Concluding, he appealed to the Muslims in the Congress camp to join

the Muslim League for their own benefit and the benefit of the entire Muslim community.[1]

Adoption of Secretary's Report and Three Resolutions

Preceeding the resolutions, the Report of the Honorary Secretary was read and adopted, with a vote of thanks to the Secretary moved by the Chair. The following resolutions were then moved by the Chair and adopted.

I. This Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League expresses its deepest feelings of sorrow and grief at the sad demise of Ataturk Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha, whom it acknowledges as a truly great personality in the Islamic world, a great general and a great statesman. He rebuilt and revived the Turkish nation after its defeat and disintegration, and in spite of opposition from the European Powers, succeeded in defeating the enemies of Turkey, and within a short time brought his country to the front rank of nations. By establishing a concord and alliance of the Eastern nations, he guided the East to the true goal of political power and prosperity, his memory will inspire Muslims all over the world with courage, perserverance and manliness. With this expression of its heartfelt grief, this Session of the All-India Muslim League wishes to convey its message of sympathy and condolence to the Turkish nation in its great bereavement.

II. This Session of the All-India Muslim League expresses its sincere appreciation of the multifarious services rendered by the late Maulana Shaukat Ali to the nation. He exerted himself greatly for the establishment of the Muslim University, and he was one of the founders of the Khuddam-i-Kaba organization. The success of the Khilafat movement was to a great extent due to his organizing ability and his untiring effort; and for this, he cheerfully bore all the hardships of imprisonment. He gave his energies to saving the Muslims from the peril of the Nehru Report, while he worked unceasingly till the very last order (*sic*) to ensure the success of the present organization of the Muslim League. All his activities invariably aimed at winning independence for India and at the establishment of a lasting concord among the various communities of India. He had the courage and capacity to suffer patiently; and like a true Muslim, he was always ready to sacrifice himself for Islam. His name deserves a prominent place in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

This Session of the All-India Muslim League is overwhelmed with sorrow at the sudden death of the great leader whose personality was an epitome of all the virtues—self-sacrifice, high resolution, amiableness and true friendship. His death is an irrepairable national loss and the All-India Muslim League offers prayers for the deceased and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

III. This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its

1. Official Pamphlet published by M.H. Saiyid and printed at the Caxton Press, Bombay.

appreciation of the late Sir Mohammad Iqbal as a sage philosopher of Islam and a great national poet. He urged the Muslims to build their future in consonance with their great past. Though he is not among us, he lives for ever in his imperishable verses which will continue to inspire the life and actions of the Muslims all over the world.

This Session deeply mourns for him and offers fervent prayers to the Almighty that the soul of the deceased may rest in peace.

Second Day

A resolution advocating direct action by Muslims in protest of the atrocities committed on them in three Congress Provinces, and the suppression of their legitimate rights and interests, was moved by Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan and occupied almost the entire time of the second day's sitting of the League, on December 27.

RESOLUTION IV

> Having regard to the atrocities that have been committed and that elementary rights of the Muslims have been trampled upon in a systematic manner in Bihar, U.P. and C.P., and that the Government of these provinces have failed to redress their grievances or protect even the elementary rights of the Musalmans in these provinces, in spite of all constitutional methods adopted so far by the Muslims, this Session of the All-India Muslim League is therefore of opinion that the time has now come to authorize the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to decide and resort to 'Direct Action' if and when necessary.

In moving the resolution on direct action, Mr. A.A. Khan said that Muslims would adopt all possible means sanctioned by their religion in order to defend their rights and interests and would not hesitate to make any sacrifices to achieve that end. (Loud applause.) He added that such a decision should be reached after careful deliberation, and that direct action would be undertaken only as the last resort. Muslims would, if necessary, adopt measures even more drastic than civil disobedience. Such action would be taken not against any other community, but against Government. Out of the three Provinces concerned—namely, Bihar, U.P. and C.P.—atrocities and repression had been carried out in Bihar and C.P. to a greater extent than in U.P. He, however, warned the U.P. Government that if they attempted to emulate the two adjacent Provinces in oppressing the Muslims, the latter would strive their utmost to assert their rights in a greater degree in that Province.

Mr. Ashiq Hussain Warsi, seconding the resolution, spoke in the strain of the previous speaker and pointed out cases of alleged oppression carried out by the three Congress Governments in the Provinces mentioned above. As an instance, he recounted an incident which, he said, occurred in Hazaribagh,

where a Muslim had been maltreated and humiliated by the police. He added that when the Congress Government were questioned with regard to such incidents, they took shelter by saying that the matter was under investigation, and hence *sub judice*. Thus, Muslim rights of cow-slaughter, taking out of processions, etc., had always been interfered with, and even suppressed, under the pretext that many Muslim rites were against local custom.

Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the C.P. Assembly, suporting the resolution, narrated the grievances of Muslims in C.P., including the grossly inadequate representation of Muslims in the services and public bodies. He added that C.P. Muslims were the most persecuted. He referred to the singing of the *Bande Mataram*, and to the *term V.dya Mandir* which were highly resented by Muslims. Attempts were also being made to suppress cow-slaughter in C.P.; and it was proposed to introduce legislation to this effect. The C.P. Muslims would anxiously wait and see if if the Governor would give his assent to a measure which was directed against the traditional religious rights of the Muslisms.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, then rose amid loud cheers. He said that he did not intend to speak on the resolution, but mention had been made of the Muslim majority Provinces; and he would like, therefore, to explain the position in his Province. The grievances of Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces would prove a revelation to any sane, thinking person and certainly would cause concern to any Muslim. He had always avoided saying anything about the administration in other Provinces which might be termed a criticism. The Muslims were not in an overwhelming majority in the Punjab, but he had assured Mr. Jinnah at the Lucknow Session that, on the question of safeguarding Muslim interests, every Muslim would stand behind the League.

Referring to his difficulties, Sir Sikander said that there were certain traitors in the Muslim League camp who had been intriguing with his opponents with a view to creating dissension in the Muslim ranks. It was easier to deal with open enemies; it took time to expose and deal with secret 'serpent in the sleeve'. The time, however, had arrived to deal with them properly, which would be done by the provincial organizations. He would like to assure Indian Muslims that despite these intrigues, his Government was firmer now than ever before. He had been following the policy of scrupulously safeguarding the interests of all communities. He had given the minorities 50 per cent representation in the Cabinet and the Services. He thought that the Congress Governments in some Provinces had been intoxicated by their newly acquired power; they should remember that 90 million Muslims could not be suppressed, or turned out of the country as a minority. The Congress dream of *Swaraj* would never come true, if it did not learn to practise toleration. Happenings like those mentioned by the mover and others, if they were not stopped and were allowed to grow in number, might lead not only to civil disobedience but

to worse results. It had been asked what help the Muslim majority provinces would give them. Mere paper resolutions would not help, nor were Government able to protect the minorities. He assured Muslims in the minority provinces that, if the necessity arose, every Punjabi Muslim would be prepared to lay down his life in the defence of Islam.

Referring to the controversy about his offer of military help to Britain, Sir Sikander said that his intention in making such a statement was not to offer help to Britain, but to assist the growth of solidarity among Indians. He was pained to find even Congressmen criticizing him; but he had made the position clear when he said that he would oppose sending Indian troops to Palestine. Concluding, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan said that he was a practical man and no weaver of words. If the need arose, he would demonstrate that he could fight better than his crictis.

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, supported the resolution. He declared that his Ministry was not in any danger, although antagonists of the Government had made various baseless statements that the overthrow of the Cabinet was imminent, or that factions and dissensions had crept in. If Muslims decided to launch civil disobedience, he could speak on behalf of Bengal Muslims that they would stand solidly behind the move. There was perhaps no Muslim minister in India who would not resign his office and join the movement when launched. In fact, he would be the first to do so. The League had not been able to assert itself in Bengal to the same degree as in some other provinces. He hoped, however, that it would establish itself in Bengal more firmly than in the past. Referring to the Muslim Mass Contact Movement of the Congress, Mr. Huq said that such contact was no more possible than contact with the man in the moon. He sounded a note of warning that if oppression continued against Muslims in the Hindu Provinces, the Government of India Act would cease to function; at least, it would be their duty to prevent its working ... He hoped that the Congress Governments would be endowed with better sense and change their treatment of Muslims; otherwise the latter would be compelled to resort to civil disobedience and direct action.

Sheikh Abdul Majid, said that it was the first time in the history of the League that civil disobedience had been contemplated. The Congress Government must realize that civil disobedience would not be confined to the province where it was launched; that province would become a "place of pilgrimage to the Muslims all over the country".

Sir A.M.K. Dehlavi, supporting the resolution, said that the time had arrived when every Muslim should be united with every other Muslim under the banner of the League. He had been perturbed by the situation in Sind and the Frontier, but he hoped that the Muslims in these provinces and the Punjab would attain greater solidarity through the League, and that the Muslims in the minority provinces would stand shoulder to shoulder in the march to

common progress.

Mr. Latifur Rahman, speaking on behalf of the Muslims of Orissa, said that they were imbued with the same religious fervour and enthusiasm as the Muslims in other parts of the country, although the Orissa Muslims were in a microscopic minority. He supported the resolution.

Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury, a former minister of Assam, referring to the situation in his Province, said that in the present Government, there were four ministers, who had no following whatever. He pointed out the methods adopted by the Congress in attempting to overthrow the past Government. The League was not yet properly organized in Assam, but the last three months of Congress rule in Assam had made the League more popular than ever before. He supported the resolution.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan declared that he would not rest until the present Ministry in the Frontier Province had been replaced. It was an irony of fate and a curse that the Frontier, having more than 90 per cent of Muslims, should be under the Congress Administration. The Congress lived in a world of illusion. It was not Indian, nor national, nor Congress. The Muslims need not look up to Kamal Ataturk for guidance. They had two Ataturks in India, the Punjab and the Bengal Premiers. The Congress relied on the strength of their numbers. But the Muslims relied on the strength of the Almighty. "Hands off C.P. Muslims" was the warning given by him to the Congress which, if unheeded, would result in history repeating itself. He recalled that a handful of Muslims from the North-West corner had pushed their way inland. It was not possible to ignore the ninety million Muslims and govern.

After the last speaker, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, had congratulated the League on the resolution, it was passed unanimously amid loud acclamation. The sitting was then adjourned.

RESOLUTION V

It is the considered opinion of the All-India Muslim League that the unjust Balfour Declaration and the subsequent policy of repression adopted by the British Government in Palestine aim at making their sympathy for the Jews a pretext for incorporating that country into the British Empire with a view to strengthening British Imperialism, and to frustrating the idea of a federation of Arab States and its possible union with other Muslim States. They also want to use sacred places in Palestine as aerial and naval bases for their future military activities. The atrocities that have been prepetrated on the Arabs for the attainment of this object have no parallel in history.

This Muslim League Session regards those Arabs who are being subjected to all kinds of persecutions and repressions, and who are making all sacrifices for preserving their sacred land, protecting their

national rights and emancipating their motherland, as heroes and martyrs, and congratulates them on their bravery and sacrifice, and warns the British Government that if it does not forthwith stop the influx of Jews into Palestine and does not include in the proposed conference the Grand Mufti, the genuine leaders of the Arabs, as well as the representatives of the Indian Musalmans, the conference will be nothing but a farce.

This Session declares that the problem of Palestine is the problem of Muslims of the whole world; and if the British Government fails to do justice to the Arabs and to fulfil the demands of the Muslims of the world, the Indian Muslims will adopt any programme and will be prepared to make any sacrifice that may be decided unon by a Muslim International Conference, at which the Muslims of India are duly represented in order to save the Arabs from British exploitation and Jewish usurpation.

This Session of the League warns the British Government that, if they persist in trying to give practical shape to the idea prevalent among certain sections of the British and the Americans that Palestine be made the national home of the Jews, it will lead to a state of perpetual unrest and conflict.

Third Day

When the third day's sitting of the Session commenced in the morning, a resolution on the Palestine situation, as adopted by the Subjects Committee the previous night, was taken up and adopted after two hours' discussion.

Maulana Mazahuruddin, in moving the Palestine resolution, severely criticized the Balfour Declaration, and said that British sympathy for Palestine's Jews was actuated by imperialist motives. He accused Britain of instigating a number of Arabs into rebellion against their own people. The British policy in Palestine was a direct challenge to Islamic doctrines, for the shrines of Palestine were sacred to Muslims. They would not be hoodwinked into believing that the conference called by the British Government to settle the Palestine problem would fully represent Palestine's Arabs.

Delegates from almost all provinces spoke, including Sir Reza Ali, who said that the world was not prepared to accept the plea made by Britain, that because Germany was persecuting the Jews, the latter should be thrust on the Arabs. He said that Britain's atrocities against the Arabs were greater than those of Germany against the Jews. It was anomalous that when the Versailles Treaty was being observed only in its violation, Britain should turn to the Balfour Declaration in support of her policy in Palestine. Referring to the forthcoming conference on Palestinian affairs, Sir Reza Ali said that it was based on gross injustice. Like Germany's anti-Jewish activities, he said, Britain, too, was carrying out repression and oppression in India. The rights

of Indians were being trampled upon through the policy of 'divide and rule'; and Indian Muslims were at the greatest disadvantage now that the Congress also had a finger in the pie. As regards the attempt to provide a national home for Jews, Sir Reza Ali said that religious scriptures had laid down that the Jews would never have a home; but the "British would overrule the will of God in providing a home for the Jews."

Maulana Mohammad Irfan said that every Muslim in India fully realized the gravity of the situation in Palestine, since it directly concerned their religion. Muslims would even invite other Powers, such as Germany and Italy, to assist them, if Britain continued her present policy in Palestine. The British Prime Minister, he said, had been acclaimed as the greatest peacemaker of the world at present, while in the birth-place of the Prince of Peace, innocent men, women and children were being slaughtered. The speaker produced what he described as pieces of rifle-bullets or shell-splinters used against the Arabs, which was followed by loudly expressed resentment from the gathering, condemning British policy in Palestine and urging a boycott of British goods.

Maulana Husain Mian, supporting the resolution, said that Britain had turned down the assurance given by Mr. Lloyd George that Britain would not look to the Islamic countries for territorial acquisition. Muslims had to move with caution, since they had to face antagonistic forces all over the world.

Prof. Abdul Sattar Khairi pointed to the need for taking practical steps to carry out the intention of the resolution. He said that both the British and the Hindus were Jews to Muslims, that is, their enemies. In India, Mr. Gandhi was the leader of the Hindu Jews.

Mr. Abu Saeed Enver said that the 90 million Indian Muslims would rise to a man to support the Palestinian Arabs in their struggle.

Maulana Abdul Hamid said that Indian Muslims would wage a *Jehad* to defend Muslims.

Mr. Abdul Khaliq described British policy in Palestine as being pursued only for preserving the integrity of the Empire under the cloak of the white man's burden. The real Jews of the West were the British, and those of the East were the Hindus, and both were the sons of Shylock.

Prof. Enayatullah asserted that Muslims would never tolerate a violation of the sanctity of Palestine, nor that it should be under the perpetual subjugation of Britain.

At the instance of the Chair, the previous speaker withdrew his remark, "Jews of the East and West are sons of Shylock" which was considered objectionable.

Mr. Jinnah, clarifying the position, said that such statements were not in keeping with the dignity and prestige of the League; and requested the speakers not to be carried away by passions, but to exercise restraint, not wounding the susceptibilities of other communities.

After a few other delegates had spoken, the resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION VI

Whereas it is necessary to afford adequate opportunities to women for their development and growth in order to participate in the struggle for social, economic and political emancipation of the Muslim nation in India, this Session of the All-India Muslim League resolves that an All-India Muslim Women's Subcommittee be formed of the following members with powers to co-opt, with the following object in view:

(a) to organize provincial and district women's subcommittees under the Provincial and District Muslim League;

(b) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League;

(c) to carry on intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India, in order to create in them a sense of the greatest political consciousness.

(d) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society.

Punjab:	Begum Shah Nawaz; Mrs. Rashida Latif; Lady Jamal Khan; Lady Abdul Kadir.
Bengal:	Begum Shahabuddin; Mrs. M.M. Ispahani.
Bombay:	Miss. F. Jinnah; Mrs. Faiz Tyabji; Begum Hafiz-ud-Din.
U.P.:	Begum Habibullah; Begum Aizaz Rasul; Begum Wasim; Begum Mohammad Ali; Begum Nawab Ismail Khan; Miss Rahilla Khatoon.
C.P.:	Miss Nadir Jahan of Seoni; Begum Nawab Siddique Ali Khan.
Bihar:	Lady Imam; Begum Akhtar.
Assam:	Mrs. Ata-ur-Rahman; Miss. J. Khan.
Sind:	Lady Haroon, Lady Hidayatullah, Begum Shaban; Mrs. Hatim Tyabji.
Delhi:	Mrs. Hussain Malik; Mrs. Najmul Hasan; Begum Rahman.
N.W.F.P.:	Begum Haji Sadullah Khan; Mrs. Khwaja Allah Bux.
Madras:	Mrs. Ayisha Kulhamoro Haji; Mrs. Qureshi.

Begum Habibullah, moving the resolution, pointed out the need for women to advance side by side with men. Women, especially Muslim women, were particularly backward in every sphere of life; and this proved an obstacle to the economic and social progress of the community. It was necessary that Muslim women should not only confine their activities to the hearth and home, but should come out of their seclusion, acquaint themselves with the problems and events of the modern world, and marshal their energies to protect Muslim rights and interests. Islam granted greater privileges to

women than other religions, and Muslim women should take full advantage of these.

Considerable stir was created in certain sections of the gathering when Maulvi Mohammad Farooq, supporting the resolution, referred to the purdah system, which, he said, should not prevent Muslims from advancing to progress. Loud protests resounded from the conservative sections defending purdah, which, they said, was sacred to Islam.

The Chair, intervening, urged the audience not to give way to excitement, and explained that the resolution only stated that women should be given an opportunity to organize themselves under the League in order to support it.

The resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

RESOLUTION VII

> Resolved that the following office bearers be elected: Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb—Honorary Secretary; Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb—Honorary Treasurer; Mr. Husain M. Malik and Khan Bahadur S.M. Abdulla—Honorary Joint Secretaries.

After this resolution had been carried unanimously, the Raja of Mahmudabad pleaded for funds for the League. He said that he wanted to collect at least 10 lakhs of rupees within six months, which would go to the Central Fund of the League. The sitting was then adjourned till the evening.

The evening's sitting of the League passed the following resolution on Indian States as adopted by the Subjects Committee last night.

RESOLUTION VIII

> While fully sympathizing with the legitimate aspirations of the subjects of the Indian States for the constitutional advancement and for obtaining redress of their grievances, the Muslim League, though it is bound by its present programme and policy to maintain an attitude of non-interference in the affairs of the Indian States, unequivocally declares that if the Congress or other Hindu organizations do not desist forthwith from their subversive activities in the States, actuated by ulterior motives, it will be forced to take such action as may be necessary to safeguard the legitimate interests of the Musalmans.

Mr. Husain Imam, moving the resolution, said that the League had already declared that it would not interfere in the internal administration of the States for various reasons, one of which was that Rulers of States were Indians and, as such, had the sympathy of the League. But the Congress and certain other Hindu organizations were interfering directly in some States where the Hindus were in a majority with ulterior motives. Various allegations were made against certain States, especially Hyderabad, because it was governed by a Muslim Ruler, said Mr. Husain Imam; but the Congress had

nothing to say on Muslim complaints against Kashmir.

Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad, Parliamentary Secretary of the Punjab Government, supporting the resolution, described the Congress as not national, and added that the Congress had directed its "Home Department—Hindu Mahasabha" to take steps to bring the States under its influence. He added that the Congress kept its eyes shut as regards Muslim rights in Kashmir. He accused the Congress of suffering from a minority phobia, and of trying to suppress the Muslims in every conceivable manner, both in British India and the Indian States. He warned the Congress, or allied organizations, against interfering with the States with a view to persecuting Muslims, as the latter would adopt every measure to counteract such activities.

Khan Saheb Abdur Rahman, supporting the resolution, said that Britain and the Congress were in collusion, attempting to establish a Hindu Raj in the States, especially in those ruled by Muslims. The Congress had come to realize that it would not meet with much success in damaging Muslim interests in Northern India, where Muslims were present in larger numbers. Hence all the activities of Mr. Gandhi were directed towards rooting out Muslim culture from the Deccan and converting it again into a perpetual stronghold of Hinduism. Hyderabad was the most important State in India ruled by a Muslim, but having a majority of Hindu population. The Congress agitation in that State was designed solely to bring Hyderabad under Hindu subjugation. He warned the Congress that Muslims would never allow it to happen.

Haji Abdul Qadir, speaking on the resolution, said that the motive of the Congress agitation in Hyderabad was to suppress the growth of Urdu. Moreover, the Congress had set up the agitation in order to distrupt the cordial communal relations existing in that State, thanks to impartial administration, and to create discord and disharmony with a view to creating a dealdock in the present administration.

Mr. Mohammad Asghar said that the resolution would expose the hypocrisy of the Congress and its sinister designs with regard to the States. By winning over the States' subjects who were mostly Hindus, the Congress hoped to promote its interests.

Mr. Kashmirwala, supporting the resolution, pointed out the generosity and the munificence of the Nizam in supporting not only Muslim but also Hindu institutions.

RESOLUTION IX

A resolution relating to amendments to the Constitution of the League was next taken up, which was carried unanimously.

Resolved that the following amendments be made in the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League. In Section 6 delete the full stop at the end, and add the words "within two months".

In Section 11 (i) after the words "their representatives", substitute "two" for one.

In Section 11 (ii) in the last sentence before the word "Secretaries", add the words "Presidents and".

In Section 12 omit the full stop at the end, and add "and if he or she fails the pay his or her subscription within two months from the date of notice by the Central office, he or she shall cease to be a member of the Council"

In Section 13 omit the full stop at the end and add "and they shall also be *ex-officio* members of all the Provincial Councils and Working Committees."

Add a new rule 40A, as follows.

All the members of the Muslim League Parties in the Provincial Legislatures shall be *ex-officiu* Delegates at the Annual or Special Session of the All-India Muslim League on payment of a Delegate's Fee".

(Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.)

RESOLUTION X

The All India Muslim League reiterates its view that the Scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is not acceptable; but in view of the further developments that have taken place or may take place from time to time, it hereby authorizes the President of the All-India Muslim League to adopt such a course as may be necessary with a view to exploring the possibility of a suitable alternative which would safeguard the interests of the Musalmans and other minorities in India.

In moving this resolution, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that Federation was a monstrous political fraud imposed upon Indians. But it raised other issues which had not usually been grasped by the people generally. The League was not antagonistic towards the Hindus generally, but against the Congress High Command. The Federation had really resulted in a battle of wits between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah; and it remained to be seen who emerged victorious from the contest. Proceeding, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan said that Mr. Gandhi really did not want India to be free, and therefore veiled the the real significance of Federation from his own followers. He was a man behind the scenes who pulled the strings of all Congress activities and kept the masses under a perpetual delusion. Hindus independently would never attain freedom. It was Muslims alone who could free India and the Hindus from foreign domination. But Mr. Gandhi did not want complete independence, nor to break away entirely from British relations. Thus an unholy pact had taken place between him and the Government of India, commonly known as a gentleman's agreement. The Congress High Command had ostentatiously declared that Federation was unacceptable to them; but Mr. Gandhi never said explicitly that he did not want Federation. He wanted it very much indeed.

Proceeding, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan accused the Congress High Command of hypocrisy with regard to Federation. While they professed they did not want Federation, their real intention was to get a majority in the Federal Legislature. If that was assured to them, they would not object to Federation. The Britishers had come to realize that their Empire was tottering, and hence every attempt was being made to protect India from slipping out of their hands. Federation was one such effort. The minorities had already been treated shabbily, specially the Muslims, so much so that in the Provinces where they were in a minority, even the Governor refused to protect their rights and interests. As an instance, he pointed to Orissa, and said that the Governor of that Province had refused to listen to the pleas of the Muslims asking for the protection of their rights. The speaker had intended to move a resolution in the Central Assembly in that connection, but it was disallowed by the Governor General. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan concluded that in whatever way Mr. Gandhi and the Congress High Command might treat Federation as embcdied in the Government of India Act, the Muslims should vest the President of the League with full powers to take the necessary steps to safeguard their interests. They should expect nothing from either Britain or the Congress.

After Sheikh Abdul Majid had reiterated the view that Federation was entirely unacceptable to the League as embodied in the Government of India Act, the sitting was adjourned.

Fourth Day

The Session of the League adopted the resolution on Federation, which had been moved the previous day, after several other speakers had supported it.

Mr. Z.H. Lari, supporting the resolution, said that the Congress wanted a majority in the Federal Legislature, and hence the League should vest powers in the President to evolve a suitable atternative for the Federal Scheme after negotiating with the powers that be, or otherwise take the necessary steps to safeguard Muslim interests.

Khan Bahadur S.M. Ismail declared that the Federation was unacceptable to the Muslims as the scheme did not safeguard their interests and even in the provinces where they were in a majority they would be reduced to the position of minority.

Malik Barkat Ali declared that no Federal Scheme would be acceptable to the Muslims if it allowed the Federal Legislature to thwart the administration of those Provinces where Muslims were in a majority.

Mr. M. Asghar Imam urged the Muslims to be prepared for every sacrifice to resist the imposition of the Federation because it would perpetuate the subordination of India to aliens.

RESOLUTION XI

This Session of the All-India Muslim League expresses its deep

sympathy with the Indians in general, and the Muslims in particular, in Burma who have suffered great losses during riots, and asks the Government of India to press the Government of Burma for adequate compensation to the Muslims who have in any way suffered during the riots. Further this Session requests the All-Burmah Muslim League to keep the Muslims of India in touch with the general and political affairs of the Burmah Muslims.

Moving this resolution, Mr. Zahur Ahmad traced the origin of the riots and narrated the atrocities committed by Burmans on Indians, especially the Indian Muslims.

Mr. Mahmud Hassan attributed the culture and progress of Burmah to Indian Muslims; but, he said, the Hindu Sabha and Arya Samaj organizations were carrying on propaganda against the Muslims in Burmah.

The resolution was then passed.

RESOLUTION XII

This Session of the All-India Muslim League once more demands that full reforms and a status equal to that of the other provinces in India should be given to British Baluchistan, and requests the British Government to take immediate steps in that direction, without any further delay. Moved by Khan Bahadur Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, this resolution had a quick passage.

RESOLUTION XIII

Whereas the forward policy of the British Government, which, in the name of Indian Defence, aims at the forcible subjugation of the independent tribal belt lying between Afghanistan and the North-Western Border of India, has failed, with all its military resources, to attain its objective, and has resulted only in an incalculable yearly loss in men and money, without any prospect of coming to a successful end in the near or distant future, and whereas the trans-frontier border tribes, who prefer total extinction to a life of servitude, have all along made it clear that they will resist to the bitter end all British attempts to dominate their homeland, this Session of the All-India Muslim League is firmly of opinion that the time now has come for the British Government to reconsider its Frontier Policy in a more statesmenlike manner, based upon the universally recognized principle of self-determination. It further condemns the policy and activities of the Congress in the N.W.F.P. by which they have given indications that the tribal areas should become parts of the administered territory.

Strong criticism of British policy in the Frontier was made during the consideration of this resolution, which was moved by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan. He said that British were pursuing a futile policy in the Frontier, since the

tribes against which it was directed had been independent from time immemorial. He asked the Government to change the present policy to one of conciliation.

The resolution was passed, after Mr. Ziauddin Khan had seconded it. The following two resolutions were then adopted as proposed.

RESOLUTION XIV

This Session of the All-India Muslim League resolves that the present Provincial Parliamentary Boards shall cease to function as soon as a Provincial League or Leagues set up a machinery of their own for the prupose of selecting and adopting candidates for their respective legislatures and other elected bodies. Any machinery that may be so set up by the Provincial Leagues shall be subject to the control and supervision of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, or such Committee as they may appoint for the purpose, and the decision of the Working Committee or the special committee so appointed, in case of appeal to them, shall be final; and further resolves that for the Central Legislature, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League should constitute such machinery for the purpose of elections to the Central Legislature as it thinks proper. (Moved by the Secretary on behalf of the Chair.)

RESOLUTION XV

In view of the fact that the Shariat of Islam strictly prohibits extravagance, and having regard to the present depressed economic condition of the Indian Muslims, this Session of the All-India Muslim League strongly urges the Indian Musalmans to refrain from all wasteful practices, to observe Islamic simplicity on all social occasions, and to abandon all un-Islamic ceremonies and customs.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Jinnah said that during the present Session the League had laid down a fundamental principle of a revolutionary nature, which was a departure from the past—namely, the decision to adopt direct action, if and when necessary. So long, he said, the League had been wedded only to the policy of constitutional progress. He said that the Patna Session had been the most successful he had seen since 1913, when he joined the League; and he paid a tribute to the public of Patna for their orderly behaviour. In connection with direct action, Mr. Jinnah pleaded for patience, and asked Muslims to organize the League so that all the 90 million Muslims might come under its banner.

After these concluding remarks the meeting came to a close on the afternoon of December 26.[1]

1. *Sources: The Indian Annual Register, 1938,* Vol. II, and Resolutions published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION

LAHORE, MARCH 22-24, 1940

First Day

In surroundings reminiscent of the glory of the great Mughals, the Twenty-seventh Session of the All-India Muslim League opened on Friday March 22, 1940, in a specially constructed *pandal* in Minto Park, on the outskirts of Lahore City. The giant *pandal*, seating well over 60,000 people, had been erected on a site about a furlong from the Great Fort, facing the historic Badshahi Mosque.[1] About two and a half miles to the west from the site were the tombs of Emperor Jehangir and Empress Nur Jehan; while another three miles to the west lay the famous Shalimar Gardens of Shah Jehan.[2] The main amphitheatre was surrounded on all sides by hundreds of white tents where the delegates and visitors were staying. Well before the scheduled time of 2:30 p.m., the *pandal* was packed to the door, and a considerable crowd was forced to listen to the proceedings through loud-speakers installed outside. The green flag of the League dominated the bunting and the archway leading to the entrance of the *pandal*. Green again were the uniforms of the various provincial units of the Muslim National Guard, who managed the vast concourse of their co-religionists.

For a brief span of time, the gathering was entertained by a series of poets and singers, whose allegorical licence reached remarkable heights in

1. Special Correspondent, *The Times of India*, March 25, 1940.
2. API news item, March 25, 1940.

their praise of the League and the Quaid-i-Azam. The richer the simile the greater the enthusiasm. The Quaid-i-Azam arrived at about 2:25 p.m., and was received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee. A team of pipers led the President up to the centre of the *pandal* to the platform, while on either side marched some strapping young men in Khaki uniforms and blue forage caps—members of the Bombay Provincial Muslim Guard contingent. It was the moment the huge assembly had awaited. 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad' thundered forth in unison from over 100,000 spectators.[1]

After a recitation from the Holy Quran, a number of poems, including one by Mian Bashir Ahmad (ملت کا پاسبان ہے محمد علی جناح) were recited. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot read his address. Welcoming the delegates, Sir Shah Nawaz said:

The achievement of the Muslim League, which protected the Muslims, and other minorities, against a calamity which endangered their very existence, would remain a bright chapter in the history of Indian Muslims. The All-India Muslim League was to-day working on such lines as would not only ensure the national life and independence of the Musalmans of India, but, at the same time, protect other communities. He was happy that the Musalmans had fully grasped this ideal of their only representative organization, and that they were mustering strong under the flag of the All-India Muslim League. The ideal of free Musalmans in a free India, was an ideal which neither the British Government nor the Congress dare characterize as unreasonable. The All-India Muslim League upheld the cause of India's freedom, but it could not tolerate the usurpation of Muslim rights by the majority community. The Musalmans would reject any scheme of reform that did not safeguard Muslim rights. Speaking on the Act of 1935, Sir Shah Nawaz said that a Western type of government did not suit India and the experience of the past two and a half years' administration in Congress majority provinces had amply proved this. The Musalmans could never tolerate a situation in which they should live in subjection to a community which had no common ground with them in religion, culture and civilization. European communities could not tolerate the domination of another nation, added Sir Shah Nawaz, although they had practically the same religion, culture and civilization. Discussing the communal question, Sir Shah Nawaz said that as many as 25 attempts had been made in the last quarter of the century, but no settlement had yet been arrived at. The reason for the breakdown of negotiations on every occasion had been that the Congress refused to accept the basic principle of separate electorates for the Musalmans; and if they did so, they did it in a form in which the Musalmans could not maintain their identity and independence. Referring to the working of Provincial autonomy, Sir Shah Nawaz said that in order to run a popular Government efficiently, the majority should try to satisfy the

1. API news item, March 25, 1940.

minorities and inspire confidence in them in every possible way, but he was sorry to observe that the attitude of the Congress had been to the contrary. Sir Shah Nawaz described how the Punjab Government was doing everything to satisfy the minorities and keep them content. The minorities had been given full representation in the Government in the Punjab and Bengal. During the past three years, the Punjab Government had spent 27.5 million rupees on the famine-striken villagers of the South-East Punjab, a majority of whom were Hindu Jats. Concluding, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan deplored the fact that some very prominent Muslim leaders had cut adrift from their community and joined the Congress, which was not fighting for the independence of India, but only for the domination of the Congress and the Hindus after the departure of the British.[1]

The special correspondent of the Times of India wrote: "This curtain raiser in Urdu was received with quiet applause; every—one was waiting for the Presidential Address. Mr. Jinnah decided to speak extempore, and no one knew what to expect. Prolonged shouts of 'Zindabad' greeted the slim figure in a black achkan as the President stepped before the microphone. Mr. Jinnah's sallow face reflected the triumph of his reception. He spoke for nearly two hours, his voice now deep and trenchant, now light and ironic. Such was the dominance of his personality that, despite the improbability of more than a fraction of his audience understanding English, he held his hearers and played with palpable effect on their emotions. The Associated Press of India reported: "As Mr. Jinnah delivered his extempore address lasting for a hundred minutes, which was frequently punctuated[2] by thunderous applause, there were many in that huge gathering of over 100,000 people who remembered the late Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the poet of Islam, the animator of the idea of Pakistan, whose tomb is at present in the process of construction within easy distance of the League Pandal. It was one of the most representative gatherings of the Musalmans of India who listened to the oration of Mr. Jinnah. Ministers of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam and most of the Muslim members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures in India attended. Perhaps a special feature of the Session was the appearance of such a large number of Muslim women in a public function of this sort, and the organization of the Muslim Militia of National Guards who were in charge of all the arrangements, including the control of the huge crowds."[3]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

The following is the text of the Quaid-i-Azam's Presidential Address:

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are meeting to-day in our Session after 15

1. *Source: The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. I, pp. 307-308.
2. In the original 'punctured'—presumably a misprint, rather than the correspondent's intent!
3. API, March 25.

months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All-India Muslim League had to face after the Patna Session of 1938.

Assessment of Developments since 1938

You remember that one of the tasks, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organize Muslim Leagues all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last 15 months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established Provincial Leagues in every Province. The next point is that in every by-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Musalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single by-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organizing the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna Session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under *purdah*. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were (1) to organize provincial and district Muslim Leagues: (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness—because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about; (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This Central Committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done, we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression on Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States, such as Jaipur

and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little State of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress, which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared, the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of a federal scheme in the Central Government. We know what machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the Central Federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of the Central Federal Government. In creating that mind in the British Government, the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are a very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clear, they are slow in understanding. After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realized that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me, but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet, the Viceroy never thought of me before. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted, and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League', whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received, because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that I want you to realize the value, the importance, the significance of organizing ourselves, I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake, and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody, whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live for ever.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this: We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be the freedom of all India, and not the freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus, and slavery for Musalmans and other minorities.

Building Up Self-Reliance

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences, and particularly from the experiences of the past two and a half years of Provincial Constitution in the Congress-governed provinces, we have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people; but when we find in actual experience that our tust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed him.

Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentlemen's agreement between the Congress and the Government to such an extent that, although we cried ourselves hoarse, week in and out, the Governors would be supine and the Governor-General helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities, and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help, and that gentlemen's agreement was broken to pieces, and the Congress, thank Heaven, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. Their bluff was called. So far so good.

I, therefore, appeal to you, in all the seriousness that I can command, to organize yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. This does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests, you must create that strength in yourselves with which you may be able to defend yourselves. That is all that I want to urge.

Issues for the Future Constitution

Now, what is our position with regard to the future Constitution? It is that, as soon as circumstances permit, or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future Constitution must be examined *de novo*, and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy asid, "I have made the declaration." The Congress said, "No no, we want another kind of declaration. You must declare, now and at once, that India is free and independent, with the right to frame its own Constitution, through a

Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise, or as low a franchise as possible. This Assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests.'' Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied, then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character, and most impartial, should decide the dispute. Now apart from the impracticable character of this proposal, and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly—apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose we, the solid body of Muslim representatives, do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this Assembly may do in framing a National Constitution of this huge Subcontinent, except in those matters which may be germane to the safeguards of the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may strictly be called safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as the Constitution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the Constitution will decide whether the British will disappear, and if so to what extent. In other words, his proposal comes to this: first give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation, then I will decide what I should give you back.

Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Musalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible, and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power, mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer; the Hindu majority would do it—and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or Mr. Gandhi's 'Ahimsa'? Can we trust them any more? Besides, ladies and gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of a social contract upon which the future Constitution of India would be based, affecting 90 millions of Musalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still, that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago, I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders—each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopalachari, the ex-Prime Minister of

Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorate. That is his prescription, as one of the great doctors of the Congress Organization. Babu Rajendra Prasad, on the other hand, only a few days ago said, "Oh, what more do the Musalmans want?" I will read you his words. Referring to the minority question, he says:

"If Britain would concede our right of self-determination, surely all these differences would disappear."

How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

"But so long as Britain remains and holds power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future Constitution would be framed not by the Congress alone, but also by representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates, though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representative of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religion and political affiliations, who will be deciding the future Constitution of India, and not this or that party. What better guarantees can the minorities have?" So, according to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations, and religions and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as the 18th of March, 1940.

And this now is what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March, 1940. He says:

"To me, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans are all alike. I cannot be frivolous"—but I think he is frivolous—"I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother."

The only difference is this, that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote!

"I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket."

I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his.

"There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so to-day."

Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslim to-day? May I ask, ladies and gentlemen?

"I do not read all that appears in the Urdu Press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there, I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without a Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no *Swaraj*."

Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years.

"You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight. I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly."

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that they are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which the Muslims

say they cannot accept—which, the Muslims say, means three to one, about which the Musalmans say that they will never be able, in that way, by the counting of heads, to come to any agreement which will be a real agreement from the heart, which will enable all to work as friends; and, therefore, this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Musalmans at all.

He says, "I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly", mark the words, "who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes"—he is first forcing us to come to that Assembly, and then says —"declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims, then alone would I give up all hope; but even then I would agree with them because they read the Quran and I have also studied something of that holy book."

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Musalmans; and if they do not agree, then he will give up all hopes, but even then he will agree with us. Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real, genuine desire—if there existed any —to come to a settlement with the Musalmans? Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree—and I have suggested this to him more than once, and I repeat it again from this platform—why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of a Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, 'I am a Hindu, the Congress has solid Hindu backing'? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Musalman. I am right I hope, and I think even a blind man must have been convinced by now, that the Muslim League has the solid backing of the Musalmans of India. Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Musalmans? Why this declaration of non-co-operation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Musalmans agree or they do not agree? Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans. This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

Negotiations with the British

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet, as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points. At any rate, we have made some advance with regard to one point, and that is this. You remember, our demand was that the entire problem of the future constitution of India should be examined *de novo*, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that, the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was—I had better quote that, I will not put it

in my own words. This is the reply that was sent to us on the 23rd of December:

"My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October the 13th last does not exclude" —Mark the words— "does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based."

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important are: that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future Constitution of India without our approval and consent, and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back, unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand, when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 millions of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Musalmans a Constitution which they do not approve of, and to which they do not agree. Therefore, the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance, and give the Musalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter, and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not—after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength —I make it plain from this platform that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Musalmans of India will resist it. And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable, national demands of the Arabs. Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours. We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine.

Then the point was with regard to sending troops outside. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anywhow we have made our position clear, that we never intended, and, in fact, the language does not justify it, if there is any misapprehension or apprehension that Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance of was that Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim Power. Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December, having regard to what has been ex-

plained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee, dated the 3rd of February, and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration.

The Hundu-Muslim Situation

Ladies and gentlemen, that is where we stand after the war and up to the 3rd of February. As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it; and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future Constitution, and we have also appointed a subcommittee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Musalmans are a minority, and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition.

The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis. "Well, you are a minority after all, what do you want? What else do the minorities want? Just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Musalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India, we occupy large parts of this country where the Musalmans are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan.

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Musalmans? We have been considering—and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme for a Constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you, in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C.R. Das. It was written I believe, about 12 or 15 years ago, and the letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash, recently published, and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabhite said—but before I read his letter, it is plain that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are Hindu. The word 'Nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

"There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think (about) carefully, and that is the question of Hindu-Mohammedan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law, and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non-co-operation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

"You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew. There is no finer Moham-

medan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can any Muslim leader override the Quran? I can only hope that my reading of Islamic law is incorrect."

I think his reading is quite incorrect.

"And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right, then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British, we cannot do so to rule Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines."

Ladies and gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was all right, but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago, there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said 15 years ago that we cannot do so, *viz.* rule Hindustan on democratic lines. What is the remedy? The remedy according to the Congress is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further:

"What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Musalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey will be irresistible.

"I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Quran and the Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope that your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader 15 years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject, as it strikes me, taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been, for many decades past, brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which have built up the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the Cabinet system. Their concept of party-government, functioning on political planes, has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country; and the one-sided and powerful propaganda which naturally appeals to the British has led them into a serious blunder, in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonize the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the London *Times*, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote, "undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word, but also of law and culture, that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely

distinct and separate civilizations. However, in the course of time the superstitions will die out, and India will be moulded into a single nation." So, according to the London *Times*, the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spritual, economic, cultural, social and political, have been euphemized as mere 'superstitions'. But surely, it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the subcontinent of India, as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society, *vis-a-vis* that of Hinduism, to characterize them as mere 'superstitions'. Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into a one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statutes. What the unitary Government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realized by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the Subcontinent from various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

Autonomous National States

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal but manifestly of an international character, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Musalmans, but also to the British and Hindus. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure the peace and happiness of the people of this Subcontinent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands, by dividing India into 'autonomous national States'. There is no reason why these States should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand, the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of the one (community) to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them (the states) and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between the Muslim India and the Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders. It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond

the limits, and is the cause of most of our troubles, and will lead India to destruction, if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literature. They neither intermarry, nor interdine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and they have different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and the final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, of Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the Subcontinent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. The Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as seven or eight sovereign States. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of the unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one Central Government, when we know that the history of the last 12 hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during the ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet; but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of an entire break up, with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under the Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would the Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any Constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority Government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial Constitutions during the last two and a half years; and any repetition of such a Government must lead to civil war and raising private armies, as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur, when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow; and if they could not, they must emigrate.

Musalmans are not a minority, as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even to-day, according to the British map of India, 4 out of 11 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best, and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands—and the vital interests of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find—an honourable and peaceful solution which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time, we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Conclusion

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you; but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have been saying, and I think you can easily get that publication, both in English and in Urdu, from the League Office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements.

Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realize how big and stupendous it is? Do you realize that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can, and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realize your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your minds definitely, and then think of devices, and organize your people, strengthen your organization and consolidate the Musalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organize the people economically, socially, educationally and politically, and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody.[1]

1. *India's Problem of her Future Constitution, with Preface by M.A. Jinnah*, pp. 1-15.

Second Day

On Friday night the meeting of the Subjects Committee was held to discuss the draft of the historic Lahore Resolution, which was to come up for consideration before the open session. The Committee sat into the early hours of Saturday morning, and then again met on that day from 10:30 a.m. till 2 p.m. A demonstration against the recent policy of the Punjab Government was staged in the afternoon in front of the Subject Committee's *Pandal*. The demonstrators raised shouts of 'Sikandar Murdabad'. The Muslim National Guard and volunteers threw a cordon round the *Pandal*. Shortly afterwards, the meeting ended and the Quaid-i-Azam addressed the gathering. He asked them to be peaceful and calm, and assured them that the question was under the consideration of the League. Shouts of 'League Zindabad' and 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad' rent the air, and then the crowd dispersed quietly.

The second open session of the League began at 3 p.m., under the presidentship of the Quaid-i-Azam. The *pandal* was crowded to capacity. Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Mr. Abdul Majid Sindhi and Mr. G.M. Syed, Minister of Sind, were among those on the dais. The *pandal* resounded with cheers of 'Sher-i-Bengal Zindabad' (Long live the Lion of Bengal), when Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Premier of Bengal, arrived.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan read the annual report, which was adopted.

Mr. Fazlul Haq then moved the following resolution (which came to be known as the Lahore Resolution and later also as the Pakistan Resolution).

RESOLUTION I

> While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 17th of August, 17th and 18th of September, and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February, 1940, on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country, and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.
>
> It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo*, and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution, for them and other minorities, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally, by the respective regions, of all powers, such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.[1]

Moving the resolution, Mr. Fazlul Haq said, "We have stated definitely and unequivocally that what we want is not merely a tinkering with the idea of federation, but its thorough overhauling, so that the federation may ultimately go. This idea of federation must not only be postponed, but abandoned altogether. On many an occasion on the platform of the Muslim League, and the other day, on the floor of the House in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, I made an emphatic and definite assertion that the Musalmans of India will not consent to any such scheme which is framed without our approval. We will make such a Constitution absolutely unworkable. I hope that those who may have it in their power to shape the future Constitution of India will take Muslim feelings into consideration, and not take any step which may be regretted. We have made our position absolutely clear. The problem is very simple. At present the Muslims constitute 80 millions scattered all over India. It may sound a big number, but as a matter of fact, the Muslims are in a weak position numerically, in almost every province of India. In the Punjab and Bengal, we are in an effective majority, but we are hopelessly

1. *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League from December 1938 to March 1940.* Published by Nawabzada, Liaquat Ali Khan at Delhi. The other resolutions are also taken from this source.

in a minority elsewhere. The position is such that whatever may be the constitution, Muslim interests are bound to suffer, just as they have suffered during the last three years of the working of provincial autonomy."

Mr. Fazlul Haq characterized as un-Islamic sentiments the statements of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his Presidential Address to the Congress, that the Muslims should not feel nervous, as 80 millions was not a small number, and that they need not be afraid. Mr. Fazlul Haq said that even if a sufficient proportion of the 80 million had been congregated in one province, we would have had nothing to fear. "Situated as we are, our political enemy can take advantage of the situation. Our freinds will remember that even in the Punjab and Bengal our position is not very safe. In the legislatures we are not in such a large majority; we have to seek the help of other interests and minorities to form coalition governments which are the weakest form of governments known to constitutionalists. As regards the other provinces, we are in a very weak position, and are at the mercy of the majority. Until a satisfactory solution of this unequal distribution of the Muslim population is found it is useless to talk of constitutional advance or of safeguards.

I earnestly appeal to my Muslim friends throughout India to remain united, to exercise a calm and sober judgement, and remember that we have to stand on our own feet and cannot rely on anybody. It is a case of every one for himself, and no one for the Muslims of India." Mr. Haq appealed to the audience to accept his motion, and hoped that the result would be good.[1]

Seconding the resolution, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that they should consider the circumstances which had forced the Muslims to demand separation, and their own Government where they were in a majority. Firstly, the responsibility of this demand rested on the British Government, who in order to exploit the Indians, declared that India was one nation and started the majority and minority questions. They opened a flood of such stupendous propaganda that the question came to be regarded as a real problem, whereas, in fact, this question did not exist.

After the British, the Congress and the majority community were responsible for the Muslim demand for separation. The working of the provincial part of the Act of 1935 in Congress provinces during the last three years had finally settled the question of separation. The treatment that the minorities in these provinces had received at the hands of the majority needed no comment. The Muslims had now realized that their existence was in danger, and that if they wanted to maintain their identity, they must struggle for it.

Third and last, the responsibility was of those Muslims who tried to split the ranks of the Muslims by setting up rival organizations or joining the

1. This and the other speeches quoted are based on versions appearing in *The Indian Annual Register, 1940*, Vol. I, and the *Times of India* and the Associated Press of India of March 25, 1940.

Congress or other non-Muslim political parties. Continuing, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that he differed from Mr. Abul Kalam Azad, when he said that because the Muslims were strong enough to defend themselves, they should not demand separation. He added that the responsibility of those Muslims who had damaged Muslim rights in India was great, for they were not only betraying the present generation, but the future generation also. If the Congress continued to act on the advice of Muslim Congressmen, there was sure to be a civil war in India.

Supporting the resolution, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that he was on this day feeling as if he was speaking from a free India. For a long period, he had been an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, and had been in the Congress for a number of years. During all this time, he had found that the Congress was not at all anxious to achieve freedom, but in fact wanted to suppress the minorities. The Congress had achieved its present high position as a result of the support Muslims lent it in the past, but now the Congress had adopted an indifferent attitude towards Muslims. He, as well as others of his school of thought, had been criticizing the Muslim League for not undertaking any constructive programme. Referring to the Congress proposal for a Constituent Assembly, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan reiterated that they would not accept any Constitution which had not been approved of and consented to by the Muslims of India.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, said that he had the privilege of supporting the resolution which had been moved by the 'Lion of Bengal'. It should be considered calmly and dispassionately. He congratulated the Muslims living in Hindu provinces for lending their support to the resolution, which sought freedom for six crores of Muslims. Speaking for the Frontier, he said that his province was the gateway of India, and he was there to assure Muslims living in the Hindu provinces that they were ready at all times to lay down their lives for the sake of their co-religionists. The speaker expressed the opinion that it was absurd to declare the Muslims a minority community when, in four provinces of India, they were in a majority. Concluding, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan said, "We do not want British democracy, which is nothing but a counting of heads. Muslims are a separate nation; we want a home for the Muslim nation, and our home is as indicated in the resolution."

Sir Abdullah Haroon said that it was a well-known fact that the Muslims came to India through Sind. The Muslims of Sind were the first to meet this question which was now before the League. In 1938, the Muslim League passed a resolution for establishing 'independent States' in the north-western and the eastern zones. Since then, various constitutional schemes had been framed, and they were now being examined by a command that it was the duty of the Muslims to pass it without any hitch. Sir Abdullah Haroon warned the Hindus that if the Muslims in Hindu provinces were not justly treated, the

Hindus in the Muslim Provinces would be treated in the same way in which Herr Hitler treated the Sudetans. The speaker hoped that the proposal embodied in the resolution would be acceptable both to the Hindus and the British, as there was no better solution of the thorny problem.

As it was time for prayers, the Session was adjourned till Sunday morning.

Third Day

The third day's sitting of the Muslim League commenced at 11:15 a.m. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the Muslim League, announced that the Quaid-i-Azam would arrive a little late, and that he had asked him to say that the proceedings should commence. The Nawab of Mamdot was then voted to the Chair, and the proceedings began with a recitation from the Holy Quran. The General Secretary announced that another open session would be held at 9:30 p.m. the same day. The discussion on the resolution and on the constitutional problem was then resumed. In the meantime the Quaid-i-Azam also arrived, and took the Chair.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, President of the Bihar Muslim League, supporting the resolution, said that he belonged to a minority province where the Musalmans did not enjoy freedom of speech. In this Session, which was being held in a free land, he had pleasure in speaking freely. He thanked the Muslim majority provinces for the offer of help to the Muslims of minority provinces if an attempt was made to suppress their rights; but he had full confidence in the ability of the Muslims of his own province to defend themselves in the hour of need. Referring to Maulana Azad's presidential address, the Nawab said that he wanted to tell the Congress that Maulana Azad's voice was not the voice of the Muslims; it was Mr. Jinnah who truly reflected the Muslim opinion in India.

Mr. Mohammad Isa Khan assured his co-religionists in the Minority Provinces that, when they had achieved freedom in the Majority Provinces, they would not forget them, and would be prepared to render every kind of help in their power. He reminded the audience that, like the Musalmans of the N.W.F.P., the Musalmans of Baluchistan were also the gatekeepers of India, as they guarded the Bolan Pass. They were the trustees of a great charge, and he hoped that they would acquit themselves well in the eyes of their brethren in the Minority Provinces.

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Madras Assembly, declared that the All-India Muslim League had been carrying on its fight for the freedom of India for the last 4 years. In this struggle, they had co-operated with the Hindus in the hope that the freedom of India meant freedom for every inhabitant of this country. But their belief had been belied by the conduct of the Congress during its regime of two and a half years in seven out of the 11 provinces. Mr. Abdul Hamid said that thanks to the

Congress regime in these provinces, the Muslims had been awakened, and the Muslim League had been organized in every province. He expressed the hope that when the League prepared a new Constitution, the Muslims of Minority Provinces would be fully consulted.

Mr. Ismail Chundrigar, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Bombay Assembly, declared that a Federation of the whole of India, in which the Musalmans would be in a hopeless minority, was entirely unacceptable to them. He maintained that the scheme embodied in the resolution was fair and just from all points of view. The Muslims were in no circumstances, prepared to support the Congress proposal for a Constituent Assembly wherein the Muslims would be in a minority of one to three. He recalled the appointment of the Rajkot Inquiry Committee, when Mr. Gandhi had expressed his willingness to take two Muslims on the Committee, on the condition that they should vote with the members of the Praja Parishad. Was this the sort of freedom which the Congress would give to the Muslims?

Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, President of the C.P. Muslim League, said that he belonged to a province which had been the target of Congress oppression. In spite of the tyranny of the Congress Ministry, the Muslims did not loose patience. He asked his co-religionists not to worry about Muslims living in the Minority Provinces. They trusted in God that a day would come when they would also be free like their brethren in the Majority Provinces.

Dr. Mohammad Alam, who had recently resigned from the Congress, was given a great ovation as he rose to support the resolution. He rebutted the notion that the scheme outlined in the resolution was a mere dream, and felt confident that it would be turned into a reality. He asserted that when a similar proposal was made by Bhai Parmanand in 1914-15, on behalf of the Ghadar Party, nobody characterized it as a dream.[1] Analysing the position of the Congress, Dr. Alam said that the Congress did not want independence, but a Hindu Raj under the aegis of the British Government. This was why distinguished Muslim nationalists like Maulana Mohammed Ali had severed their connection with the Congress. It was not a fact, he asserted, that the Muslims had left the Congress; but, on the contrary, the truth was that the Congress had abandoned its original position, and given up its goal of complete independence. Dr. Alam related how, before joining the League, he went to Delhi to meet Mr. Jinnah and enquire what sacrifice the Muslims League would be prepared to make to achieve the programme now outlined in the resolution. Mr. Jinnah assured him, continued Dr. Alam, that he would give his life for it, and be the first to go to jail (thunderous cheers). Dr. Alam appealed to the Muslims to organize branches of the League in all districts, towns, villages and *mohallas*, and to strengthen the hands of the Quaid-i-Azam.

1. Dr. Alam repeated this statement in the Punjab Assembly on March 4, 1941, but it has not been possible to trace the partriculars of the indicated proposals of Bhai Parmanand.

When Dr. Alam had concluded his speech, the Quaid-i-Azam announced that he would permit one resolution relating to Palestine to be moved in the open session, although it had been taken up by the Subjects Committee. He revealed that many other non-official resolutions had been guillotined in the Committee. The discussion on the resolution relating to the Constitutional problem was thereupon suspended, and the Palestine Resolution was moved by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, who had attended the Palestine Conference in Cairo the preceding year. The resolution ran as follows:

RESOLUTION II

The All-India Muslim League views with grave concern the inordinate delay on the part of the British Government in coming to a settlement with the Arabs in Palestine, and places on record its considered opinion, in clear and unequivocal language, that no arrangements of a piecemeal character will be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world, and particularly to the Muslims in India, to secure their active assistance in the War of 1914-18. Further, the League warns the British Government against the danger of taking advantage of the presence of a large British force in the Holy Land to overawe the Arabs and force them into submission.

Sir Syed Raza Ali, seconding the resolution, deplored the fact that there was no news from Palestine. After Mr. Abdul Hamid Badayuni had supported the resolution, it was adopted by the open session.

At this stage, the Session adjourned.

The Session met again at 9 p.m., and the Quaid-i-Azam then moved, from the Chair, the following resolution on the Khaksar question:

RESOLUTION III

This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the unfortunate and tragic occurrence on the 19th of March, 1940, owing to a clash between the Khaksars and the Police, resulting in the loss of a large number of lives and injuries to many more, and sincerely sympathizes with those who have suffered and with their families and dependents.

This Session calls upon the Government forthwith to appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry, the personnel of which would command the perfect confidence of the people, with instructions to them to make full and complete investigation and inquiry in the whole affair, and make their report as soon as possible.

This Session authorizes the Working Committee to take such action in the matter as they may consider proper immediately after

publication of the report of the Committee.

This Session urges upon the various Governments that the order declaring the Khaksar organization unlawful should be removed as soon as possible.

Explaining the resolution, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "The resolution is the result of discussion in the Subjects Committee last night from 9 p.m. to 2 o'clock in the morning. The Subjects Committee adopted this resolution in the form in which it is now placed before you. They have passed it unanimously, and now it is for you to deal with it. The resolution represents their considered opinion, and they want me to convey to you that this resolution should be put from the Chair. There are many reasons for this course to be adopted. The first reason is that it will not be desirable to have people coming and making speech after speech. It is very difficult to restrain passions, and some may say something which might be considered harmful to our interests. Another reason is that the matter is *subjudice*. It asks for a full and complete investigation and inquiry, and it will not be in the fitness of things that, on the one hand, we ask for an inquiry, and on the other, we pronouce our judgment."

He reminded the audience that there was a clause in the resolution which authorized the Working Committee of the Muslim League to take such action as it thought proper immediately after the publication of the report of the Inquiry Committee. He assured them and his friends of the Khaksar organization that the Working Committee would not rest until they had got full justice. Whether it was the Punjab Government, the Government of India, the Punjab Ministry, or the Punjab Premier, they would not care until they had got justice. He asked the Khaksars and, indeed, all Musalmans, particularly in the Punjab, but also in other parts of India, to put their heads together and to see that, at the time of inquiry, they placed their material before the investigating authority. He urged them to appoint some body that would, regardless of expense, put all the evidence and material before the Inquiry Committee. This was most important at the present moment. "The rest we will see, and God will help us." The resolution was passed unanimously.

ADOPTION OF THE PAKISTAN RESOLUTION

Discussion on the main resolution, relating to the constitutional problem was resumed. Syed Zakir Ali, Begum Mohammad Ali (widow of the late Maulana Mohammad Ali) and Maulana Abdul Hamid spoke in support of the resolution. It was then passed unanimously amid great enthusiasm.

RESOLUTION IV

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan then placed before the open session the following resolution regarding certain amendments in the Constitution of the

Muslim League which had been approved by the Subjects Committee:

Add the following as 28A to the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League:

(1) The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League shall control, direct and regulate all the activities, of the various Provincial Leagues strictly in consonance with the aims, objects and rules of the All-India Muslim League.

(2) The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League shall be empowered:

(a) To take disciplinary action against individual members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League who violate the decisions of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

(b) To suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any Provincial League which fails in its duties, infringes or ignores the decisions or directions of the All-India Muslim League or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

The amendments were unanimously adopted.

Election of Office-Bearers

The open session then proceeded to elect office-bearers for the next year. On the motion of Sir Raza Ali, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad were respectively elected Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer. The election of Joint-Secretaries was left to the Council of the Muslim League.

Then the Quaid-i-Azam asked Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung to speak. His thought-provoking and illuminating oration in chaste Urdu on Islam and Democracy moved the whole gathering.

Concluding Remarks of the Quaid-i-Azam

In his concluding remarks, the Quaid-i-Azam thanked the Reception Committee for according him a magnificent reception, and for Rendering him every assistance in conducting the deliberations of the Session. The Musalmans, he added, had shown to the world how disciplined they were.

Referring to the Khaksar tragedy, the Quaid-i-Azam said that he was very perturbed when he learnt about the firing on the Khaksars. He was advised not to hold the Session of the League, but as he had the fullest faith in his people, he decided not to postpone the Session. When he reached Lahore, he told Press representatives in an interview that the Lahore Session of the Muslim League was going to be a landmark in the future history of the Musalmans of India. He had no doubt that barring this tragedy on the eve of the Session, it had proved a greater success. Had there not been this tragedy,

there would have been a magnificent procession, and they would have had the opportunity of demonstrating their enthusiasm. Their enemies had wanted to mar the Session somehow or other, but all their attempts had failed, and the Session had concluded successfully. The Quaid-i-Azam was happy that deliberations of the Session were conducted in a calm and quiet atmosphere. It had been an acid test for the Muslims; for when their blood was boiling, and when 30 Muslims were shot dead, it had been very difficult to keep calm. "But you have demonstrated to the world that the Musalmans are capable of bearing sorrows. You have also shown to the world that you can conduct your business in a gathering of lakhs. It is the finest certificate that can be given to any nation. The prestige of the League was in the hands of Musalmans of the Punjab. I, therefore, congratulate the Punjab Muslims from the bottom of my heart. It gives me courage to serve you all."

Continuing, the Quaid-i-Azam said that the Lahore Session was a landmark in the history of India. They had defined their goal. He assured the gathering that they would fight for that goal. They had taken this great decision in right earnestness. The Quaid-i-Azam thanked the Nawab of Mamdot, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who had worked day and night to make the Session a success. Finally, the Quaid-i-Azam appealed to the Muslims of the Punjab to organize the Punjab Muslim League, and carry the message of the Muslim League from village to village and house to house. "The more you organize yourself, the more you will be able to get your rights." He exhorted workers, peasants, intelligentsia, landlords and capitalists to try to speak with one voice.

The Session concluded at 11:30 p.m., amid loud shouts of 'Muslim League Zindabad', 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad'.[1]

Source: Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Evolution of Pakistan*. The All-Pakistan Legal Decisions, Lahore, 1963, pp. 271-309.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION

MADRAS, APRIL 12-15, 1941

The Twenty-eighth Session of the All-India Muslim League began amidst scenes of enthusiasm. Long before the scheduled time, all approaches to the Peoples Park, where the *pandal* had been erected, were crowded to the full, and people were standing in rows to greet Mr. M.A. Jinnah as he passed on his way to Jinnahabad. The *pandal* was filled to its utmost capacity.

Mr. Jinnah was conducted to the dais by a side-gate in order to avoid the rush. His appearance on the dais was the signal for cheers and shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar* and Jinnah *Zindabad*. Looking cheerful, Mr. Jinnah stepped forward, and smilingly acknowledged the welcome accorded to him.

A special feature of the Session was the presence of a large number of non-Muslim leaders, including Sir R.K. Shanmukhan Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, Sir K.V. Reddy, Sir A.P. Patro, Mr. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, Leader of the Justice Party, Kumararajah M.A. Muthiah Chettiar, Mr. C.R. Srinivasan, Editor of *Swadesa Mitran*, Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, and Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj. Sir Mohammad Usman and Khan Bahadur Adam Haji Mohammad Sait were also on the dais, seated along with the members of the Working Committee.

Also present were a large number of Muslim women, for whom purdah arrangements had been made.

The proceedings began with recitations from the Quran. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, thereafter delivered his welcome address:

I deem it a unique privilege to welcome you to this great metropolis of South India. I assure you that when I say this, I genuinely echo the sentiments

of the members of the Reception Committee and of the Muslims of South India, who deeply appreciate the honour conferred upon this part of the country by the decision of the Quaid-i-Azam to hold the Twenty-eighth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League here.

It would not be out of place to mention that this Province of ours, which you have selected as the venue of the League's annual session has its own hoary Islamic traditions and associations; for the Western Coast of our Presidency was the first part of India to come in contact with Arab culture, long before the Muslims came to India through Sind and the North-Western passess. The regular commerce between the West Coast of India and the South of Arabia facilitated the spread of Islam in Malabar, where hundreds of thousands of the children of the soil were subject to the tyranny and degradation of caste-ridden religions. In fact this part of our Presidency is inhabited by a large number of Muslims, who constitute a third of the total Muslim population of the whole Presidency. Another noteworthy feature of the political history of this part of our country is that Muslims have played a conspicuous part in shaping its destiny during the latter half of the eighteenth century, under the famous and able leadership of Tippu Sultan, whose services in the cause of the civilization and freedom of this land no historian could possibly underestimate.

Not only the Western Coast, but the very core and heart of our Province, comprising the districts of Madras, Trichinopoly and Arcot, have been important centres of Muslim influence and culture in the South during the reign of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, and they always attracted renowned scholars from various parts of India and outside, thus helping in the disseminatin of light and learning. It was due to the patronage of the Nawab Wallajah that that renowned scholar Maulana Abdul Ali, popularly known as Maulana Bahr-ul-Uloom came over from Lucknow to this metropolis, and was responsible for a great intellectual awakening in the South. He died here in the early part of the last century. It was due to the liberal patronage of the Court, and the enthusiasm shown by the Moplah Muslims, that a very large number of *madrassas* and libraries lie scattered all over the southern part of this Presidency to-day.

The War

In welcoming you to this Province for the first time in the history of the League, I am conscious of the troubulous times through which the world is passing. The ravages and miseries caused by the War are too appalling to be described. The deterioration of the international situation day by day has had repercussions on almost all countries of the West, belligerent, non-belligerent and neutral. Muslims can never be enamoured of Nazi ideals; they are so obnoxious, and the methods adopted to achieve them so brutal, inhuman and revolting to Muslim sentiment, thought and culture, that I find it difficult

to express adequately our abhorrance and condemnation of those ideals and methods.

At the same time, I must say that most of the present international trouble is due to economic and territorial maladjustments, besides the friction caused by the irregular groupings of populations. A rearrangement of the map of the world on a just and equitable basis is necessary if real and lasting peace is ever to be achieved. I am confident that in the wake of the victory of the Allied Powers in this struggle, will inevitably follow the readjustment, both of territory and economic structure, of nations.

One may consider times such as these through which we are passing to be not very opportune for a discussion of the constitutional future of a people, as the future of many a nation to-day is on the anvil. But the circumstances in this unhappy land of ours have compelled us to take stock of events at this moment, so that we may be prepared for greater tests and ordeals than those we had to grapple with and overcome in the past. It is with this avowed object in view that we have all assembled here to-day from distant parts of India.

From Strength to Strength

It is needless to say that at such a momentous phase in the history of our land we have found in Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah the unique personality who could lead us to our cherished goal. I believe that the phrase 'With the hour comes the Man' could never have been used more aptly than in the present instance. We are sure that the future of the 90 million Muslims of India is absolutely safe in the hands of our great Quaid-i-Azam, who is to preside over the deliberations of this historic Session in this city of Madras. I am sure you will feel one with me when I say that the Muslim League under his able guidance has been gaining in strength day by day.

And here may I be permitted to give a brief survey of the origin, growth and development of this organization of ours—the Muslim League, the accredited voice of Muslim India. The necessity of such a body to safeguard the national interests of the Muslims was felt as early as 1901, I believe, when the All-India Muslim Educational Conference was held at Madras, but the question did not go beyond the stage of mere discussion for five years. It was in 1906 that a strong and representative association of Muslims who were politically minded was formed and a deputation waited on the then Viceroy to represent their legitimate claims. Later, this association came to be known more populary as the Muslim League, passing through several stages of development. Thanks to the political consciousness engendered by the efforts of the League among the Muslims, the principle of separate electorates received official recognition for the first time in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. Obviously this claim for separate electorates was based on the minute examination of religious and cultural differences that existed between the Hindus and the Muslims, and which go deep down into the history and ideology of their

inalienable past. No other solution in the circumstances could have been acceptable, much less possible, when we come to realize that the principles on which the two social structures of these nations happen to be based are absolutely at variance with each other. The Hindus, with their rigid system of caste, the concept of their Pantheon, and a social organization which denies elementary rights to millions of God's creatures, are not perhaps in a position to appreciate fully the social order based on the democratic principles inherent in Islam, which proclaim the Oneness of God and the brotherhood of man.

Incompatible Objectives

Ideologies so diametrically opposed to each other can hardly be bridged; but yet the League essayed to attempt the impossible, and with its characteristic preparedness to meet difficult situations, met the Congress half-way, and concluded the Lucknow Pact in 1916. For a time it appeared as though the solution of this thorny communal problem was in sight, but the post-war national movement had a strange effect on the minds of the Congress leaders who began to entertain apprehensions and misgivings with regard to the principle of separate electorates. They began to entertain and advocate ideas of replacing separate electorates by joint electorates. In the meanwhile, the dismemberment of the Khilafat roused the feelings of Muslims all over India, and they made common cause with the Congress leaders to avert the imminent catastrophe threatening the solidarity of the Muslim States. The part played by the Muslims in the non-co-operation movement started under the joint auspices of the Congress and the Khilafat Committee for *Swaraj*—and the Khilafat and their sacrifices are too well known to be recapitulated here. This temporary patching up of differences encouraged the Congress leaders in their old attitude of intransigence. They began to cry down separate electorates, and denounced the principles of the Lucknow Pact that were embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. They proceeded to utter the slogan that the Reforms were disappointing and demanded further reforms based on joint electorates and adult franchise. The motives underlying these demands, though clothed in a nationalistic garb, were really intended to be a step towards the acquisition of power by the majority community. Muslim leaders, scenting the danger in the new move of the Congress, began gradually to lose faith in the *bonafides* of Mr. Gandhi and his followers and their claim to represent Muslim interests. A series of events now followed which brought the ulterior motives of the Congress to the forefront, which further aggravated the differences between the two nations.

The truth of the above contention was amply borne out by the fact that the scheme of Hindu-Muslim unity—which was formulated by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyenger, the then President of the Congress, and adopted by it at its session held in Madras in 1927, when the late lamented Maulana Mohammed Ali and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were found embracing each other—was thrown

overboard for reasons best known to the Hindu leaders themselves. This scheme of Hindu-Muslim unity was still-born. The following year, the ushering in of the Nehru Report merely served the purpose of further embittering Muslim feelings. By this time a large section of Muslim Leaders had begun to realize, to their great bewilderment, the hopelessness of the situation, and they eventually decided that a scheme to safeguard Muslim interests should be drawn up. Consequently, in 1928 were formulated the famous 14 points which were considered by the Muslims as offering a basis for a *rapprochment* with the Hindus.

Hindu Communalism

At the All-India Muslim Conference held on January 1, 1929, at Delhi, in view of "India's vast extent and its ethnological, linguistic, administrative and geographical or territorial divisions", it was proposed that a federal system of government with autonomous provinces having residuary powers vested in them should be inaugurated as the most suitable form of government. Thereafter, the report of the Central Committee, with its dissenting minute of the Muslim members, brought into a clear perspective the importance of the Muslim demands. Then followed the two Round-Table Conferences to decide the framework of the new Constitution based on the federal principle. The federal idea underlying the new scheme was stoutly opposed by our Quaid-i-Azam, who with his characteristic clear vision foresaw the danger inherent in it to the peace and independence of India. The moves that took place in these two conferences further revealed the subtle policy of the Congress leaders directed towards the identification of Hinduism with Indian nationalism. If any doubt regarding the intentions of the Congress leaders had still lingered in Muslim minds, it was rudely dispelled by the historic fast of Mr. Gandhi, which was ostensibly undertaken to prevent the perpetuation of social inequality, but in reality was meant to thwart the escape of the Depressed Classes from the clutches of caste domination; for, on this memorables occasion Mr. Gandhi himself came out with a statement that he was prepared to give up the question of India's freedom rather than be a spectator of the dismemberment of the Hindu community. Those who have carefully followed the succession of events leading to this astounding declaration must have been not a little shocked to find that the guiding motive behind the Congress policy was actuated by a desire to establish the rule of a communal majority rather than see all the sections of the Indian population have a share in political power and enjoy the benefits of freedom.

It was at this juncture that the leaders of Muslim public opinion seriously began to revise their views and take stock of the events afresh. The work of the Act of 1935, which inaugurated provincial auonomy with the ultimate object of establishing an All-India Federation, made more clear the intentions of the Congress hierarchy. The elections for the new Legislatures were contested

both by the League and the Congress candidates. The Congress having its own doubts about the outcome of these elections was not prepared to declare its aims in an unequivocal manner. But the overwhelming majority which the Congress party secured in 7 out of 11 Provinces in the land made it so sure of its political ascendency that it declined the co-operation of the Muslim League, and found the opportunity tempting enough to ignore the very existence of that body as the only political organization of the Muslims which could deliver the goods. It now developed the idea of forcing upon the country a unitary type of government based on the homogeneous British Parliamentary model in spite of the fact that the basic beliefs underlying that model have been very conspicuous by their absence in a heterogeneous country. In taking this step, the Congress High Command was actuated by the ambition to perpetuate the rule of a communally minded majority party, and in doing so it looked as though they were translating the wishes Mr. Gandhi expressed during his historic fast. Thus we see that, while Mr. Gandhi has been exerting himself to keep the Hindu community in tact, the Congress was leaving no stone unturned to secure power permanently under the guise of majority rule.

Subsequently events have proved that the Congress demand for assurance of non-interference from the Governors of the various Provinces where it had a majority was only meant to confirm the tyranny of monopolist rule and to suppress the claims of the minority. Here I would like to add that the leaders of the Congress party, unaccustomed as they had been to the exercise of political power, completely lost their balance the moment they got the reins of office into their hands, and displayed a lack of vision and statesmanship —so necessary for a stable government—with the result that the gulf between them and the people over whom they ruled for 27 months became widened. Further, as they had no political past in which gifts of real rulership had an opportunity to play any important part in dealing with people of differing religions and culture, they committed the same parvenu mistakes which nations that had acquired power under similar circumstances were prone to commit, and proceeded with their programmes quite oblivious of the vital interests and religious and cultural susceptibilities of other peoples; so much so that when the Congress Ministries went out of power, not only the Muslim nation, but an overwhelming number of non-Congress sections of the Indian community heaved a sigh of relief at having been delivered from the hands of a Government which was out to suppress all that they considered indispensable for the existence of a self-respecting citizen.

Two Social Codes

The lack of confidence created in the minds of Muslims by the temporary rule of the 'Fascist High Command' forced the League, much against its will, to abandon all hope of reconciliation with the Congress and strive for an examination of the question of the Indian Constitution *de novo*, on the basis of

a two-nation recognition of facts—a plan which exemplifies the political acumen and foresight of our esteemed Quaid-i-Azam, who has been able to see through the subtle game of Congress politics and appraise it at its true value. The Muslim nation considers its present and its future perfectly safe in the hands of its trusted leader, to whom India's freedom and the political emancipation of his nation have been a spiritual testament.

Talking of a *de novo* Constitution to which I have a while back made a reference, I wish to clarify the position by pointing out that the two great social orders, *viz.*, the Hindu and the Muslim are based on two opposing principles and therefore need two homelands. To brush aside this historic truth with slogans, catch-words and parables calculated to prejudice the issues is tantamount to a refusal to face the realities of the situation. The social democracy of Islam, based on the monotheistic principle and the brotherhood and equality of man, finds nothing in common with a social order that advocates a rigid caste system based on birth and status. The fact that religion controls all aspects of a Muslim's life is not fully grasped by his Hindu neighbour; and it is apparently due to this lack of appreciation that the latter fails to understand why the Muslim mind is so much agitated at incidents like the singing of the *Bandematram* and the installation of Mr. Gandhi's photo for reverent regard in Muslim schools. And the opposition of the Muslim to the so-called Wardha Scheme and the methods employed to replace Urdu by Hindi, under the guise of Hindustani, is mainly due to their anxiety to preserve their own religion, language and culture.

Considering all these facts in their true perspective, one can easily realize the cogency and the fairness of the demand put forward by the Muslim League at its annual session held in Lahore last year. The resolution passed there, which is popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, does not in any way aim at injuring the interests of the Hindus or, for the matter of that, of any community inhabiting this vast Subcontinent. The demand for Pakistan, which implies the establishment of independent and separate Muslim States with a confederating outlook, does not run counter to the idea of India's political unity, nor does it mean the vivisection of India, since the basis of Pakistan has existed all the time in this country; and if it has not been emphasized earlier in the present form, this is due to the fact that our revered leader, Quaid-i-Azam, for the last 30 years, and before him, our other accredited leaders have been trying their utmost to find a solution satisfactory to all for the realization of this goal.

But the peculiar conditions that obtained in this country have made their efforts at reconciling the Congress to their scheme of government quite unavailing. Obsessed by ideas of *Ram Rajya*, *Rashtrapatis* and *Rama Senas*, the Congress has been persistently refusing to see eye to eye with the Muslim League and its demand for a new orientation of India's policy, invisaged in the Pak istan Scheme. Pakistan is only a means to an end, and that a great end—

India's freedom, peace and order. The Quaid-i-Azam himself has time and again been emphasizing this aspect to things; for under this scheme alone could there be a possibility of realizing Hindu-Muslim unity.

Let me here quote an extract from the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly on March 29, 1941:

> Mr. Aney: There was an impression abroad that the Muslim League had always insisted on Pakistan here and now.
>
> Mr. Jinnah: Our position is this. We divide the problem of India into two parts—the present and the future. As far as the future is concerned, we say that when the time comes to change the whole Constitution, we shall then discuss the various schemes. We believe in Pakistan. As far as the present is concerned, our position is that we are willing, only for the successful prosecution of the war, to co-operate in forming a Government within the framework of this Constitution. Our present quarrel with the Government is that the Muslim League is not given a real and substantial share in the Government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces.
>
> Mr. Aney believed that if Mr. Jinnah and the members of the Congress and others could sit together and engage in the common effort to meet the existing situation, probably the demand for Pakistan might not arise.
>
> Mr. Jinnah: Or may be accepted.

In his memorable speech on the same occasion, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan summed up our claim in the following words: Co-operation as Equals, not as Camp Followers. Hindu leaders (whether with any following or without) who seek parleys behind the back of Muslim India should not think that they can get away with it.

Recently at Bombay they had had a Conference of pro-Congress Hindu leaders in a non-party disguise, and the statement of its distinguished President, after his interview with the Viceroy, indicates their disposition to deal with a national problem in fragments. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru reveals the scope of his discussions with the Viceroy in the following words:

> Questions relating to the provinces were not touched upon in the course of the discussions, he said. Neither were they considered at the Bombay Conference. Those questions, he suggested, could probably more appropriately be considered when the reconstruction of the Centre was completed.

Partisan efforts for "the reconstruction of the Centre", without paying heed to the provinces, do not suggest the existence of a practical outlook, and such manoeuvrings on behalf of the Congress scheme of domination must put Muslim India doubly on its guard.

Misrepresentations

The present demand of the Muslim League is for the preservation of its own rights, and not, as is falsely represented, for the trampling down of the

rights of others. The Muslims wish to live as free citizens along with their Hindu brethren, who would be equally free in their own homelands. There is nothing unreasonable or preposterous about this demand. This new policy is to be based on the well-acknowledged principle of equal opportunities for all and on the common maxim of live and let live. It is not born of any kind of ill-feeling towards any community. On the other hand, it is the only possible and permanent solution for the attainment of communal harmony in India. It is very regrettable that the leaders of the Congress who see in this scheme the frustration of their fond hopes of majority rule in India and permanent Hindu dominance have taken every opportunity to distort the ideal, and have spared no argument, however puerile, to misrepresent it. They have subjected it not only to carping criticism, but also to foul abuse, without caring to examine its implications with free and unbiased minds. During the last year, not only the Congress leaders have been vociferous in the condemnation of the scheme of Pakistan; certain others whose profession is not politics have also entered the list to ridicule it. But I may with confidence voice a universal Muslim sentiment, *viz.*, that no non-Muslim need have any fear in respect of his future in a truly Islamic State such as the Pakistan scheme invisages. A non-Muslim in our midst will have every opportunity to attain the fullest stature of citizenship. So, any fear on the part of non-Muslims is misplaced. If the Pakistan scheme is to give rise to any alarm in respect of the position of any minorities, it is to be entertained by the Muslims, who have had a taste of the Congress Hindu rule in seven of the 11 provinces of British India. And it is therefore to be earnestly hoped that the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League in general will thresh out the position of the Muslim minorities in Hindu India in proper detail at the earliest moment.

In conclusion, may I take this opportunity to say that the outlook of the Muslim League has taken hold of the Muslim mind in the South, thanks to the inspiring lead given by the Quaid-i-Azam. In the promotion of this outlook, the different organizations—the Provincial, District and Primary Leagues—deserve to be congratulated for the enthusiasm they have shown. And in this connection it will be appropriate if I should mention the name of Haji Jamal Mohammed Sahib for the service rendered by him while he was, till recently, President of the Madras Presidency Muslim League.

Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the Reception Committee of this Presidency, I welcome you all in our midst and wish you godspeed in the task that lies before you during this Session of the All-India Muslim League.

On behalf of you all, I now beg to invite our Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, to occupy the Presidential Chair and guide your deliberations.[1]

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1. *Source: The Muslim Voice*, April 19, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah Expresses His Appreciation

Mr. Jinnah, who after the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, formally occupied the Chair, was greeted with loud cheers and shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar*. Mr. Jinnah said he had been profoundly moved by the welcome the people of Madras had accorded to him. He regretted that due to his indisposition, he had not been able to meet them at the railway station. He said that he would not deliver his Presidential Address to-day but would do so on April 14.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said, that the presence of such a large gathering in the *pandal* proved, if any such proof were needed, that Musalmans of India were behind the All-India Muslim League and had given their seal of approval to its policy and programme. "Muslim League *Zindabad*."

This was re-echoed from all sides of the *pandal*, and for nearly five minutes the audience continued to shout, "Muslim League Zindabad."

Mr. Jinnah particularly referred to the welcome accorded to him by members of the Justice Party, by non-Brahmins and other Hindus, and thanked them all profusely.

On April 14, Mr. Jinnah delivered the following address.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH[2]

Ladies and gentlemen, in the first place let me thank you and those who have made enquiries about my indisposition. I have received so many messages and calls that it is not possible for me to reply to them personally either by wire or letter. But I hope that you will accept my heartfelt thanks and appreciation of your enquiries about my health.

We have got to take stock of our internal progress and the development of the organization of the All-India Muslim League. I think you will remember that the first foundation of the revival of the All-India Muslim League was laid in April 1936 at Bombay—now almost exactly five years ago. During the five years passed, and if I may call it our five-year plan, we have, I think it will be admitted on all hands, succeeded in organizing Muslim India from one end of India to the other in a remarkable manner. Since the fall of the Mughal Empire, I think I am right in saying that Muslim India was never so well organized and so alive and so politically conscious as it is to-day.

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1. *Source*: *Bombay Chronicle*, April 13, 1941.

2. This was an extempore address which is said to have taken two hours to deliver. The source document from which the following version has been compiled is apparently abridged, and it contains numerous errors of language which it has been attempted to correct without disturbing the sense.

Consolidation

We have established a flag of our own, a national flag of Muslim India. We have established a remarkable platform which displays and demonstrates a complete unity of the entire solid body of Muslim India. We have defined in the clearest language our goal about which Muslim India was groping in the dark, and the goal is Pakistan. In this effort of ours, let me not forget to appreciate what South India has done. I know you had many difficulties in your progress. I have been in very close touch with almost all important districts of yours, not personally but by means of post and telegraph. I have watched, and I have watched with pride and pleasure, the way in which you have organized the Muslim League in South India. Yours has been a real growth, a growth not from the top but from the bottom, which only about a year ago brought the Muslim League into complete harmony throughout your Presidency. For this many have worked hard, and I believe I am in possession of reliable information and that I am not exaggerating or flattering you because I am in your Presidency—I am convinced, and I have information with regard to the whole of India, that the 7 per cent Muslims of this vast Presidency have organized themselves under the banner of the Muslim League as no other province has done.

New Five-Year Plan for Muslim India

That is our five-year plan of the past. We have succeeded in raising the prestige and reputation of the League not only throughout this country—we have now reached the farthest corners of the world, and we are watched throughout the world. Now what next? You must remember that we are now at the most critical time. You must remember that there are various forces in India and outside. No people can ever succeed in anything that they desire unless they work for it and work hard for it. What is required now is that you should think—and I say this particularly to you, Delegates of the All-India Muslim League who have gathered here from all parts of India—we must now think and devise the programme of a five-year plan, and part of the five-year plan should be how quickly and how best the departments of the national life of Muslim India may be built up. What are those departments? They are the four main pillars. (1) Let us devise a definite well-considered educational plan. It is knowledge, information and enlightenment that make a people great. (2) Next, you know the Muslims are left behind both economically and in the social life of the people of this great land of ours—the Muslims are at the bottom compared to other communities. There is this great Province of Madras. May I know what stature the Muslims have in the economic life of this province? Maybe, my knowledge is very poor, but I have been inquiring since my arrival here, and I have enquired before also, and I was told that the only

two industries in which the Muslims were anywhere were those of hides and skins and of beedis—in other words, *beediwallahs* and *chamrewallahs*!

I ask you, are you going to be *beediwallahs* or *chamrewallahs*, or are you going to play your part in the commerce and improvement of this Presidency?

(3) The next important thing is political training. While the Musalmans have made remarkable progress in the sense that they have brought millions of Musalmans under the banner of the Muslim League, while they have become politically conscious, while they have come to feel that they have acquired their self-respect, self-reliance, and the dignity and honour of their nation, they require thorough harnessing, consolidating and political training in a manner that will enable them to march along to their goal. What I want is that there should be lieutenants, majors, captains, colonels and generals, and just as there are soldiers in the army, we must have political soldiers. And these soldiers must be so well trained in political science that they should be prepared to face any emergency that might arise at any time.

Our decision and our resolution are misrepresented and misinterpreted, not that there should be any room for doubt left in the minds of any intelligent Indian—it does not matter to which community he belongs. Let me clarify our position with regard to our goal. What is the goal of the Muslim League? What is the ideology of the All-India Muslim League? Let me tell you as clearly as possible. . . the goal of the All-India Muslim League is as follows: we want the establishment of completely Independent States in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India with full control of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications, Customs, Currency, Exchange etc.; and we do not want, under the circumstances, a Constitution of an All-India character, with one Government at the Centre. We will never agree to that. If you once agree, let me tell you, the Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be a signatory to any power of Government at the Centre so far as the North-Western and Eastern Zones' free national homes are concerned. The leadership of Hindu India, I regret to say, are being fooled and being bamboozled by the policy and diplomacy of the British Government, who are dangling a united, all-India Constitution and democracy in front of them—two carrots before donkeys. The British Government know in fact, I say to the Hindu leadership, that you have lost the last shred of statesmanship, if you have not realized it yet. The British Government know that Muslim India will never submit to an All-India Constitution with one Central Government, and the British statesmen know that so far as democracy, the parliamentary system of government, is concerned, it is nothing but a farce in this country.

It is not, as some people mix it up, a question of Muslims objecting to a government which should be really based on the brotherhood of man, as it is very often said by people who really do not understand what they are talking about when they talk about democracy or when they talk about Islam. Democracy means, to begin with, majority rule. Majority rule in a single society is

understandable, although even there it has failed. Representative government in a single nation, harmonious and homogeneous, in one society, is understandable; but you have only got to apply your mind a few minutes: can such a system ever work or succeed when you have two different nations, more than two different nations? In this Subcontinent you have two different societies, the Muslim society and the Hindu society—and particularly in this land, there is another nation, that is the Dravidian.

This land is really Dravidistan, and imagine its 3 per cent of Brahmin high castes, by skilful manoeuvring and by skilful methods of electioneering, 3 per cent of them should secure a majority. Is this democracy or is this a farce? Therefore, I have the fullest sympathy and give my fullest support to the Non-Brahmins, and I say to them: The only way for you to come in to your own is to live your own life, according to your culture, according to your language—thank God, that Hindi did not go far here—according to your own history—go ahead. I have every sympathy and shall do all to help, and you can establish Dravidistan where the 7 per cent Muslim population will stretch its hands of friendship and live with you on lines of security, justice and fair play.

Safeguards must be provided for wherever there is a minority. I have always believed and believe, I think I am right, that no government will ever succeed without instilling a sense of security and confidence in the minority. No government will succeed if their policy and programme would be unjust and unfair to the minorities. In no government must minorities feel that they will have no fair play and justice. On that we shall not be wanting or lagging behind any civilized country in the world. And I am confident when the issue comes up, the minorities in our homeland will find that with our traditions and our heritage, with our teachings of Islam. .. not only shall we be fair and just to them but generous, too.

We will not higgle haggle. We do not believe in bargaining. We believe in action, we believe in statesmanship, and we believe in practical politics.

(4) The next thing I want to tell you is what the ideology of the League is. I think that it has been made clear. But I also think that there are people in this world who require repetition—especially a section of the Hindu press requires to be reminded over and over again, so that they may not go on misrepresenting us. And now let me say that the ideology of this League is based on the fundamental principle that Muslims of India are an independent nationality, and any attempt to get them to merge their national and political identity and unity will not only be resisted, but in my opinion it will be futile for any one to attempt it. We are determined that there shall be no mistake in establishing the status of an independent nation and an Independent State in this Subcontinent.

The next thing I want to tell you about is our policy—internal, external and international. Our policy of the All-India Muslim League, is to endeavour to promote goodwill and harmony with the other peoples on the basis of equality, fair play and reciprocity. These can best be secured by agreements

with other peoples, parties and States, with the objective of collective security and orderly development of the peoples living in different States, as well as among free States as members of a community pledged to respect each other's rights. Any action of domination by one over the other must be abandoned—the sooner this is abandoned, the nearer will be the solution of India's problem. Now I have tried to tell you all I could, and in as clear a language as possible, about what we stand for.

The Deadlock

The next question that is troubling us to-day is what is known as a deadlock. Now let us examine it fairly as to who is responsible for this deadlock. The trouble in our country is that people have not the courage to speak out. They have not the courage openly to condemn one party or the other, while they claim to be impartial. I can understand, of course, one party blaming the other in its party zeal. But even there, there is a limit to talking; everything your party does is right, and every thing any other party does is wrong. Who is to be blamed for this deadlock?

You know perfectly well that from the commencement of the declaration of the war in which we were involved, whether we approved of it or not, whether we liked it or not, we were involved and we became a belligerent country. You know the events that are taking place day after day, week after week; and we are naturally fully conscious of the interest of our own country, the defence of our country—to safeguard our homes and hearths is no doubt our uppermost consideration. From the beginning of the outbreak of war we made clear our position; and it is not my merely saying it, but it has been made clear by the Working Committee, the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and finally the full session of the All-India Muslim League. What was the position that we took up? That may be described about as shortly as I can. When this war broke out, the first relief and good news, along with bad news of the war, that we got was that His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Linilithgow, in his very first interview immediately after the war started, told me that His Majesty's Government were pleased to suspend the All-India Federal Scheme, embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935.

Mind you it was only suspended; for we know how capable our British friends are in the science and game of diplomacy, and we know that what was been suspended may again be established at any time. Therefore, our first and foremost demand was that this should not only be suspensed, but that it must be abandoned. After long-drawn correspondence and interviews, ultimately the British Government, through the Representative of the Crown, declared that the whole problem of India's Future Constitution will be considered *de novo*, including the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act of 1935 was based. Now that was indeed a great relief. Because, remember, it was that disruptive Federal Government embodied in the Act of 1935 which

Muslim India was fighting from its very commencement—and when that was knocked out, it was an enormous relief to us.

Well, the next thing that we were afraid of was that we, the Muslims, were weak in the sense of our organization—the Muslim League, in spite of all its efforts, was not so strong as the Congress. The Congress, I may tell you, means nothing more, nothing less than the solid body of Hindus behind it—and other off-shoots and the little bodies and little *bachchas*, like the Hindu Mahasabha and the All-India Hindu League, Liberal Federation and other small little bits. They are all one. I do not say they are one in the sense that they necessarily approve of the actions of the Congress; but really, if any body really represents Hindu India, it is the Congress.

In fact, you remember, when there was a likelihood of the war breaking out, the Congress Working Committee sat in vigilance at Delhi for days and days, because, as they were giving out openly, that would be the chance of their lives when they should be able to coerce the British Government and successfully wrench from them what they desired to take.

We knew that this powerful Congress organization was waiting and watching; and we, therefore, wanted the British to make the position clear —and this is the second point that I am discussing—with regard to the future Constitution of India. We demanded that no constitutional change, interim or final, should be made without the approval and consent of Muslim India. Well, after long-drawn correspondence and interviews, we now practically got it, as announced by the Viceroy's declaration of August 8, and amplified by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State, in his pronouncement on behalf of His Majesty's Government on August 14. When that was made clear, and it is but fair and just, what has it come to? That no constitution, or no change in the Constitution, interim or final, should be made by the British Parliament without our approval and consent. What does it come to? It comes to nothing else but fair justice to 90 millions of Muslims. Do Hindus or Congress maintain, with any sense of justice and fair play, that the British Government are joining hands with us and conspiring against them, that they should frame a constitution which is acceptable to the British and Hindus, and that we should have to submit to it, and be forced into it. Is it not rank madness to say all that? What does it mean? 'This means a veto for the Muslim League and a charter of intransigence for Mr. Jinnah and the League'. But may I know what will be the other alternative? I do not admit for a moment this is a veto. What is the other problem. Let us complete this. It does not mean that I have a veto in the ordinary constitutional sense of the word; it means that in the framing of a Constitution the Muslim League is a constituent factor, and that the constituent factor must approve of the Constitution that is to be made. How else are you going to frame a Constitution, without the approval and consent of a constituent factor, of 90 million or 100 million people of this country? Are they to be ignored, neglected in the making of the Constitution? Therefore,

it is not a question of a veto or charter of intransigence, but it is fair justice that we are recognized as a constituent factor, and the British Government rightly say that we must come to our own agreement.

Mr. Jinnah then asked how the Hindus would like the British Government, in consipracy with the Muslim League, to make a Constitution without the approval and consent of the Congress or the Hindus. Therefore, the second point was nothing but fair justice to Muslim India.

The Muslim League Position

The next thing is the war. It is really an overbearing and overriding factor to be considered. What is the position that the League should come to?...[1]

His Excellency the Viceroy asked me to go and see him in July 1940. This was the note submitted by me that no pronouncement or statements should be made by His Majesty's Government which would in any way militate against the basic and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore Resolution for the division of India and creating Muslim States in the North-Western and Eastern Zones. It may be stated that the ideal has now become the universal faith of Muslim India. His Majesty's Government must give a definite and categorical assurance to the Muslims of India that no interim or final Constitution will be adopted by the British Government without the consent and approval of Muslim India. In view of the rapid developments in Europe, and of the grave danger that is facing India, it is fully realized that everything should be done that is possible to mobilize all resources of India for the purpose of maintaining internal security, peace and tranquillity, and to ward off external aggression. But this can only be done provided the British Government are ready and willing to associate Muslim leadership as an equal partner in the Government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces. In all provinces Muslim leadership should be fully treated as an equal and with an equal share in the authority and control of the Government, Central and Provincial.

Provisionally, during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formal co-operation with Government, with an equal share in the authority of Government. Now I want you to follow this. What is it that we suggested in July 1940? Is it that the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged within the framework of the present Constitution and existing law? No, it should be settled by further discussion, it being understood that the Muslim representation be equal to that of the Hindus, if the Congress comes in; otherwise they should have the majority of the additional numbers, as it is obvious that the main burden and responsibility will be

1. The following three sentences refer to a resolution of the League Working Committee meeting in June, 1940, at Bombay, but stop short of quoting it. This resolution asked the Government of India to take serious steps to strengthen the defence of India, authorizing Mr. Jinnah to enter into communication with the Viceroy with a view to exploring and possibly devising all prompt measures to intensify war efforts.

borne by the Muslims in that case. Then we said that in the Provinces where Section 93 operates, non-official advisers should be appointed. The number, should be fixed after discussion, and the majority of the non-official advisers should be representatives of Muslims. Where Provinces can be run by a combination of parties, naturally it will be for the parties concerned to adjust the matter by agreements. Then we suggested a war council which was mainly intended to give a share and a place of status to the Indian Princes and States for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and prosecuting the war successfully, because it would not come in the Executive Council of the Governor General.

Congress Propaganda

Let us compare what our Congressmen say. The Congress Press and some Congressmen are often saying that Muslims are friends of imperialism. It seems to me that when they do not find any argument to adduce against the claims of the Musalmans, they abuse us. They either say, 'you are friends of imperialism', or that Mr. Jinnah is very ambitious? 'Though in his heart he is a nationalist, he has now become a communalist, because he wants leadership'. So they attributed motives and began to abuse us. If you put any decent statement or argument before them, then the Hindu press comes out with big headlines and describes them as 'Jinnah's Tirades' 'Muslim League's Fulmination'. The moment you do not agree or have the misfortune to take some other view in the best interests of India, you are at once put down with abuse. What can you do with a class of people who have developed this diseased mentality?

Did we say anywhere that we should have Pakistan here and now? But people were not wanting who misinterpreted things and said, 'The Pakistan issue is postponed—it is now put aside.' This is nothing but wishful thinking on the part of those who have put their feet so deep in the mire that they now want to find some excuse to impute a change upon a party which had never changed from the very beginning. Why not say honestly and frankly that you have committed a blunder, that you are also willing to come into line, and be done with it?

British Ingratitude and Vacillation

But this vicious propaganda and wicked method being pursued, and the way in which we are harassed, is not only affecting the press and the public of this country; to my amazement and astonishment, even the British Press is misled, amongst them, one of the best informed papers, the London *Times*, the flower of British Newspapers. To my utter astonishment, this is what it says, I quote a few lines from the London *Times* of April 1—which is a fool's day, and it has been fooled—, "While these proposals encountered much opposition in various quarters, it is significant that the most general press comment on them is that they offer a fresh opportunity for re-examining the political situation. Mr. Jinnah's recent statement in the Central Assembly

that the Muslim League would co-operate in the reconstituted Executive, provided his scheme of partitioning British India is considered after the war, may make it easier for the two chief Indian parties to reach some temporary understanding.''

Well, I can only say to the doyen of British newspapers that this is only ingratitude stronger than the traitor's arms. Why do we not make the demand for Pakistan here and now? For only one reason; because we do not want to embarrass the British Government when they are engaged in a struggle of life and death for their own existence. That is why we said that so soon as circumstances permit, or when the whole problem of India's Constitution should be examined *de novo*. Instead of the British Government acknowledging this as an honourable attitude on our part, worthy of our tradition, I find that even the British papers are playing into the hands of the Congress and the Hindu propaganda. I say 'the British Government', but do not know who is responsible—His Excellency the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India, or His Majesty's Government, or whether it is the parliament or the King.

I may once again emphatically say from this platform that the policy of the British Government in India of inaction, of weakness, and of vacillation is going to prove more disastrous than it has done even in Europe.

Let me say that events are moving fast and maps have been changed in Europe. Look at the map. What has happened? What the Axis powers have done is action, action against the policy of the British Government. What's the British Government doing: placating and placating by following the policy of inaction, vacillation and weakness. To my amazement, you find only two days ago what has happened to Yugoslavia—the announcement in the paper following the German capture of Zagreb in Yugoslavia: the Province of Croatia has been made an independent State, says the official news agency. The state-ment was from the Zagreb wireless. A Croat general called a good lot of officials, non-officials, army officers and non-commissioned officers to take the oath of allegience to a new State —the Province of Croatia is declared an independent State. Remember there in Yugoslavia you have the Croats, the Slavs, the Serbs. The position was very much like our position in India—Dravidistan, Pakistan and Hindustan. The question really is 'Are you going to act or allow somebody else to come here and do the job for you?' What are you going to do now?

Let us examine what the Congress wants. The Congress has taken up a position about which there is absolutely no doubt. I should like to ask any man with a grain of sense, 'Do you really think that Gandhi, the supreme leader, commander and general of the Congress, has started this Satyagraha merely for the purpose of getting liberty of speech? Don't you really feel that this is nothing but a weapon of coercion and blackmailing the British, who are in a tight corner, to surrender and concede the Congress demands?'

The Congress Demand and its Flanking Movement

What are the demands of the Congress? The demand is the declaration of immediate and unconditional independence and freedom of India, with power to the people of India through a Constituent Assembly to be elected by adult franchise to frame their own constitution—of course, also to the satisfaction of the minorities. How that will be brought about, Heaven alone knows! I don't know. This was the demand of the Congress; and when they found it was not going to wash (the British Government ought to be grateful to the Muslim League for saving them the maximum amount of trouble the Congress was determined to give them, and I believe that in their heart of hearts the British people were grateful to the Muslim League), they thought of a flanking movement.

The Muslims know that if the Congress demand is conceded, it will mean complete destruction of the Muslims. Therefore, naturally the Muslim League opposed it tooth and nail along with other minorities like the Scheduled Castes, Christians, etc. Mr. Gandhi and his Congressmen did not know what to do.

The result was that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress found, to their unexpected astonishment, a strong opposition to the Congress demand. So the Congress thought that if they could not get what they wanted by a frontal attack, they should try a flanking movement.

What was the flanking movement? I say, another resolution. As soon as the Congress passed a resolution, there would be commentators and interpreters. The explanation of the making of a resolution would go on for weeks and weeks; and by the time the commentators had finished, yards and yards of statements would have been issued.

They went from Poona to Delhi, Delhi to Bombay, and Bombay to Wardha.

So when they found that the Muslim League was the power which was holding up their diabolical machinations, they tried the flanking movement at Poona, in the place of the frontal attack. The change in Poona was only a change in name. The flanking movement was a plan and a strategy which was designed at Poona under the great General, because Mr. Jinnah did not believe that Mr. Gandhi was not a party to it. The Congress was willing to throw overboard the General, Mr. Gandhi, provided the British Government would do this, namely, make a declaration of immediate independence, and the freedom of India unconditionally, and the Future Constitution, the Final Constitution, to be framed after the war—but the Provisional Constitution should be a National Government, at the Center, responsible to the Legislature. That was the Poona proposal, and Mr. Gandhi, of course, was thrown overboard. And Mr. Kripalani, Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, said that they went to the length of selling their leader. They sold their leader, and *Ahimsa*, which

was their creed, was also buried in the City of Poona, because the Congress was ready to assist the British in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India. What was *Haram* at Wardha, as we say, became *Halal* at Poona!

The Congress found that this was not going to wash either, because nobody was going to be deceived by this sort of thing. They were only deceiving themselves.

This was followed by the 'sporting offer' of Mr. Rajagopalachari, that genius of your Province who does some wonderful things at times. He said that in this National Government that we are proposing, we are willing that Mr. Jinnah be the Prime Minister of the new cabinet and let him form his own cabinet as he likes. This new strategy on the part of the Congress once more failed to deceive the Muslims.

This was done with a view to deceiving the Muslim League, which they considered was the only body that was holding up their (Congress) game. Nobody would be deceived by such things. Even a Muslim boy understands these things now. Ladies and gentlemen, you see the point. I really do not know what has happened to their brains. They have in the past been successful with these methods. Why don't they realize that nothing of this sort is going to wash, and you cannot go on fooling all people for all time. It is the Congress and the Congress alone which has adopted the attitude of—sometimes dictation, sometimes cajoling, sometimes fooling and bamboozling, sometimes trying to deceive you.

A Plea for Honesty

I say to the Congress leaders and the Hindu leaders, 'Please drop these methods.' To illustrate the way in which responsible Congressmen speak:

Babu Rajendra Prasad was asked only a few days ago (April 10) about the Pakistan scheme. He said the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the Pakistan scheme as that was never referred to it by Mr. Jinnah. Do you believe that the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the scheme? This ghost (Pakistan) has been haunting them since March 1940. What standard of truth is this?

Every Congress leader, heading with Mr. Gandhi, had discussed, issued statements and written volumes about Pakistan. Babu Rajendra Prasad has actually issued a pamphlet with regard to the Pakistan scheme, in which he came out with his view; and he says it was never discussed by the Working Committee because Mr. Jinnah never referred it. I say to Babu Rajendra Prasad, 'Ask your Working Committee to discuss it, if they have not already done so', I say, 'Do not only discuss it, but apply your mind to it honestly and without prejudice and without silly sentiment, if there is any political wisdom or statesmanship still left in the Congress leadership.' This is so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the Hindu Mahasabha is concerned, I think it is an absolutely incorrigible and hopeless organization. I will give you one specimen of their statesmanship. Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha has sent a message to the Sikh Conference in Karahci in which he urged them to take their due share in arms and defence, and added later that when the Muslims wake up from their daydreams of Pakistan, they shall see Sikhistan established in the Punjab.

Mr. Savarkar says: "When the Sikhs were but a handful, they ruled the majority in the Punjab, and right up to Kabul. Now they have grown into millions, they can never be and need not be overawed by the now reduced Muslim majority, relatively to their former strength." Mr. Savarkar has urged the Sikhs to establish Sikhistan in the Punjab. He not only talks of Hindudom and Hindu Nation and Hindu Raj, but he also urges upon the Sikhs to establish Sikhistan. Mr. Savarkar is not an ordinary man. He is the President of the Hindu Mahasabha.

I next refer to what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's paper has written on March 30. The paper said: "On two things there shall never be any division of India to suit the ambitions of fanatics. It shall always be *Akhand Bharat* and *Vishal Bharat*[1]. It should be a democracy, meaning majority rule."

These are only samples to show how the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha leaders think. When we talk about Pakistan, we are called fanatics; but when they talk about Hindudom, Hindu Raj for the whole of India, they are liberals and they are nationalists. The only pity is that the Hindu public is being deceived by this kind of leadership, and it will be too late for the Hindu public to say that they were helpless. So long as they follow that leadership they can not escape from their responsibilities and the consequences which will follow.

The Sapru Conference at Bombay

Now let me say a few words about the Sapru Conference which met at Bombay. I read in the papers this morning that Mr. Savarkar and the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha had repudiated and disowned the Conference. It was mentioned in the memorandum of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that the Conference included the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, but Mr. Savarkar has disowned that. I think Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, on his admission, has been a political orphan for a very long time. This political orphan has been caught in the trap.

He thinks that in the event of supreme danger to India, he alone, as the supreme intellect in India, can save India. His motives may be good, his intentions may be good, but I am afraid that the Sapru Conference was like the Dutch Army, all Generals and no privates. I think the correct answer and lead was

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1. *i.e.*, Indivisible and united India.

given in that Conference by the clear-headed, experienced Hindu political leader, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and if only Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had followed his advice, he would have saved himself. What shall I say to this pose which is now thrust upon him by the wire pullers from behind. The Bombay proposals are nothing less than another name, another flanking movement and a second edition of the Poona proposals for a National Government. If you read the memorandum, there can be no doubt left. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is entirely on the wrong line, and I am sorry that he has been caught in this trap by the wire-pullers of other organizations behind this movement.

Warning to British Government

I think I have taken much more of your time than I thought I would. I think I can wind up by a note, a note of real warning to the British Government, because after all they are in possession of this land and the Government of this Subcontinent. Please stop your policy of appeasement towards those who are bent upon frustrating your war efforts and doing their best to oppose the prosecution of the war and the defence of India at this critical moment. Do you want at this moment to put them or place them in a superior and dominant position now and after the war? Change the corner stone of your (British) policy in this country? You are not loyal to those who are willing to stand by you and sincerely desire to support you; you desire to placate those who have the greatest nuisance value in the political and economic fields. Give up this dominant feature of your policy and the character of your policy of trying to get on with those who do not want to get on with you.

If the Government want the whole-hearted co-operation of Muslim India, they must place their cards on the table. The Government must resort to the policy of action, and give up, once and for all, its policy of inaction.

Ladies and gentlemen, we cannot always succeed in settling vital or grave problems, problems affecting life and death, merely by making speeches on this platform or by exposing our opponents and our enemies. The only weapon that you have to forge—and the sooner you forge it the better—is to create your own strength, your own power, and make your organization so complete that you can face any danger, any power, any opponents, any enemy singly or combined together.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

I. This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad demise of Dr. Sir Shah Mohammad Suleiman, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Musalmans in particular, and conveys its heartfelt condolences and sympathy to the members of the bereaved family. (From the Chair.)

II. Resolved that the following amendment be made in the aims and objects of the All-India Muslim League and for Section 2(a) of the Constitution

and Rules of the All-India Muslim League the following be substituted:

(1) The establishment of completely Independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Musalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign;

(2) That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specially provided in the Constitution for minorities in the abovementioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them;

(3) That in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them;

(Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, seconded by Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait, and supported by Mr. B. Dawood Shah, Qazi Mohammad Isa, Nawab Sir Mohammad Yousuf, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Begum Mohammad Ali, Maulana Ahmad Sait, Sir Abdullah Haroon, Mr. Mohammad Usman and Maulana Abdul Wahab Bukhari. (See page 376.)

III. Resolved that the following amendments be made in the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League:

(i) In Section 6, substitute "three" for "two" in the last line.

(ii) In Section 11 (i), line five, for the words "two months before the Annual Sessions of the League" substitute "before the 15th of November every year".

(iii) In Section 11 (ii), Paragraph 2, between "above" and "all" in the first line, the following be added: "The President shall have the power to nominate up to the extent of 20 members to the Council from such province or provinces and in such proportion as he may consider necessary and".

(iv) In Section 11 (ii), Para 2, substitute the following for "Presidents and Secretaries of the various Provincial Leagues" occurring in the last sentence. "President and the Secretary of every Provincial League".

(v) In Section 20, line 4, for the word "four", substitute the word "two".

(vi) Delete Section 22.

(vii) In Section 28 A, Sub-Section (2), add the following at the end:
(c) to take disciplinary action against any office-bearer of a Provincial League who fails in his duties or ignores the decision or directions of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

(viii) Renumber the Sections as necessary.
(Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan)

IV. This Session of the All-India Muslim League is definitely of opinion that the present Civil Disobedience movement started by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, ostensibly for freedom of speech, is really meant to coerce the British Government to concede the Congress demands regarding the future Constitution of India, which are really and virtually for a transfer of sovereign powers to the Hindus and thus relegate the Muslim nation of 100 millions and the Indian minorities to the status of mere subjects of Hindu Raj throughout the country.

It, therefore, draws the attention of the British Government to the fact that if any constitutional change, either interim or final, is made without the approval of the Muslim League, it would constitute a flagrant breach of faith on the part of the British Government with the Musalmans of India, and would be contrary to the solemn declarations and promises that have already been made to the Musalmans of India by the recent pronouncements of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government, ending with the declaration of August 8, 1940, and the amplification of it by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, on August 14, 1940; and warns the British Government that if any attempt is made to depart from or modify in any way the above-mentioned declarations and pledges, the Musalmans would be forced to resort to every measure and method to resist it with all the power they can command. (Proposed by Mr. Ismail Chundrigar Saheb, seconded by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and supported by Nawab Mohammad Ismail, Sheikh Abdul Majid and Syed Mohammad.)

V. This session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically urges upon the British Government not to postpone the coming elections of the Provincial Legislatures at least in the provinces where provincial autonomy is already working under the Government of India Act, 1935, and also in the North-West Frontier Province, where it can be confidently stated that a stable Government can be formed. (Proposed by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, seconded by Mr. Yousuf Haroon and supported by Moulvi Sharfuddin.)

VI. Resolved that a committee with powers to co-opt, consisting of the following members, be appointed with a view to chalk out a Five-Year plan for the educational, economic, social, and political advancement of

the Muslims:

Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Hasan Ispahani, Mr. Chundrigar, Dr. S. M. A. Jaffery, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Mr. Husain Imam, Sir Abdullah Haroon.

Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad will be the convener of the Committee. The Committee is directed to submit its report to the Working Committee within six months. (Proposed by Mr. Abdur Rauf Shah and seconded by Mufti Fakhrul Islam.)

VII. Resolved that the President be authorized till the next Annual Session to take every necessary action or step in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League, as he may deem proper, provided that they are consistent with the goal and policy of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All-India Muslim League. (Proposed by Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad and Mr. Hasan Ispahani.)

VIII. Resolved that the following names of ladies be substituted for those approved under Resolution No. VI passed at the Patna Session of the All-India Muslim League in December 1938.

Punjab: Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Bashir Ahmad, Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatma Begum.

Bengal: Begum Shahabuddin, Begum M. M. Ispahani, Mrs. Hakam.

Bombay: Miss F. Jinnah, Begum Hafizuddin, Mrs. Jairazbhoy, Mrs. Somjee, Mrs. Simjee.

U.P: Begum Habibullah, Bagum Aizaz Rasul, Begum Mohammad Ali, Begum Wasim, Rahilah Khatoon, Begum Akhtar Mohammad Khan.

C.P: Miss Nadir Jehan, Begum Siddiq Ali Khan.

Bihar: Begum Akhtar.

Assam: Mrs. Ataur Rahman.

Sind: Lady Haroon.

Delhi: Mrs. Hussain Malik, Begum Rahman, Mrs. Razaullah Beg, Begum Mohammad Husain.

N.W.F.P: Mrs. Aslam, Begum Haji Saadullah Khan, Mrs. Kamaluddin.

Baluchistan: Mrs. Qazi Mohammad Isa.

Madras: Mrs. Syed Abdul Wahab Bokhari, Mrs. Abdul Hameed Hasan, Mrs. Malang Ahmad Badsha, Mrs. Hameed Khan.

(Proposed by Begum Aizaz Rasul and seconded by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.)

IX. Resolved that a committee with power to co-opt, consisting of the following persons, be appointed to draft the constitution, rules and regulations for the organization, management, control and composition of the Muslim National Guards and submit the report within a period of three months to the President of the All-India Muslim League for approval and sanction:

Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim (Convener), Raja Saheb of Mahmoodabad, Mr. Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, Qazi Mohammad Isa, Mr. Aziz Lalji and Mr.

Mazhar Imam.

(Proposed by Mr. Aziz Lalji and seconded by Begum Habibullah.)

X. This Session of the All-India Muslim League expresses its indignation at the unfair treatment of various Government Departments of the Muslim employees, particularly the Railway Department, in spite of repeatedly drawing their attention to the grievances, and warns the Government that if immediate attention is not paid to them, the League will be driven to devise effective means to get the wrongs redressed. (Proposed by Mr. Husain Imam and seconded by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.)

XI. This Session of the All-India Muslim League condemns the firing by police on Musalmans in the village Ujhyani, District Badayun (U.P.), resulting in eight Muslims being killed and several being injured, and emphatically urges upon the Government of U.P. to hold an independent judicial inquiry into the matter.

This Session expresses its sympathy with those who have suffered under these tragic circumstances. (Proposed by Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni and seconded by Moulvi Karam Ali.)

XII. Resolved that whereas many Indian merchants have their main assets in French Indo-China and they have to maintain themselves only by means of remittances from French Indo-China, and whereas, as a result of the order of the Government of India freezing the assets belonging to the Bank of Indo-China and held in Banks in India, it is absolutely impossible for Indian merchants to cash Bills of Exchange drawn in their favour by Banks in French Indo-China, and consequently Indian Muslims suffer great hardship despite their being owners of heavy assets in Indo-China, this Annual Session urges on the Government of India the necessity of relaxing the said order so far as Indians in French Indo-China are concerned. (Proposed by Syed Murtaza Bahadur and seconded by Mr. K. T. Ahmad Ibrahim.)

XIII. Resolved that while appreciating the just attitude taken by H.E. the Governor of Ceylon, this Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League views with deep concern the antagonistic attitude of the Ceylon Ministry towards Indians in Ceylon and the steps that are being taken by it to press forward discriminatory legislation against Indians in Ceylon, and urges on the Government of India the necessity of taking prompt action in the matter. (Proposed by Mr. Abdul Hamid and seconded by Mr. K. T. Ahmad Ibrahim.)

XIV. Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan re-elected Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. (Proposed by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and seconded by Mr. Masudurrahman.)

XV. Resolved that Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmoodabad be re-elected Honorary Treasurer of the All-India Muslim League. (Proposed by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and seconded by Qazi Mohammad Isa.)

XVI. Resolved that the election of the two Joint Secretaries be

entrusted to the Council of the All-India Muslim League. (Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.)[1]

DISCUSSION ON RESOLUTION II

Moving Resolution II on the amendment to the Constitution, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said: We are altering our creed to-day and are bringing it into line with the Lahore Resolution, popularly known as Pakistan. Our experience has convinced us that one Federation for the whole of India would create chaos, is impracticable and would lead to the domination of one community over the rest of India. It would never be acceptable to the Muslims. He declared that Pakistan had become their article of faith, and the amendment now before the House would be an effective reply to those who had alleged that it was merely a counter for bargaining. Another implication of the amendment was that every Muslim who was to join the League from now onwards would have to take an oath of allegiance to Pakistan. Explaining the amendment, he said that the safeguards for the non-Muslims in Pakistan would be framed in consultation with the minorities and would not be imposed on them. It should be evident, he said, that our aim and object is to do justice to all. "Those who want India to be free should accept Pakistan, which will lead to the freedom of all", he added. The amendment was supported by speakers in English, Urdu and Tamil.

Qazi Mohammad Isa, supporting the amendment, said that the amendment sought to incorporate the Lahore Resolution in the creed of the said, League. Referring to the demand of Sikhistan, he said that the only ground for Sikhistan was that Sikhs had been the rulers of the Punjab in the past. If that were so, then the Muslims had been the rulers of the whole of India and therefore should be allowed to rule over the whole country.

Sir Mohammad Yusuf asserted that the Muslims stood for equality, fair play and justice.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that he still had a soft corner for the Congress. He began to oppose the Congress when it began to oppress the Muslims. "As Muslims we are in duty bound to free not only ourselves, but the whole country. To-day we have two sets of claims of slavery, one that of the British and the other that of Mr. Gandhi. We are determined to break through both of them. To us freedom means to live in accordance with the teachings of the Quran."

Begum Mohammad Ali said that the principle underlying the amendment was not a new one. It was at least one year old and had been freely debated and discussed by all the parties. She said that the Lahore Resolution had infused new life amongst the Muslims.

Sir Abdullah Haroon, speaking as a businessman, said that a matter under dispute was always referred to a court of law, which determined what was to be taken by what party. Here India was under dispute between the Hindus and the Muslims, and he held that the same principle should be applied.

The amendment was passed unanimously.[2] (See page 371-372)

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1. *All-India Muslim League, Madras Session, April 1941, Presidential Speech by Mr. M.A. Jinnah,* published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary, from the All-India Muslim League Press, Daryaganj, Delhi.

2. *The Times of India*, Bombay, April 16, 1940.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION

ALLAHABAD, APRIL 3-6, 1942

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, arrived at Allahabad on the morning at Friday, April 3, and was accorded a rousing reception at the Central Railway Station by a huge crowd. Among those present at the station were members of the Muslim League Working Committee, members of the All-India Muslim League Council and members of the Reception Committee. The Quaid-i-Azam and his party were taken on a procession through the principal streets of the city. Beside the Quaid-i-Azam were seated Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. Zahoor Ahmed, General Secretary of the Reception Committee.

One hundred and eleven arches were erected in honour of Mr. Jinnah's visit, one of which was named after Dr. Ambedkar and Adi Hindu Sabha.

The open session of the All-India Muslim League began at night in the Jinnah Chaman amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Jinnah Chaman was beautifully illuminated, and the huge *pandal* was packed to its full capacity.

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, arrived in the *pandal* exactly at 9: 40 p.m., and was given a vociferous ovation by the crowd amidst shouts of 'Jinnah Zindabad', 'Muslim League Zindabad' and 'Pakistan Zindabad'.

The Chief *Salar* of the National Guards with a drawn sword led the procession. The President was accompanied by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf, the Raja of Mahmoodabad, Mr. Zahoor Ahmad, Mr. Ghazanfarullah and Mr. Rizwanullah.

Seated on the dais were members of the Muslim League Working Committee, the Muslim League Council, members of the Reception Committee, and a number of ladies and guests. Separate arrangements were made for purdah ladies on either side of the dais.

The Session opened with the recital of a passage from the Holy Quran and a poem in praise of Mr. Jinnah composed by Mr. Anwar Qureshi, a poet from the Punjab. Poems on Pakistan and Islam were also recited by poets from Peshawar, Baluchistan and the Punjab, both in Urdu and Persian.

Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then delivered his address in English:[1]

We are passing through cataclysmic times. Kaleidoscopic changes all over the world, due to war and aggression and domination playing havoc with humanity, are too obvious to need any special emphasis. The war has engulfed the whole world. Nation after nation has fallen victim to the evil forces of tyranny and aggression in quick succession. Freedom, equality and all that civilization and culture mean have been put in great jeopardy. All thoughts of democracy, and all that it stands for, have been systematically and methodically trampled upon. The very ideology and principles of democracy have been violently attacked and ridiculed. While this war may be regarded as an economic war, it is undoubtedly also a war of ideologies. It is a fight between right and wrong. It is a fight between the false ideologies of aggression and domination based on hatred, and the ideologies of freedom, equality, justice and fair play for all nations, classes and communities. The question is whether the ideologies of all for one and one for all and the spirit of live and let live will triumph over the dark forces of tyranny, aggression and domination.

There are leaders of thought and philosophers, pseudo and real, who have already begun to make interesting speculations and forecasts of a future world order matching the complexion of their fads and idiosyncrasies or the great philosophy of eternal truth which has stood the test of all times. There are those who are influenced by Socialism and Communism and would like the future shape of the world order to be according to their wishful thinking and desire to see the whole world regimented after the pattern of their own thought. Then there are those who believe in Nazism and Fascism, which are really a reaction against Communism. They again would like the world to be fashioned after their thought. But the fact remains that the whole world instinctively revolts against these ideologies of aggression and domination which are based upon brute force or violently aggressive thought, rather than on reason, a spirit of tolerance and individual freedom. Then again there are those who still believe that Democracy is the only panacea for all the ills and misfortunes of humanity. It is true probably that what the ideology of Democracy stands for is an end in itself, of great virtue and importance in

1. *Source*: *Dawn*, April 12, 1942.

human affairs. Democracy stands for individual freedom, freedom of soul, freedom of body, freedom of thought and freedom of press, subject to just law and order, and recognizes the merits of private enterprise and service and sacrifice on a voluntary basis, and deprecates compulsion and domination, unless it is by the common consent of all the peoples concerned themselves. It also aims at equality of rights, justice and fair play for all classes and communities without thinking in terms of elimination and ruination of nations, classes and communities through methods of brute force.

Pakistan and a United India

Here in India I can make bold to say that our Hindu brethren pride themselves on the ideology of love, justice and fair play and tolerance. If that is so, then bearing in mind the practical aims and ideology of life of the Musalmans, there should be no difficulty for the Hindus and Musalmans in adjusting their differences by methods of confabulation, discussion and reasoning, goodwill and understanding. Musalmans want freedom and equality and the power of self-determination where they happen to be in a majority. Similarly they accord the same right in a spirit of brotherhood and in the interest of unity in India to their Hindu brethren where they happen to be in a majority. The aims and objects of the All-India Muslim League, intrinsically great, have been clearly laid down at the Madras Session of the All-India Muslim League last year; and if people are inclined to examine that creed calmly with a view to understand and grasp the full significance of it, they should have no difficulty in finding out that the Muslim League has honestly, conscientiously and in the best interests of India and every section of the community, formulated a scheme in the shape of Pakistan, which has in itself an immeasurable dynamic and potential value for the creation of a united India on the basis of treaties and engagements in co-operation with the British Government, which is undoubtedly giving a lead in transforming the British Empire into a commonwealth of nations with common ideals and common aims assuring the happiness and prosperity of all nations, big or small, on the basis of freedom, equality and fair play. It is possible that the British Commonwealth of Nations may develop into a world federation, the achievement of which will be no easy task due to ideological clashes and economic conflicts of powerful nations which have attained an artificially high economic level based on the exploitation of weaker nations. No nation can now live an isolated existence. Every nation must throw its lot into a federation of nations on the basis of equality and partnership to save itself from the aggression and domination of those nations that aim at their subjugation and slavery.

A united India will be an asset to any federation or comity of nations. That unity can be achieved only if all the four parties interested in India, namely, the Muslim nation, the Hindu nation the British nation and the

Indian States combine together to so adjust their differences as to draw up a scheme of united independent sovereign States in India which can easily merge themselves into a federation or commonwealth of nations for the purpose of solving India's economic and defence problems, irrespective of what form the political system of our country will take according to its genius and requirements of circumstances and situation. An India disunited and in a state of civil war cannot hope to be a free, independent and happy land of peace and prosperity, and cannot be of any consequence to the future world order we all hope to build on sound fundamental principles of unchallenged and unassailable value and significance through all ages. Pakistan is a practical scheme based on reason and common sense, and is a message of peace and goodwill of the Muslim nation to the Hindu nation in a spirit of brotherhood and love.

Strong Central Government

I can understand the weakness and temptation of the Congress to think in terms of the dictatorship of one strong Central Government for the whole of India; but it is clear that the Musalmans as a nation deem it highly deterimental to their vital interests to accept any such Government at the centre based upon the parliamentary democratic form of government, as this would mean that even in those provinces where they happen to be in a majority, they cannot have an independent sovereign State without being subordinate to the Government at the Centre where the Hindus will be in permanent majority and the Muslims will be in permanent minority. The viewpoint of the Musalmans is that if the Hindus want freedom and sovereignty, they must be fair and accord the same position to the Muslim nation where the Muslims happen to be in a majority. Bearing in mind human weaknesses and frailties and the natural temptation to exercise power according to the numerical strength in the Central Government and the Legislature, a strong Central Government at the Centre will degenerate into the tyranny of the majority.

As the question of the very destiny of the Musalmans is involved in it, the Musalmans fear that a strong Central Democratic form of Government would be highly detrimental to their interests, bearing in mind the temptation and the general narrow outlook of regarding India as belonging to the Hindus alone and fancying the Musalmans merely as intruders or invaders of India who simply wanted to dominate India for their own national ends. The Hindus are Aryans, so are the Muslims. Hindus came first into India and Musalmans came later. The real inhabitants of India are the Dravidians. If the regions where the Musalmans settled down in a majority be treated as Pakistan, the Gangetic plain where the Hindus settled down in very large numbers may be treated as Hindustan. This seems to be a logical and fair demarcation of Pakistan and Hindustan on a geographical basis.

The Musalmans are a Nation

It is moonshine to talk of Pakistan as involving domination by the Musalmans over the Hindus in India and the building of a Muslim corridor from the south to the frontiers of a Muslim country. It aims only at the solidarity and unity of India on the basis of adjustment of interests on a firmer basis of treaties and engagements. We must shake off doubts and fears, and we must recognize the realities of the situation. We have to federate with other countries and nations led by Britain and American, whether we do it with India as one unit or with India divided into two or three units in the form of Hindu, Muslim and Indian States federations, to be directly welded into a commonwealth of nations or a larger British American Federation. We must remember that narrow-mindedness and freedom do not go together. If we want to achieve freedom and independence, then we must have that spirit of tolerance and breadth of vision which is associated with the mentality of ruling nations. Narrow-mindedness and intolerance can only lead to chaos, confusion and misery and one form of slavery or another, as these are the qualities which are associated with subject nations. It will never do for us to give rein to such ignoble passions and mentality. Let the Congress, the Non-Party Leaders and the Hindu Sabha deeply ponder over the whole problem, as wishful thinking and palatable and delectable aims of having a unitary form of Government at the Centre with a permanent Hindu majority is a very gloomy future prospect to hold out to the Musalmans, and they should not with reason expect them to accept it.

It is the Musalmans who see danger for their freedom, safety and peaceful life from such a strong Central Government on a democratic basis, and not the Hindus, who feel secure in their majority in the whole of India. Thus the attitude of the Musalmans, in view of the above-mentioned dangers, is justifiable, while the denial of freedom and the right of self-determination to the Muslim nation is most unfair on the part of our Hindu brethren, for it is for them to satisfy the minority nation and meet their wishes to the fullest extent possible, so that the two nations may be welded together in the larger interests of the country. The Pakistan scheme, in the absence of anything else meeting its objective as an alternative, holds the field. In India, bearing in mind our ideology of love and truth, equality and fair play, we must solve our problems as two free nations and not as one subordinate to another on the basis of the Hindu majority taking India as a whole.

Reply to Critics of Pakistan

It is meaningless to criticize Pakistan on financial and economic grounds. Political power exercised in partnership with other nations can solve the economic and financial problems of Muslims on the basis of economic interdependence, co-operation, goodwill and engagements. The best policy

in the twentieth century world to follow is that of frankness, honesty and straightforwardness. Strategies and tactics and false political propaganda with a view to serve narrow national ends is the bane of humanity, and the sooner the Congress and other organizations give up aggressive nationalism and begin to recognise the fundamental rights of other nations in terms of universal brotherhood and world citizenship, the better it would be for all concerned.

Scheme for a United India

The Pakistan scheme is not an ill-assimilated and confused idea or a hotchpotch of ideals and aims which is not broad-based and well-conceived as a practical scheme offering a real and permanent solution of the Hindu-Muslim question in the larger interests of India, but is a scheme for welding the people into a united India to play an important role in the evolution of a juster and fairer new world order.

Pakistan is the only scheme which could have the right psychological effect on both the nations to make them recognize the importance of each other with due respect and love and a spirit of equality. The steadying and balancing influence of the scheme cannot be denied or exaggerated.

Forming a strong Central Government will have potentialities of internal trouble due to the very probable aggressive attitude of the majority community at the Centre, which may compel the Musalmans to look elsewhere to seek their freedom and security, and this would always be a prolific source of internal struggle and strife between the two nations, with possibilities of its developing into a major war between the Hindu world and the Muslim world, whereas the Hindu and Muslim powers, due to contiguity of frontiers, must be on the happiest of relations along with the British Government. It ill becomes the Congress and other Hindu parties to resort to manoeuvres and tactics with a view to mislead the British Government into making a declaration which would be highly prejudicial to the vital interests of the Muslim nation. Such diplomacy can only be regarded as short-sighted. I have already pointed out that the Musalmans are not prepared to accept any scheme of unitary government at the Centre, because the advantage which they have on the basis of being a majority in the Muslim provinces would be wiped out, and the balancing influence, moral and spiritual, would be completely lost, and further because the Musalmans are likely to put themselves in great jeopardy under a central government for the whole of India.

Urdu and Hindi

It is a pity that the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League have had to oppose the Sapru demand, as while outwardly it seems to be a reasonable demand, it irrevocably prejudges and prejudices the Pakistan scheme.

Sir Stafford Cripps has come out to India to discuss the tentative terms of the declaration which has to be made by the British Government, based on the recommendations of a committee of distinguished members of Parliament. Let us hope that some solution will be found for a readjustment of the differences between the Hindus and the Musalmans, and some scheme will be evolved which will be in consonance with the two-nation theory of the Hindus and the Musalmans, apart from other nations that exist on this continent. Any declaration which seeks to treat the Musalmans as a minority, or jeopardizes the Pakistan scheme, is bound to prove a damp squib from the point of view of an 'all-out war effort'. The declaration must not prejudice the vital intrests of the Musalmans, and it should not lead to domination by the Hindus over the Musalmans at the Centre.

Interim arrangements must necessarily be based upon common consent, and should not be imposed from above in a manner that will not enlist the support of the Muslim nation on the basis of equality and fair play. I fervently hope that Sir Stafford Cripps will not be carried away by press and platform propaganda during his visit, or even by personal contacts with the Congress leaders and the leaders of other Hindu parties, and will try to clearly understand and appreciate the viewpoints of Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah and the League, so as to be in a position to see things in proper perspective with the ultimate idea of helping to formulate a solution of the deadlock between the Hindus and the Musalmans, which would lead to an 'all-out united war effort'.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very sincerely for the great reception that you gave me at the station. I am proud to see that every month, every year, the Muslim League is going forward by leaps and bounds. I also thank the All-India Muslim League that they have honoured me by electing me as President for this year. I congratulate all the workers and office-bearers who have toiled and worked from day to day for the last three months in making all these preparations that we see here. Let me tell you that as we are growing in our strength, we are growing in our power of organizing and managing our affairs better and better every day.

Now I wish to tell you and want to pick up the thread since we met at Madras last year in our annual session. At Madras we defined our policy, we defined our ideology, we defined our programme, and I appeal to everyone of you kindly to read that speech of mine again and study it—not only study it, but I appeal to everyone of you that you should make some beginning in one direction or other with regard to the programme and the policy that we have laid down. I do not want to go on repeating things. There was a time when it was necessary to repeat things to make our people and those who opposed us

1. *Source: The Deccan Times*, April 4, 1942.

understand us. The propaganda of the League and the literature and the meetings and conferences that are being held throughout India, our press and even our opponents' press have enlightened us now as to what the real issues are before us.

Less Talk, More Work

Now let us talk less and work more. Not only that; but the grave international situation and the war that is now on our very borders, and almost at our gates—that must force us to realize how grave the danger is in front of us, and we do not know what is going to happen.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I must earnestly appeal to you. Musalmans, organize yourselves to meet all eventualities whatever may happen. These are obvious truths that I am telling you; and I really don't think that I should now go on labouring the point because, in my judgment, to pick up the analogy, you are no longer infants, you have reached the age of discretion, and can act accordingly. On that point I shall say no more.

The Cripps Mission

I know that the uppermost subject which is today not only engaging the attention of all India, but is also engaging the attention of the whole world, is the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of His Majesty's Government. You have been following it from day to day. Now I want to tell you as far as it is possible for me, and explain to you as shortly as I can, this draft declaration of proposals. Mark the words that it is a draft declaration. These are proposals which have emanated from His Majesty's Government, and they have come to the conclusion that they are "just and final". Let us examine them and let us understand them. I am not going into details; I am going to pick up the main points.

The main points that emerge from this document are as follows. First, the object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs. Here there may be some doubts as to the functions and the powers. There are three things —first status, then comes power and finally functions. But that is a matter which will have to be considered when we come to the signing of a treaty or treaties with one Dominion or two Dominions or more.

The next point that emerges is this. Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner decribed hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India. So we shall have an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution. I shall deal with it when I come to the clause which lays down how that Constitution-making body will be set up and how it will be composed.

Third, there is a provision for the fortification of the Indian States.

Fourth, His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed. But subject to this, there are exceptions.

The first exception is the right of any British Indian province that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. That is to say, the Constitution-making body, when it completes the framing of the constitution and when that Constitution, so framed, emerges from the deliberations of the Constitution-making body—which will be, remember, a sovereign body—then it would be open for any province or provinces to say, "we are not in agreement with this Constitution, and therefore we are not prepared to accede to this Constitution." But the most vital point and the most important of all the points, so far as we are concerned particularly, is as to how that province or provinces will express their will and exercise their right. And that is not in the document. But a suggestion has been thrown out by Sir Stafford Cripps, and the suggestion is that if a province, in the Legislative Assembly of the province, is in favour of accession by 60 per cent votes, then there will be an end of it. It means that the province is bound to accede. But if they get 59 per cent votes and the minority happens to be 41 per cent, then there will be a plebiscite of the people of the province. Then of course, the non-acceding provinces can, among themselves, by the same process, form another Union or a Dominion, or any single province may stand by itself as a Dominion. That is the corollary.

Then comes the provision for treaty—the treaty or treaties which will have to be signed and made with the Dominion or Dominions that may be set up as well as with the Indian States acceding or not acceding.

I told you that I would refer to the actual clauses of the proposals and how the Constitution-making body will be set up or formed, and the provision is this. Immediately upon the end of hostilities, the Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless leaders of the principal communities agree to some other machinery before the end of the hostilities. So at the end of the hostilities the Constitution-making body will be composed by this method: "Immediately upon the results being known of the provincial elections which would be necessary at the end of the hostilities, the entire membership of the lower Houses of all Provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to elect the Constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral colleges." Therefore, I think, you understand that all the members of the Assemblies of 11 provinces will meet together as one single electoral college, and they will be roughly 1,600 members, and they will be entitled to elect one-tenth, which means, in all, 160 members by means of proportional representation. That is the Constitution-making body.

After that we come to the Indian States who will be invited to send their representatives, and the number will be according to their population. But how they will be chosen it is not mentioned at all in this document—whether by nomination or some method of election. Now, gentlemen, this is the document so far as the future is concerned.

But then there is a provision for the present also and that provision is this. While during the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India; they desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India. The important words, ladies and gentlemen, are that the responsibility for the defence of India will be that of His Majesty's Government, and the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people will be invited in the counsels of their country.

This was the original wording, but later on it was modified in this way: "During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution might be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort." But this is a change in the wording.

The task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. Then they say that His Majesty's Government desire "to invite the effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections in the counsels of their country."

What the Document Means

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the document, and let me put in a few words what it means and how I understand it. It means, whatever may be the constitutional implications of the status and the powers of the Dominion or the Dominions that may be set up, the main objective is the creation of a new Indian Union. We start with that. For that purpose a Constitution-making body will be set up which will be the sovereign body. A sovereign body will start—to use the language of Sir Stafford Cripps—with a preference for an All-India Union.

Think what will be the composition of that body. The composition of that body would be that first of all it will be elected from amongst the member of the 11 Assemblies meeting together as one college and by means of proportional representation, not separate electorates. When that body is formed, I cannot conceive how they can come to any other conclusion except the Union; and that is why it is so composed.

But after the Constitution-making body has framed its Constitution by a bare majority, it is true that any single province or provinces who do not approve of that Constitution are given a chance to go through another test which I shall explain hereafter. But remember that, at the most, Musalmans, even by separate electorates, will not be more than 25 per cent; but by the system of proportional representation, they might be less in number in the Constitution-making body. So the overwhelming majority will be non-Muslim and therefore, the probabilities are contemplated that the Constitution may by a majority be in favour of only one Union.

The other point which is not there is: Will the decision of this Constitution-making body be taken by a bare majority or not? Reading that document, as I do, clearly it cannot be anything else, because it is the accepted rule of every document that when we want to lay down a specific majority we state so. If you do not so state, then it means the rule of a bare majority. For instance, in our own Constitution we have the clause that our Constitution cannot be changed except by a majority of two-thirds. So that is the Constitution-making body. If I may comment on this a little, Mr. Gandhi will come to this Constitution-making body with a dead certainly of getting a Constitution which will emerge for an All-India Union.

Now when that is done, the province or provinces which would feel unhappy are given the consolation, 'No no, you have yet another chance before you are killed.' (Laughter.) And what is that chance? The chance is this, and it is not in the document but a suggestion of Sir Stafford Cripps (of course, various suggestions have been made; we shall also make our suggestions when the time comes; but at present he has made a suggestion): He says, 'Look here, if 41 per cent are against it then a plebiscite.' Whose plebiscite? Of course, the plebiscite of the province.

Whose self-determination do you want to ascertain? Self-determination of the two nations put together or one nation alone? The answer is, of course, of both together.

That is another chance; and if you get the plebiscite in your favour then at least you will escape the slaughter-house before our *qurbani* is made. (Laughter.) This is a point of the most vital character so far as Muslim India is concerned.

Recognition of Principles of Pakistan and Muslim Self-Determination

Then with regard to the present, gentlemen, I can tell you nothing except what is contained in this document; because it entirely depends on as to what will be the final picture, and I cannot throw any light on it. I have explained to you, and I hope correctly, and if I am not correct I shall certainly stand corrected by Sir Stafford Cripps or anybody else. After explaining the draft declaration of the proposals, I think I am echoing your feelings when I say that

the Musalmans feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognized. (Hear, hear!)

Any attempt to solve the problem of India by the process of evading the real issues and by over-emphasizing the territorial entity of the provinces, which are mere accidents of British policy, and administrative division is fundamentally wrong (Hear, hear!). Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of national self-determination is unequivocally recognized. (Hear, hear!).

It must be realized that India was never a country or a nation. India's problem is international in this subcontinent and differences—cultural, social, political and economic—are so fundamental that they cannot be covered up, concealed or confused, but must be handled by all as realists.

The alleged power of the minority in the matter of secession suggested in the document is illusory, as Hindu India will dominate the decision in favour of one All-India Union in all the provinces, and the Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab will be at the mercy of the Hindu minority in those provinces, who will exert themselves to the fullest extent and length for keeping the Musalmans tied to the chariot wheel of Hindudom. Thus the Musalmans will be doomed to subjection in all the provinces.

We cannot barter away, with our consent, the future for the present, while fully realizing the danger of foreign aggression, and notwithstanding all our anxieties to defend India and to help the prosecution of war. To do so will be a crime on our part to posterity and generations of hundreds of millions of Muslims to come.

As regards the proposals relating to the immediate adjustments in the Central and Provincial Governments, which we are told must be considered within the framework of the existing Constitution, it is difficult to gather from the document anything definite and concrete; for it must necessarily depend upon the full picture when it is disclosed. It is not known to us, nor is it before us yet. The document is a bare skeleton of the proposals, and obviously requires a lot of filling in and adjusting before it can be made acceptable; and it is one of those cases where the details will become more vital than the bare statement of certain principles.

It has roused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions, especially with reference to the Pakistan scheme, which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India. We will, therefore, endeavour that the principle of Pakistan—which finds only veiled recognition in the document—should be conceded in unequivocal terms, so that we know how the right of Musalmans to keep out or accede thereto is defined to our satisfaction. We do not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated as it was after the last war, after we have paid for the promises in blood, money and material.

The document shows that Pakistan is treated as a remote possibility, and there is a definite preference for a new Indian Union, which is the main objec-

tive and suggestion; and the rules of procedure and the process indicated in the document, and the interviews and explanations of Sir Stafford Cripps so far, are against us, and we are called upon to play the game with loaded dice.

Our Working Committee is engaged, as you know, since March 27 in the task of a most careful and searching examination of these proposals. I trust that in order to give real effect to the principles of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination, His Majesty's Government and Sir Stafford Cripps will not hesitate to make the necessary adjustments on their behalf. Let us hope that there will emerge out of these negotiations a settlement that will be just, honourable and finally acceptable to all. (Loud applause.[1])

Second Sitting

The second sitting of the open session of the All-India Muslim League began at Allahabad on the night of Sunday, April 5, in the League pandal at Jinnah Chaman, under the presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah.[2] Before the session began, Mr. Jinnah decorated a national guard volunteer from Kanauj, Mohammed Yakub, with the gold medal which had been awarded to him by the Reception Committee for his promptness in putting out a fire in a portion of the main pandal on Saturday, April 4.

RESOLUTION I

At the commencement of the Session, a resolution of condolence was moved from the Chair:

This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise of Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and Member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Muslim nation in particular, and conveys its heartfelt condolences and sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

The Quaid-i-Azam, in moving the resolution, referred to the late Nawab of Mamdot as a loyal and sincere worker and a great champion of Pakistan.

Nawab Iftikhar Husain, son of the late Sir Shah Nawaz Khan, promised a donation of Rs. 5,000.

The resolution was passed.

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1. *Source*: Official Pamphlet, printed and published by S. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, All-India Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi.

2. The subjects Committee concluded its work on Sunday evening (April 5), after a sitting of about six hours. The Committee, *inter alia*, discussed the Cripps' proposals, and ultimately decided that no formal resolution should be adopted at this stage, when Mr. Jinnah, the President was still holding negotiations.

RESOLUTION II

Mr. M.A.H. Isphahani then moved the following resolution:

Resolved that the President be authorized till the next session to take every step or action as he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League as he deems proper, provided that they are consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. Isphahani referred to the international situation and said that it was necessary to give such powers to Mr. Jinnah, because he might have to take momentous decisions during an emergency when it might not be possible for him to consult the Working Committee or the Council. He said that the Muslims had implicit faith in Mr. Jinnah, and no one would feel reluctant in giving him this authority, which would be used by him to the best interests of the Muslims and the country.

Maulana Jamal Mian of Firangi Mahal seconded the resolution.

At this stage Maulana Hasrat Mohani wished to give notice of an amendment as follows: "As the object of this resolution, which is to appoint Quaid-i-Azam dictator for one year, is to prevent the Muslim League from expressing any opinion about the Cripps' proposals, I give notice of my intention to move my resolution as an amendment to this resolution."

The Quaid-i-Azam ruled the notice of amendment out of order. He said that Maulana Hasrat Mohani had moved his resolution in the Subjects Committee, where it has been rejected after a full discussion; and therefore, according to the League Constitution, it could not be moved in the open Session. It appeared that the Maulana wanted to evade this rule.

He added that the first part of Maulana Hasrat Mohani's statement was incorrect, for the object of the resolution was not to appoint Mr. Jinnah as a dictator. A similar resolution had been passed at Madras. The main object of the resolution, he pointed out, was to give certain specific powers to the President to be exercised in case of emergency. He said that neither the Working Committee nor the President of the League was a dictator.

He further added that many questions arose which required immediate attention, and explained that it had been made specifically clear in the resolution that the step or action taken by the President should be in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League and should be consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League. Thus the preamble of Maulana Hasrat Mohani's amendment was incorrect, and the object of his notice of amendment was a manoeuvre to evade the League Constitution. The amendment was therefore ruled out of order.

According to the *Dawn* report, the resolution of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, which had been negatived by the Subjects Committee, and which he wanted to move as an amendment to Mr. Isphahani's resolution before the open

session, had suggested, after giving reasons for it, that the Muslim League could not but reject the proposals of the British Cabinet brought by Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mr. Isphahani's resolution giving full powers to Mr. Jinnah was carried in the open session of the All-India Muslim League with the single dissenting vote of Mr. Hasrat Mohani. As Maulana Hasrat Mohani rose to oppose the resolution, he was heckled by the audience with continuous and insistent shouts of "sit down" and "we don't want to hear you". Pacifying the crowd, Mr. Jinnah said that everyone had a right of freedom of speech, and the Maulana should be allowed to have his way.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani said that he had never disowned Mr. Jinnah as the Quaid-i-Azam, and had always recognized him as a great leader, but it was possible that at this critical juncture Mr. Jinnah, if he was given unfettered powers, might take a wrong decision—namely, accept the Cripps' proposals.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani added that according to the established creed of the Muslim League, the object of the Muslims of India was to establish completely independent zonal States whose constituent units should also be autonomous and sovereign, and the Muslim League could not but reject the proposals of the British Cabinet, because they could only lead to the establishment of a single Dominion or two or more Dominions, possibly including a Pakistan Dominion. The proposals would certainly not give a completely independent and sovereign State as envisaged by the League. Mr. Jinnah, he reiterated, might take the wrong decision and accept the proposals.

RESOLUTION III

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman moved the following resolution: This Session resolves that a committee be appointed by the President to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of Muslims in consultation with the Provincial Leagues and to submit a weekly report to the President of the steps taken to carry out the above-mentioned objects.

The mover emphasized that the Muslim population should not be panicky in the present situation. He said that the need of the hour was to enrol volunteers and nurses and to organize relief work under the local branches of the League to meet any emergency.

Maulana Akram Khan of Bengal seconded the resolution and Sir Abdullah Haroon supported it.

Discussion on the resolution had not finished when the session adjourned to meet again next morning.

Third Sitting

The open session of the Muslim League on resumption on the morning of April 6, Monday, continued its discussion on Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman's re-

solution. The resolution was supported by the members of the Muslim League Working Committee and several others.

They all stressed the need for organizing district and city Muslim Leagues throughout the country to meet any eventualities that might arise owing to the war approching the very doors of India.

Begum Aizaz Rasool, supporting the resolution, explained the part which women could play during the emergency. She made special mention of nursing, first-aid and other relief work which could be taken up by women.

Begum Mohammad Ali made a strong plea for women's education, so that they could effectively share the responsibilities of men in these critical times. She exhorted Muslim women to join the League and organize themselves.

Mr. Jinnah, explaining the resolution, referred to "the grave internal and external dangers at this juncture", and the need of saving the lives and properties of 100 million Muslims. He emphasized that Muslims should organize themselves in a systematic manner without any loss of time. On the Committee, he said, there should be the right sort of men who could command the peoples' confidence and respect.

The function of the Committee would be to deal with situations as they might arise in different provinces and keep in touch with various Provincial, District and Primary Leagues, and guide them in giving effect to measures suggested by the Committee. There were villages and towns, he said, in which Muslims were in a minority, and he had grave apprehensions about people living in those areas in the event of an outbreak of lawlessness. He suggested that, in cases of emergency, they should, at any cost or sacrifice, be brought to places where there were a larger number of Muslims.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS PASSED

IV. Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan be elected as Honorary Secretary and Raja Mohammed Amir Ahmad Khan Saheb of Mahmoodabad as Honorary Treasurer of the All-India Muslim League for the next term, and the election of the two Joint Secretaries be entrusted to the Council of the All-India Muslim League. (Proposed by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and seconded by Syed Abdur Rauf Shah.)

V. This Session expresses its heartfelt sympathies with the Indian nationals who had settled down in Java, Burma, Malaya and Singapore and who have had to lose their all and sail homewards in most tragic circumstances in overcrowded and under-provisioned ships or trail backwards across forests and mountains, foodless and without shelter for weeks on end.

This Session condemns the action of those responsible for the shameful discrimination against Indian nationals in the matter of accommodation, route facilities, food and water; and demands of the Government of India to take

immediate and effective steps to save the lives of thousands of our helpless and hapless compatriots still in the inhospitable land of Burma, by evacuating them at the earliest possible moment and placing at their disposal every available means of transportation and every possible facility.

This Session draws the attention of the Government of India to the inadequate and completely worthless arrangements so far made by it for giving relief and succour to the Indian evacuees who are reaching Chittagong, Imphal and Madras coastal parts, amongst other places, in several thousands daily, penniless and foodless.

This Session calls upon the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues to render every possible assistance to the unfortunate evacuees in their great distress. (Proposed by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin and seconded by Mr. S.M. Badsha).

VI. This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of relief and gratitude for the timely action of the President in expelling from the membership of the Muslim League, Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq, who has completely forfeited the confidence of Musalmans by his repeated betrayal of their cause generally in India and particularly in Bengal. (Proposed by Maulana Jamal Mian and seconded by Khan Bahadur M.A. Momin.)

VII. Resolved that the following amendment be made in the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League:

In Section 11 (2) VIII, figure 5 be substituted by the figure 10. (Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and seconded by Qazi Mohammed Isa.)

VIII. This Session of the All-India Muslim League demands that the Province of British Baluchistan be forthwith elevated to the same constitutional level as the other Indian Provinces. (Proposed by Qazi Mohammad Isa and seconded by Mir Jafar Jamali.)

IX. This Session draws the attention of the Government of India to the grave situation that has been created in the country due to grain shortage, particularly of wheat, paddy and dal, and requests the Government to take immediate steps for the conservation of grain and other foodstuffs for the peoples of India. (From the Chair.)

X. This Session of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to remove all restrictions imposed upon Allama Mashriqi and also lift the ban on the Khaksar movement and release unconditionally all the Khaksar prisoners. (From the Chair.)

XI. This Session of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to review and rescind the order of internment in a distant province passed against Nawabzada Abdul Rehan Khan Bugti of Baluchistan, in view of the fact that there has been no judicial enquiry or finding establishing the justification of the said order, and that in the absence of such a position, the step taken against him seems to be arbitrary, unjust and one capable of terrorizing and demoralizing the general Muslim population of that Province. (From the Chair.)

CONCLUSION

The Twenty-ninth Session of the All India Muslim League concluded in the afternoon of April 6 amidst shouts of "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad".

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Jinnah congratulated the organizers for the magnificent arrangements they had made. He particularly thanked the National Guards.

Referring to a speaker's counsel that he should keep contact with the poor, Mr. Jinnah said: "Let me assure you that my heart is really with the poor and for the poor, and I am serving them. I think that as we go along, they will realize that I am their servant; and if I succeed, it will be my happiness and reward that I worked for the poor and raised their standard."[1]

1. *Source*: *Dawn*, April 12, 1942, and *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League from April 1942 to May 1943*. Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

BOMBAY, AUGUST 16-20, 1942

Held under the presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, at his residence, this meeting of the Working Committee passed the following resolution on the political situation in the country:

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, having given their deep and anxious consideration to the present political development in the country, deplore the decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8, 1942, to launch an "open rebellion" by resorting to the mass civil disobedience movement in pursuance of their objective of establishing Congress Hindu domination in India, which has resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.

It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that this movement is directed not only to coerce the British Government into handing over power to a Hindu oligarchy, and thus disabling them from carrying out their moral obligations and pledges given to the Musalmans and other sections of the peoples of India from time to time, but also to force the Musalmans to submit and surrender to Congress terms and dictation. Ever since the beginning of the war, and even prior to that, the sole objective of Congress policy has been either to cajole or to coerce the British Government into surrendering power to the Congress—a Hindu body with a microscopic following of other communities in utter suppression of 100 millions of Musalmans, besides millions of other peoples of this vast subcontinent of India. While claiming the right of self-determination for 'India', which is a

mere Congress euphemism for a Hindu majority, it has persistently opposed the right of self-determination for the Muslim nation to decide and determine their own destiny.

On May 1, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee, by their resolution, emphatically repudiated the Muslim League demand for the right of self-determination for Muslims, and thus closed the door for the settlement of the communal problem, which is a condition precedent of the attainment of the freedom and independence of India. The Congress had also recognized this as an indispensable condition, and had therefore made it a prominent plank in the Congress programme for over 20 years; but by their recent decisions have suddenly thrown it overboard and substituted the fantastic theory that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem can only follow the withdrawal of British Power from India.

The negotiations of Sir Stafford Cripps with the Congress broke down, not on the issue of independence, but because of the refusal of the British Government to hand over the Muslims and the minorities to the tender mercies of the Congress. Any acquiescence in this on the part of the British would have been strenously resisted by the minorities, and particularly by the Muslim nation, with memories of tyranny in the Congress-governed provinces still fresh and vivid in their minds.

Baulked in their effort to cajole Sir Stafford Cripps to agree to the transfer of power to the Congress caucus, they decided upon a slogan—'Quit India' accompanied by the threat of mass civil disobedience. This slogan is mere camouflage, and what is really aimed at is supreme control of the Government of the country by the Congress.

The Muslims are not a whit less insistent on freedom for the country and the achievement of independence for the people of India, which is the creed of the All-India Muslim League. They are, however, firmly convinced that the present Congress movement is not directed for securing the independence of all the constituent elements in the life of the country, but for the establishment of a Hindu Raj and to deal a death blow to the Muslim goal of Pakistan.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League note with dissatisfaction the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the national aspirations of 100 million Muslims of India. While the Congress aims at ignoring and suppressing the Muslim demand, the Working Committee regret that the British Government have been unresponsive to the Muslim League offer of co-operation. The appeasement of the Congress has been the central pivot of the Government's policy, with barren and sterile results, and has now culminated in open defiance of law and order.

Since the commencement of hostilities, the Muslim League has been ready and willing, either singly or in co-operation with other parties, to shoulder the responsibility for running the administration and mobilizing the re-

sources of the country for the war effort and for the defence of India, if a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the provinces is conceded within the framework of the present Constitution, and in pursuance of this policy the Muslim League accepted the underlying principles of the August offer of 1940 of the British Government.

But the Government, in implementing the offer, nullified the essential principles of it and so made it impossible for the Muslim League to co-operate with the Government on honourable terms. In spite of the fact that the British Government had spurned the offer of co-operation of the Muslim League, under the imminent shadow of the Japanese menace, the Muslim League once again reiterated their offer by their resolution of December 27, 1941, in the following words:

"In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the war on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed its willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country, as is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November 1939.

"The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing, as before, to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that a real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the Centre and the provinces within the framework of the present Constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future Constitution."

The British Government completely ignored the offer of the Muslim League. While the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps virtually conceded the Congress demands of the right of secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and the forming of a Constituent Assembly with a preponderantly Hindu majority for the framing of the post-war Constitution, they merely recognized the possibility of establishing Pakistan, supposed to be implicit in the non-accession scheme.

The Working Committee is definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort, with all the sacrifices that are involved, it is only possible provided they are assured that it would lead to the realization of the goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League therefore calls upon the British Government to come forward without further delay, with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self-determination, and to pledge themselves that they will abide by the verdict of a plebiscite of Musalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in March, 1940.

Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the freedom and independence of the smaller nations of the world, the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of 100 million Muslims of India to establish sovereign States in the zones which are their homelands and where they are in a majority.

The Working Committee is fully convinced that Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem and is in complete consonance with justice and fair play to the two great nations, Muslims and Hindus—inhabiting this vast subcontinent; whereas if the Congress demand is accepted, it would bring the 100 million Muslims under the yoke of a Hindu Raj which must inevitably result either in anarchy and chaos or the complete strangulation and annihilation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for. The Muslim League, as it has been repeatedly made clear, stands not only for Pakistan and the freedom of Muslims, but also for the freedom and independence of Hindustan and the Hindus.

The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a Provisional Government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally.

In these circumstances the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, after anxious and careful consideration, call upon the Muslims to abstain from any participation in the movement initiated by the Congress, and to continue to pursue their normal peaceful life. The Working Committee hope that no attempt shall be made from any quarter to intimidate, coerce, molest or interfere in any manner with the normal life of the Muslims, otherwise the Muslims will be compelled to offer resistances and adopt all such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their life, honour and property.[1]

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1. Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. *Op. cit.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THIRTIETH SESSION

DELHI, APRIL 24-26, 1943.

In a tastefully decorated *Pandal*, which was full to capacity, and amid repeated shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar*, the Thirtieth Session of the All-India Maslim League commenced at New Delhi on April 24, 1943, under the presidency Mohammed Ali Jinnah. The *pandal* was decorated with buntings and pla- of Mr. cards with such slogans as "Freedom of India lies in Pakistan". There was a map of Pakistan placed at the head of the dais. A feature of the audience was the presence of a large number of Muslim ladies, both inside and out-side the purdah enclosure.

The *pandal* was crowded, and prominent persons were seated on the dais. They included members of the Working Committee of the League and distinguished visitors, among whom were Sir Mohammed Usman; Sir Feroz Khan Noon; Colonel Khizar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab; Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind; Major-General Victor Odlum, Canadian Minister to China; Mr. Lao, Secretary to the Chinese Mission in India; Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung; Sir Ziauddin Ahmed; Sir Raza Ali; Sir Yamin Khan.

Mr. Jinnah arrived dressed in a white sherwani—and for the first time wore a button on his collar with the letter 'P' standing for Pakistan engraved on it. He was received with tremendous ovation and cheering.

After a recitation from the Holy Quran, Mr. Hussain Malik, Chairman of the Reception Committee read his address:

It is my duty to acknowledge a debt of gratitude that I owe to the Muslims of Delhi who have entrusted me with the task of welcoming the All-India Muslim League on their behalf to this historic city. Some of you have come from Assam, some from the North Western Frontier Province, while there are others who have come from Bombay and Madras. In these days of turmoil and war, it is no easy matter to undertake such long journeys. You have travelled all these distances at great personal discomfort and expense to attend this Annual Session of the great Parliament of the Muslims of India. Can there be a better proof of your determination and zeal to show to the world that Muslim India is united for the realization of their sacred goal? Nor can there be a better proof of the fact that the voice of All-India Muslim League is the voice of the 100 million Muslims of India.

This Delhi of ours is the cradle and grave of many empires. A true description of Delhi can be given only in the words of the great Islamic poet, the late Sir Mohammed Iqbal:

ذرے ذرے میں لہو اسلاف کا پوشیدہ ہے

Here is the treasury of Islamic art, culture and philosophy; here was the capital of Sher Shah Suri, and here was the capital of the Mughals. To-day Dehli is the capital of the British Indian Empire. The symbols of Islamic art and glory are still prominent here. A few miles away from this *pandal* stands Qutub Minar. This symbol of Islamic art, I am proud to say, is considered one of the Wonders of the World. In the centre of the city stands Jumma Masjid, whereto the Mughal Emperors came to pay their homage to the King of Kings. From here Qutub-ud-Din Ebak demonstrated to the world that in Islam all men are equal and that even a slave can rise to the heights of a king. Delhi to-day is the metropolis of the British Indian Empire where some of the most prominent leaders of the country assemble from time to time. It is the confluence of the most important currents of public opinion. It is, therefore, Sir, in the fitness of things that this great organization of the Muslims should be holding its Session here to-day.

The present life of the League can be traced back to 1936, when it decided to send its representatives to the Provincial Legislatures. We were then in a deplorable state. We were unorganized and we had no political organization of our own. Many of the candidates who stood on the League ticket were successful. The Congress realized that the Muslim League was gaining strength, and therefore, some method must be found whereby its progress could be checked. It, therefore, offered to take League candidates within its party, provided they signed the Congress pledge. This was an attempt to disrupt the Muslims. It was obvious that if these candidates had signed the Congress pledge and joined its party, it would have misled the Muslim public and would have thus weakened the strength of the Muslim League. But luckily the Congress was not successful. Having thus failed,

the Congress High Command made further attempts to bring the Muslims within its fold. Therefore, the mass contact campaign was launched. But, Sir, thanks to your determination and efforts, the Muslims did not fall prey to the Congress machinations.

The Congress put forward a fatuous claim to represent the whole of India. It alleged that there were only two parties in the country, the British and the Congress, and therefore it voiced the opinion of both the Hindus and the Muslims. It being the only political organization of the country, the British should negotiate with them alone, and no other party had any recognition or right to be consulted. At this critical juncture, Sir, you with your determination and untiring efforts, organized the League, and for once in the history of the world in such a short time, brought a nation of 100 million Muslims under one banner. A nation of 100 million cannot be considered a minority. It has its own civilization, its own culture, its own laws and custom, its own language and its own religion. Such a nation has the right to be consulted before any Constitution can be thrust upon it.

The pretensions of the Congress to represent the whole of India and to be the only political organization, were exposed when its High Command began to work openly for Ram Raj. The severity of treatment, the atrocities and the way in which the rights of the Muslims were trampled upon during the short-lived regime of the Congress, convinced the Muslims that the High Command was in no way prepared to allow them to practice their culture, philosophy and religion, and that in order to establish Ram Raj, it was determined to crush the Muslims under its heels. The short-sighted policy of the Congress and its professions convinced the Muslims that it meant to establish Ram Raj in India. They could expect from the Congress no quarter, no sympathy and no tolerance. Therefore, Sir, under your guidance, they evolved a formula which would give them the right to establish their homelands in areas where they are in majority. The Pakistan resolution as adopted at Lahore has been condemned by our opponents through the Congress controlled press, but no argument has been advanced to prove that it is in any way deterimental to the cause of the country. It is condemned because it gives the Muslims the right of self-determination and freedom from Ram Raj and Hindu domination. Our opponents have cried themselves hoarse by shouting that Pakistan means vivisection of India. This is mere propaganda. India, Sir, is not a country but a subcontinent composed of various nations. The Hindus and the Muslims are two major nations with different arts, civilizations. cultures, customs, languages, law and religions. Can a subcontinent composed of nations with such wide differences be called geographically one? The continent of Europe is composed of many different nations. Their civilizations and religions are the same, while their languages are different; nor is there any great difference in their laws and customs. Yet can we, to-day, say that Eurpoe is geographically one?

The recent civil disobedience campaign of the Congress was a serious departure from its creed of non-violence. It was to be a fight to the finish; and our Hindu friends had declared that they would go on with this movement with us or without us. But, Sir, in this country no movement, which does not have the support of the Muslims, can ever be successful. The Muslims kept aloof from this movement, not because they were in any way less determined to free the country from foreign yoke, or because they were in any way less prepared to make sacrifices for the cause of freedom—they kept aloof because it did not have the sanction of the Muslim League. The movement, which had been started to harass the British to come to terms with the Congress over the heads of the Muslims, failed. Therefore, some solution had to be found out of the impasse. Anyone who has studied the correspondence that passed between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi could not fail to notice traces of disappointment in the latter's tone. At this moment, the Viceroy made his statement in Calcutta, which offered relief to Mr. Gandhi and gave him the courage to undertake his 21 days' fast. The Viceroy's statement that India was geographically one perturbed Muslim India and offered the Congress further encouragement. The tone of Mr. Gandhi's letters changed, and he began to ask the Viceroy to prove that he and the Congress were guilty of the black deeds that were committed in the guise of civil disobedience. His request became a threat in the form of a fast. The mischief had been created by the Viceroy's statement. The enemy was at India's gate and the fullest co-operation of the Muslims was required. British prestige was at stake, and therefore the Viceroy had to show fortitude and steadfastness. All methods of the Congress to coerce the British by threats, false slogans, civil disobedience and fasting were designed with a view to capture power from the British to the detriment of the Muslims.

In the wake of the Congress has sprung up a body of men whom you yourself, Sir, rightly labelled 'political orphans'. When the Congress begins to weaken, such a body of men is always available who are willing to join the blood-bank to rejuvenate it. These political orphans have no backing, no creed, no party, no policy and no programme. They delight in making speeches in King's English and addressing an audience of their own choosing.

When the present war began, the Muslim League made it clear that it did not wish to embarrass the British, and therefore, it would not insist on any constitutional change during the war. The League offered its hand of co-operation to work a ProvisionalGovernment at the Centre, provided all the parties agreed to its demand of self-determination for the Muslims and to carry it to its logical conclusion. The Government, however, did not take its hand of friendship, but instead tried to weaken the position of the Muslims. Its policy all along has been opportunist. It has failed to do justice to the Muslims in the services and other walks of life. A great deal has happened since we last met in Allahabad. Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with certain

proposals from the British. As these proposals contained a suggestion to give the Muslims the right of self-determination, they did not suit the temper of our Hindu friends. They were, therefore, rejected, and then immediately withdrawn by Sir Stafford Cripps. Since then, there has been a lot of banging and opening of the door, but there has been no change in the policy of the British. The Secretary of State for India has asserted that there would be no transfer of power till there was a perfect agreement between the two parties. As Congress has been declared an unlawful organization, it has no legal recognition. The question of who the two parties in the country are, has been left unanswered. We still await, Sir, for further elucidation on this point.

We have watched the league making steady progress and rise to its present stature. The recent successes of the League in various Provincial bye-elections are evidence enough of the support that it has secured. To-day, Sir, we are proud to say that out of the five Muslim Provinces, in four, League Ministries have been established, while we are looking forward to the time when there will be a League Ministry in the fifth as well. Pakistan has become an article of faith with the Muslims; and for its establishment, they are prepared to make every sacrifice that they may be called upon to offer. You, Sir, have offered to abide by the decision of the Muslim plebiscite. Let the issue be decided by the plebiscite, and let their decision be final. The voice of the electorate is expressed in the Legislature through its representatives. The decision of the Sind Legislative Assembly was the true expression of the opinion of the Muslims of that Province. Can there be any doubt in the mind of anyone that Pakistan is the demand of the 100 million Muslims of India?

We are living in the presence of history. Destinies of nations are being made and marred overnight. Who knows what fate has in store for us. No power on earth can for long ignore the demand of 100 million Muslims. However, in this transitory period, we must now draw up a programme and decide on the line of action that we propose to take in Pakistan. It is not the function of a political organization to have educational, industrial and social programmes, but, Sir, this organization, as the sole representative of the nation, has many intellectual and spiritual thinkers in its fold. It is for this organization to chalk out a programme dealing with commercial, educational, industrial, political, religious and social problems of the nation. The present system of education is faulty, inasmuch as it separates religious teachings from other forms of learning. The teaching of theology has been left over exclusively to a particular class of men who have no interest in academic education. We must now move with the current of the times and introduce a system of education in keeping with Islamic culture, philosophy and religion.

In this age of industrialization, the world is moving at great speed. We Muslims must keep pace with it. Our Hindu friends are taking full cognizance of the situation, and are making good use of all chances and oppor-

tunities, while we Muslims are still living in the present with the glory of the past. We must discard our false plumes and march with the times. In our Pakistan, we have plenty of natural resources and virgin soil. The time has come for us to turn our attention to them. We must make sincere efforts to industrialize these areas. ... By deliberate false propaganda, it has been hammered into us that we have no capacity for business. This is mere deception and falsehood. There were times when Muslims had their trade connections all over the world. We still have the capacity to work and the ability to organize.

We must also, Sir, give serious thought to the introduction of a programme of social reforms and uplift. We must broaden our outlook on life and must encourage free thought. Until now we have been keeping our women in the background and have treated them as a burden. No nation who keeps half of its population in the background can ever hope to achieve a fair status in the world order. We must give our women education and training on bases of Islamic culture and philosophy to enable them to share our political ideals and aspirations and bring up our future generation free from handicaps and difficulties that we are facing to-day. In this dark hour of our history, Sir, we look up to you to organize us and to guide us to the path of realism and glory.

Ladies and gentlemen, I once again welcome you to this historic city of ours. The Reception Committee has made every edeavour to make your stay as pleasant as possible. I am conscious of the shortcomings in their arrangements, and I must appologies for these. Owing to present-day conditions, they have had to labour under extraordinary difficulties. I therefore request you to overlook their shortcomings. I thank you for your forbearance and indulgence.

I thake this opportunity to thank my friend Ghazi Anwar-ul-Haq, to whose untiring efforts and hard work we owe this *pandal*. I also thank our Salar-e-Azam, Mirza Mohammed Abdullah, who has organized the National Guard in this Province within a very short time. In the end, I thank my friend Mr. Wahid-ud-Din Ahmad for discharging his duties so magnificently and to the satisfaction of us all.

I now request the Quaid-i-Azam to take the Chair and preside over our deliberations.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH[2]

Delegates of the All-India Muslim League, ladies and gentlemen: I thank you heartily for having once more elected me as the President of the All-India Muslim League. It is an honour that to-day any man may envy and

1. Official Pamphlet, published by the Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi.

2. Delivered extempore.

covet. I hope in the coming year I shall be able with your co-operation and support, to guide the course, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. In the first instance, I would like to give you a report and tell you what developments have taken place as far as the internal affairs of the All-India Muslim League are concerned.

Bengal Affairs

Ladies and gentlemen, in the course of this one year since we met last at Allahabad, there is not the slightest doubt, that the Muslim League is moving from strength to strength throughout India.

In Bengal you know that we have suffered for the last 16 months. It was our misfortune that even amongst our own ranks, our own people were made the spearhead of treachery who betrayed the Muslim interests. I think, it is now settled beyond doubt that during the last 15 months the Muslims of Bengal have organized themselves in a manner which they had never before, at any time in the history of Bengal. (Cheers.) They were persecuted and the Chief Minister, who I am ashamed to say was a Musalman (Cries of shame, shame)...Ladies and gentlemen, if I were to give you an account of to what extent this Ministry headed by Fazlul Huq stooped—no decent human being could ever stoop to the foul methods he adopted. But I congratulate the Musalmans of Bengal, and in this I give a very great share of the credit to the Muslim youth of Bengal... (Cries of 'Hear, hear!' and cheers). Well, we had a pointer some months ago in the Natore election. The candidate that was put forward by our opponents against our candidate, I am happy to say, forfeited his security. In every bye-election we won, and in the last one in the Upper House, we won cent per cent. This tyranny, this persecution, this manoeuvring, these machinations in utter disregard of elementary principles of justice and fairplay, were resorted to by an organized Government headed by Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Thus we have gone through the crucible of fire in Bengal. And to-day Fazlul Huq is no more, and I hope for the rest of his life he will be no more. He often said that if he was a hindrance, he was willing to go. But he never went. I say with all due deliberation and with all responsibility that he was not only a hindrance but a curse to the politics of Bengal. He was a curse to the Musalmans because he betrayed us; he was a curse to the Hindus because he served them as a puppet and their creature. He has met his Waterloo. Let him now remain in St. Helena and repent for the rest of his life, and pray to God so that He may forgive his sins.

Bengal has therefore shown that there is no room for duplicity. Bengal has set an example from which others may learn a lesson (Cries of 'Hear, hear!' and loud cheers). It is now the voice of the League, the voice of the people, it is now the authority of the Millat that you have to bow to, though you may be the tallest poppy in the Muslim world.

I am glad—although, I do not think that we need indulge in great exultation—that the Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. The Chairman of the Reception Committee very rightly announced that the Muslim League Ministry—or the dominant Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. Similarly the League has now formed a Ministry in Bengal, and so in Sind and the Punjab. But now while we approve of it, do not run away with the idea that we have won and that is all that we wanted. This is only the starting point (cheers), and it is not that we are ready and willing to make all sacrifices for the Ministries, we expect the Ministries to make all the sacrifices for us. So long as the Ministries remain within the orbit of the fundamental principles and the policy of the League, they shall certainly have our support. But I want to make it clear once more that the time has now come when we shall not hesitate to withdraw our support from any Ministry that does not follow the League principles. I have told you about Bengal.

Sind, N.W.F.P. and the Punjab

Now let me tell you that you will find that in Sind to-day—believe me, I am not exaggerating—almost 99 per cent of the Musalmans are with the League, and the League is being organized there in a manner which, really, if you were to follow, you would not believe how the progress has been made. In the North-West Frontier Province (It is the only Muslim province which remains to-day under section 93), my information is—and it is based on very reliable sources—that within the last 16 or 18 months the Muslim public is entirely with the Muslim League. This information is based not on our agents or other people, but it is based further upon the testimony of foreign correspondents who have been there and examined the situation.

Similar is the position in the Punjab. But I regret to say that the Punjab has not yet played the part that it ought to play and is entitled to play—because, remember, the Punjab is the cornerstone of Pakistan. I particularly appeal to the delegates from the Punjab—people are all right in the Punjab—when you go back, please—I won't say anything more—please substitute the love of Islam and your nation in the place of sectional interests, jealousies, tribal notions and selfishness. (Cheers.) For these evils have overpowered you and you are being ground down for the last 200 years. But I see a light—a very bright light. Because, I say, when I went to the Punjab in November last, throughout my tour, it really made me happy to see that the solid body of the poeple were all right and sound. My appeal is to the leaders—and we have got very able men, very capable men. If they were to make up their minds, I feel confident that within six months the face of the Punjab would be changed. Well, I have told you roughly, and in some way, what the position of the League in these majority provinces is.

Minority Provinces.

Don't forget the Minority Provinces. It is they who have spread the light when there was darkness in the majority Provinces. It is they who were the spearheads that the Congress wanted to crush with their overwhelming majority in the Muslim Minority Provinces. It is they who had suffered for you in the Majority Provinces, for your sake, for your benefit and for your advantage. But never mind, it is all in the role of a minority to suffer. We of the minority have suffered and are ready to face any consequences if we can liberate the 75 million of our brethren in the North, Western and Eastern Zones.

We have got a great deal to do. Of course, it has now been made clear as to what we are struggling for. To anyone who now pretends that he does not understand, well, what shall I say? He is a fool or a dishonest man. Our goal is clear; our demands are clear. What is it that we want? We want to establish independent States in those zones which are our homelands and where we are in a majority. In other words, we do not want to be in union with those zones where the Hindus are in a majority and the Musalmans are in a minority. Now let me give you some idea of the background of the movement in India for the independence of India.

In Retrospect.

In the first instance, the Act of 1861 and the act of 1884 gave a very small kind of representation to the so-called Councils of the Governors and the Governor-General. If you will remember, a small beginning was made with elected representatives being sent either to the Imperial Councils, as it was then called, or the local councils, or to other municipal or local or district boards in the country. The result of the working of the Act was—I am not exaggerating—that it was not possible for any Musalman to get elected. Then came the Minto-Morley proposals in 1907, the first time that this elective principle was seriously going to be enlarged or increased. At that time, the Musalmans, who had learnt by their experience from 1884 onwards, right up to 1907, made a demand for separate electorates. Mr. Gokhale, who was a great Hindu (and I was quite a young man at that time, one who had learnt at the feet of that great man), and Dadabhoy Nauroji naturally came to imbibe certain principles, one of which was that we must try to bring about an equitable adjustment between these two major communities in this land. Mr. Gokhale at that time championed the cause of the Musalmans. With his liberal and broadminded statesmanship, he was a tower of intellect, and this is what he said in 1907:

> Confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority, Muslims are naturally afraid that release from the British yoke might in their case mean enslavement to the Hindus. (This is not a fear to be ridiculed).

> Were the Hindus similarly situated as are the Muslims in regard to numbers and other things, would they not have entertained similar misgivings? We would undoubtedly have felt the same fears and adopted the identical policy which the Muslims are adopting to-day.

It is men of the character of that great Dadabhoy Nauroji that inspired us with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment. But remember, even at this period there were signs that there was a section which was dreaming in terms of Hindu Raj. I give you one quotation from a prominent Hindu leader —Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. You will see that even as far back as 1913 that was the definite aim of a large section of the Hindus. This is what Mr. Pal says in May 1913.

> National differentiations among us, therefore, have not been based upon territorial demarcations only or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture. Under the Muslims we had, whether Hindus or Musalmans, one common Government, but that did not destroy the integrity of Hindu culture. We took many things from our Mohammedan neighbours, and gave them also something of our own; but this interchange of ideas and institutions did not destroy our special charcater or our special culture. And that special character and culture is the very soul and essence of what we now understand as nationalism. This is by no means a mere political idea or ideal. It is something that touches every department of our collective life and activity. It is organized in our domestic, our communal, our social and our socio-economic institutions. In fact politics form, from some points of view, the least important factor of this nation-idea among us. The so-called free political institutions of Europe might, indeed, hinder, instead of helping, the growth of our real national life; while under conceivable conditions, mere political subjection might not be able to touch even the outermost fringe of that life.

> Then he goes on:

> The Nationalist Movement in India, which so far is essentially a Hindu movement, stands:
>
> I. Ideally, for (i) Hindu Nationalism (ii) Federal Internationalism (iii) Universal Federation.
>
> II. Practically, for (i) the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilization, (ii) the promotion of sympathetic and reverent study of other world-cultures—e.g. Christian and Islamic—representing the composite of modern India, and the cultivation of the spirit of mutual understanding and helpful co-operation with them, (iii) the continuance of the British connection through the gradual building up of a Federal Constitution for the present association called the British Empire, a Federation in which India and

Egypt shall be equal co-partners of Great Britain with Ireland and the British colonies, (iv) the advancement of Universal Federation."

He stands for what? Hindu Nationalism. But as I say, undaunted, hope sprang almost eternally in my heart and soul, derived from Dadabhoy Nauroji. I was not going to give it up, but nourish it. After the Karachi Session of the Congress in 1913, I redoubled my efforts. What happened? Those of you who remember it know it was our set purpose to remove this misunderstanding. There were many others who were a pillar of strength amongst the Musalmans as well as the Hindus who made great efforts. I was the arch culprit in this mission. I therefore tried—and succeeded—to get these two organisations, the Congress and the Muslim League, to meet at least in one city. That was in 1915. It was after laborious efforts that I got them together in the city of Bombay. At that time, as it happened, the war was on; and it was expected that the Government would make some declaration of policy on constitutional reform in this country. Our friends, the British, at that time—even to-day I don't think they have given up this game—did not want that these two organizations should meet in the same city, leave alone under one roof. You know, ladies and gentlemen, that that session of the All-India Muslim League at its first meeting was broken up under the very nose of the police. We asked the Government to hold an enquiry, as we felt that it was with the connivance of the police, and with the support of the bureaucracy, that the meeting of the Muslim League had been broken up.

I do not want to go into details. It is a matter of history. I want just to skip over those events and give you the background. At the end of the next year, that is in December 1916, the Congress and the League again met at Lucknow, and there we signed, sealed and delivered the Lucknow Pact, known as the Hindu-Muslim Lucknow Pact. But that Pact was mutilated by the British Parliament in various ways. After that came the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms declaration.

Enter Mr. Gandhi.

It was in 1916-17, while this was going on, that Mr. Gandhi came on the horizon. Let us see what happened. Mr. Gandhi puts his declaration in *Young India* on May 12, 1920—You will remember that in this same auspicious month of May Mr. B. C. Pall made his declaration seven years ago—and what does Mr. Gandhi say?

> "It will be seen that for me there are not politics but religion. They subserve religion." (You will see later what Mr. Gandhi has done in pursuance of his declaration. He says further...)
>
> "The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us to-day like the coils of a snake, from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with this snake, I

have been experimenting with myself and my friends in politics by introducing religion into politics."

Let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, he has done that with a vengeance, as you will perceive when I go further. In 1921, after he captured the Congress at Nagpur, he said in *Young India* on October 21, 1921:

"I call myself a Sanatani (orthodox) Hindu because, firstly, I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishad the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in *Avatars* and rebirth." (Ultimately he himself became an *Avatar*!)

"Secondly, I believe in the Varnashrama Dharma (the law of the Caste system) in its Vedic form.

"Thirdly, I believe in the protection of the cow as an article of faith, and fourthly, I do not disbelieve in idol worship."

He says in a milder form, "I do not *disbelieve* in idol worship."

In spite of these declarations, which are so clear and unequivocal, the Hindu Nationalists got a little nervous about it. They did not know that here is a man, a far-sighted, shrewd man. So there was a little apprehension and nervousness; and in order to reassure them, this is what he said in 1924:

"It has been whispered that by being so much with Musalman friends, I make myself unfit to know the Hindu mind. The Hindu mind is myself. Surely, I do not live amidst Hindus to know the Hindu mind when every fibre of my being is Hindu.

"My Hindusim must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse."

Yet ladies and gentlemen, you will remember that when I expressed my desire to meet him as a Hindu leader, he resented it—and yet he says, "every fibre of his being is Hindu", which means that his Hindu mind is impregnable. This was in 1924.

1925 and After.

From 1925 onwards, as you know, many efforts were made for the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim differences. Every time we were the petitioners, the supplicants standing at the doors of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, with our proposals formulated. For some reason or other the reply was "No". They never made any counter-proposals. You remember, in 1927 at Delhi we formulated some proposals. Somehow or other, fortunately or unfortunately, those proposals were substantially accepted by the Congress at Madras at the end of 1927. Therefore, the communal settlement was brought about and two committees were appointed, by the Muslim League and the Congress, jointly to make a political demand. Let me tell you that when these two committees met, it was Mr. Gandhi who smashed it up, and the Nehru Report was started, contrary to the resolutions of these two organizations, after the two committees had actually met but dissolved. So we

were forced to withdraw our proposals. What happened next? Then came the Nehru Report. You know the history of it. I shall only tell you what Maulana Mohammad Ali said about the Nehru Report. He was an independent man. Some of the Muslims in the Congress had suffered more than anybody else. This is what Maulana Mohammad Ali says:

> In the days of the rule of the British India Company, the Government street-criers used to announce the dual sovereignty of India before notifying any Government notice, proclaiming the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ki, Mulk Maleka Ka, Hukum Company Bahadur Ka* (the people belong to God, the Country belongs to the Queen and the Government belongs to the Company Bahadur). But under the proposed regime of the Nehru Scheme of Mr. Gandhi, the Government street-criers will announce the new dual sovereignty of India by declaring the formula, namely, Khalq Khuda Ki, Mulk British Ka, Hukum Mahasabha Bahadur Ka—(The people belong to God, the country belongs to the British and the Government belongs to the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur.) (Tremendous applause.)

Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in 1930, Maulana Mohammad Ali, who had worked, suffered and made sacrifices along with the Congressmen, says:

> Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the submersion of Muslims. He has never consulted the Muslim community on the question of starting the Civil Disobedience movement. He wants to triumphantly pass over the head of the Indian Muslim community. We have not broken any pledge, pact or treaty. We are not traitors to India. The Musalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last 10 years, but Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against the Muslims. He never denounced the movements of *Shuddhi* and *Sanghatan* which openly and clearly aimed at the annihilation of Muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke the Madras Hindu-Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Quranic teaching, namely, "If you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers."

Now we come to the Second Round Table Conference to which Mr. Gandhi went for the first time as the sole representative of the Congress. What happened there? All attempts for a settlement were again smashed up by him very clearly and with some excuse or other. You will find in Dr. Ambedkar's book that one of the conditions that he imposed upon the Muslim delegation in London was that he would be prepared to agree to our proposals

on the express condition that we, the Muslims, should oppose the scheduled castes asking for any kind of separate electorates or special treatment. In other words, Mr. Gandhi did not want special treatment to be given to the scheduled castes. Now, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, how is it possible that any man who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, of fair-play, of justice, to agree to this, that these 70 millions, who are the biggest blot on the fair name of India, should be kept as untouchables, at the mercy of the Sanathanists, Mr. Gandhi being one. I assure you in the name of humanity I care more for them than for Musalmans. (Cries of 'Hear, hear!' and cheers.) After all, we, Musalmans, are capable of giving and taking. Could there be any condition so offensive and absurd as this one laid down by Mr. Gandhi. The second condition was that you Muslims agree that you will fight for the freedom of the country. Am I so degraded as to accept such a condition? I want the freedom of the people of this country more than anybody else. It looked as if Mr. Gandhi had a monopoly for the love and the freedom of the country. The thing naturally broke down. When the Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference met, this is what Mr. Gandhi said—and the real thing that was at the back of his mind always came out at the critical moment, in a roundabout way. He was addressing the minority community and Mr. Macdonald was presiding. He said:

> "Further you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. The solution of the communal tangle can be the crown of the Swaraj Constitution and not its foundation. Our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen, by reason of the foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom."

What did Mr. Macdonald say? Even the Prime Minister was provoked to such an extent that he spoke out. Whatever may be said about Mr. Macdonald, he had really a very soft corner for the aspirations of India. This is what he said to Mr. Gandhi:

> "Be honest and face the facts. The Communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not exist? I do not answer. I leave you honestly to answer it for yourselves and to yourselves.
>
> "Then if the communal problem does exist, how can it be discussed with a view to settlement, either in India or here? At the foundation of any progress towards the setting up of an Indian constitution lies the problem of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on..."

Gandhi's Institutions

That closed the chapter of the Round-Table Conference. What

happened then? I will tell you very briefly. Mr. Gandhi put up the following institutions:

1. *The Gandhi Ashram* (Monastery) at Sevagram, Wardha. (To serve as the Vatican of Gandhism and the Capital of the Congress.)

2. *The Gandhi Seva Sangha* (A small body of nine Gandhian Cardinals, or High Patriarchs, who form the permanent Inner Cabinet of Gandhi and Gandhism.)

3. *Gandhi Harijan Seva Sangha* (To consolidate the Depressed Classes as integral parts of Hindusim and to prevent their conversion to Islam or Christianity.)

4. *Gandhi Hindi Prachar Sangha* (To propagate Sanskritized Hindi as the State and national language of India and to displace Urdu from its place of primacy and popularity.)

5. *Gandhi Nagri Prachar Sabha* (To propagate the idea that all Indian Languages should be written in Hindi Devanagari Script and to displace Urdu Script.)

6. *Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha* (Village Welfare League, to preach and propagate Gandhian Principles in the Villages.)

7. *Gandhi Khadi Prathisthan* (To preach the cult of the spinning wheel and Khadi or hand-woven cloth, which is worshipped as a fetish.)

8. *Gandhi Wardha Talimi Sangha* was also later organized to propagate Gandhian principles of religion, spiritualism, national economy and nationalism through a State-controlled system of compulsory primary education. Under the Wardha scheme, the entire system of education of the country was sought to be made subservient to the propagation of Gandhism (which was only a new form of Hinduism to the exclusion of all other religions).

9. *Gandhi Gow Rakhsha Sabha* (Cow Cult Association).

Gandhi is a great believer in the Hindu Cow Cult—the worship of the cow as a goddess. He has therefore made *Gow Rakhsha Sabha* and Cow Exhibition an adjunct of the Conrgess.

10. *Gandhi Seva Sangha* is the Mother-Superior of all these associations. Mr. Gandhi addressing the Gandhi Seva Sangha says:

> "Spheres of action of these associations are limited. But yours is unlimited. Yours is a mighty tree of which these various associations may be called branches."

This is how he addressed his Mother-Superior. Not only that, but you will find that he appointed certain Deputies. Besides dividing the whole subcontinent of India into three definite Parliamentary Zones and appointing three Parliamentary Zone-Dictators, like their Nazi counterparts of District Fuehrers, has also gradually developed permanent Deputy Mahatmas in almost all provinces and zones. These Deputy Mahatmas are the confirmed Cardinals of Gandhism, belivers in the Gandhian Principles and Gandhian Dictatorship—carriers of his message and executors of his orders. For instance, the

permanent Secretary of the All-India Congress Office is Acharya Kripalani, a great exponent and theorist of Gandhism and author of the famous article *The Gandhian Way*; Kaka Kalekar is in charge of the Gandhian programme of Hindi and Nagri. Mr. Mashruwala is in charge of the Grand Council of Cardinals of Gandhism the Gandhi Seva Sangha. Mr. Arya Nayakam and Mr. Kumarappa are in charge of the Wardha Education Schemes. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, the Deputy Gandhi of Bengal, is in charge of Khadi Pratisthan and Gandhi Ashram in Bengal. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Deputy Gandhi of Bihar, is in charge of the Sadaqat Ashrams in Bihar. The Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar is in charge of the Hinduization influence and emasculation of the martial Pathans—the bugbear of the dreamers of Hindu Raj. He is in charge of the Gandhi Ashram in N. W. F. P. Sardar Patel is the Deputy Gandhi in Gujrat and Bombay. Shankar Rao Deo is the Deputy Gandhi of Maharashtra. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, another theorist and exponent of Gandhism, is the Deputy Gandhi of the Andhra Province—and so on and so forth.

Gandhi, Hitler and Mussolini

It is not my testimony. I am going to give you the testimony of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India National Congress that took place at Tripuri. At that time the organization had developed to a very great extent. I want the people to understand the facts, and then come to their own conclusions. This is what Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committee said:

> "Our Congress organization can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are weded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists; but they all have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four-anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi."

Now we are repeatedly told by this organization in India that the Muslim League is a communal organization. It is the Hindu leaders who have deliberately, and with a set purpose, destroyed any possible chance of adjustment between these two communities by well-planned and systematic manoeuvres, and by organizing themselves. And then they call it Nationalism ...Nationalism—Democracy...Democracy!

I ask you, is this nationalism, is this democracy? (Cries of 'No!' from all corners.) When we say 'No', we have this experience for the last 25 years and its unimpeachable evidence. But we have heard and felt hurt when

in vain they say that we have destroyed it, and the talk of Nationalism and Democracy. Either they can't understand or they are dishonest. Don't they understand it when we say that the Parliamentary system of democracy is not suited to the genius of this country? Surely it is obvious. It is not a question of Democracy as a foundation of popular representative, constitutional government.

Appeal to Give Up Pose

We have made it clear that there cannot be any room for democracy when you have a nation working on these lines. Not only have we evidence; but we have suffered and experienced that. When you talk of democracy, you mean Hindu Raj, to dominate over the Muslims, a totally different nation, different in culture, different in everything. You yourself are working for Hindu Nationalism and Hindu Raj.

Ladies and gentlemen, we learned democracy 1,300 years ago. It is in our blood, and it is as far away from the Hindu society as are the Arctic regions. You tell us that we are not democratic. It is we, who have learned the lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you, one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty? We are for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception, which will turn the whole of India into a Gandhi Ashram. One society and nation will, by its permanent majority, destroy another nation or society in permanent minority—all that is dear to the minority.

I give you these facts. I say, give up, give up this pose. You have made your bed. You may lie on it. Have your Hindu Nationalism: have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you God-speed. But I am not going, as long as there is life left in a single Musalman, to have this Hindu Raj. The Irish Nationalist Leader Redman met Carson, the Ulster leader, and told him, "Look here, can't we come to some settlement. Why do you want to separate from Ireland." Mind you, there is not one millionth part of the differences between the peoples of Ulster and Ireland. What was Carson's reply? "I do not want to be ruled by you." My reply to Mr. Gandhi is, "I do not want to be ruled by you."

That is the position. I only appeal. If only my humble voice could reach Hindu India—I appeal to them, "Give up this pose." You want freedom for the people of this land. I say not only for myself, but for all Musalmans, give up what seems a boyhood's dream of some of the Hindu leaders and what has been their manhood's aim. You have failed. Thank God, you have failed. Let us close that chapter. Even nations who have killed millions of each other—which we have not yet done—who may be the bitterest enemies to-day, may become friends to-morrow. That is politics. If your leaders are on this path, as I say they are, and if you do not approve of it, it is

your responsibility, the responsibility of the Hindu public, to come forward and say, "Stop this internecine war, declare a truce; let us sit as equals and come to a settlement." That is now the problem. I ask you—I may be wrong—how can you keep on saying that it is the British Government who has kept us apart? How can you go on singing this same song—I am not holding any brief for the British Government (applause)—I shall have to say something about them when I come to it.

I am trying to reason with my own people in this land. It serves no useful purpose to say that the British do not wanting an agreement between us. Of course, I grant that the British take advantage of our folly. But we have devices of our own, which are better than any which the British can fashion to keep us disunited. When we have had this notice a million times that it was the policy of the British in India to divide and rule, why can't we unite and get the British out; why can't we do it in spite of them? Therefore, I say, it is no use appealing to other nations of the world. (Applause.)

The different nations of the world can only show us sympathy in our demand to be free and self-governing. They will, of course, do whatever they can. But what is the use of appealing to other nations to settle our affairs? How can anybody do it? Are they going to run the Government here? Are they going to send representatives from America to your Parliament and see that your Parliament is carried on properly? Will any other country send members to your Legislature and see that the Legislature functions properly? If they do, then we are exactly where we are. It will be your Representatives, it will be your Cabinet that will be functioning. Therefore, I say, that our destiny is in our own hands. Specially when obstacles are put in our way, it is all the more reason why we should come to an agreement in spite of them.

Nehru's Double Role

Now we come to recent events. I do not want to add anything more than our resolution with regard to the proposal that Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Although the final decision of the League was taken after the Allahabad Session, you know the reasons and grounds, and I do not want to take up your time and repeat them. Sir Cripps proposals were not acceptable, of course, to us and to the Congress for different reasons. So far as the Congress is concerned, even from his last speech that Mr. Gandhi made, it is clear that he was not only opposed to the Pakistan Scheme, but considered that it was a sin. He cannot use a stronger word— if you know Mr. Gandhi. Mind you, it is not a crime, it is a sin—that is, you will be doomed in this world as well as in the next if you talk of Pakistan. While it was given out that the Cripps' proposals were not acceptable to the Congress—I know nothing of what actually happened between Cripps and the Congress—so far as the public are concerned, it was

said that the proposals were rejected on the ground, first of the Veto and then of the Defence portfolio. Well, about the same time when this controversy was going on between Mr. Cripps and the Congress, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, in an article sent by wireless to America and published in *The New York Times* of July 19, 1942, says:

> "Thirty years ago the British Government introduced the principle of separate religious electorates in India, a fatal thing which has come in the way of development of political parties. Now they have tried to introduce the idea of partitioning India not only into two but possibly many separate parts. This was one of the reasons which led to bitter resentment of the Cripps' proposals. The All-India Congress could not agree to this."

Was it on the question of veto or was it on the ground of the defence portfolio? Or was it that the All-India Congress was not agreed to any idea of Pakistan. To this country is given one version and to America another! Americans are propagandists themselves. But I think they must realize and fully realize that they are no better propagandists than the Indian National Congress.

Civil Disobedience

Well, after that you come to Individual Civil Disobedience—not for any political purpose, but for the freedom of speech. Now what liberty of speech do you want?—liberty of speech to preach and to advocate, in every possible way, the prevention of war efforts? I think even if it was our own Government, if I had any say in the matter, and if an organization, the most powerful organization in the country, with all its resources, wanted to be let loose to preach against the war effort, I would not tolerate it. I would put them in jail. But if it were a conscientious objector, I could understand.

How can you expect any Government, much less a foreign Government, to allow this to be carried on? Let take us a commonsense view of it. Was it really intended to vindicate freedom of speech, or was it intended to prevent the war effort to embarrass and coerce the British Government to concede their demand? In the meantime, Mr. Gandhi was saying that he would never launch his Civil Disobedience movement because it would be suicidal. But mind you, Mr. Gandhi said he was never going to launch C.D. movement because it would be against the wishes of the Muslim League. He was saying for the last 22 years that he lived for Hindu-Muslim unity, that it was the sole aim of his life, and without Hindu-Muslim unity they could never achieve freedom. In July last year, when he struck upon a new technique, an entirely new technique, it was not then suicidal to ignore the Muslim League and whether the Muslim League came in or not. He revised his declarations of 22 years that there could be no *swaraj*, no freedom without Hindu-Muslim

unity. It is all thrown to the winds, suddenly, when Mr. Gandhi lays down the policy and programme in the famous resolution of August 8. What is it? "Quit India." Look at the enormity! Don't care, don't care what these 100 million people of this country have to say! I am going to bend this Government to surrender to my desire! The British said—and mind you, I don't take everything they say to be correct—they said: "In resisting the Congress we are really protecting you and safeguarding your interests, because if we were to surrender to the demands of the Congress, it would be at your risk and sacrifice." But the Musalmans say: "We don't believe that you love us so much." We know it suits them and they are taking the fullest advantage of the situation, because if there is any agreement between Hindus and Muslims, then they know the net result of that would be parting with power. They say they are only too anxious to part with power, but we do not agree in uniting. If we cannot secure power as a united India, then let us take it as divided India.

The Cockpit of a Feud

Now let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen—and here I tell you, if my humble voice reaches the Hindu public, to consider carefully whether I am right or wrong—I shall, put it as frankly as possible. The British policy in this subcontinent has for nearly 100 years been based on their conviction that the Muslims and Hindus will never agree, and that if by some means or other they enter into an agreement, by their influence or pressure, then it will be nothing but the cockpit of a feud beneath the umbrella of a united India—with the Englishman on the top. Therefore the Britisher, with his farsighted vision, has followed a policy and taken us on this line of a united democratic India—I don't think they have given it up yet—the line of a united India and a democratic supremacy system of government. The Britishers know that if we are kept on that line it will prolong their lease of supremacy, that if we were to frame a Constitution as a democratically united India, we would never come to an agreement without their arbitration. When you have quarrelled and broken each others heads, then the monkey will come in to do justice between two cats. That is the reason why—there being a strong diehard British school of thought —our friends who happen to be at the head of the Government of India to-day (the great man, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, who are a pucca diehard brand) are still dangling the carrot before the donkey by saying that geographically India is one. The other great man in London has suddenly discovered that historically India was united under Akbar.

My friends, I have no ill-will against the Hindus. I want you to know that if by any miracle you can come to a constitutionally united democratic India, you can only do so, as far as British India is concerned.

Indian States

Let me tell you that the Britishers know that we will have to get over another hurdle—the biggest hurdle—namely, the Indian States. You will find so many hurdles—1,2,3 and 4. You are asked to get over these hurdles, and the last hurdle is the most difficult one to get over. You may think as much as you like. The policy that the British Government have pursued for nearly 100 years leads to this. Not only have they somehow or other made you miss the bus; but they have put you in the wrong bus. Now, do not allow yourselves to be bamboozled and fooled any longer. It is nearly a century. I say to the Hindus—and the Britishers know it better than anybody else—that the quickest way for the freedom of the peoples, both Hindus and Muslims, is Pakistan. It may come in my life time or not (Cries heard from all corners, "It will, it will")—you will remember these words of mine, and I say this with no ill-will or offence: Some nations have killed millions of each other, and yet an enemy of to-day is a friend of to-morrow. That is life. That is history.

So I say this with a clear conscience. My profound regret is that it is the Congress and its Hindu leadership that are holding up the achievement of the freedom of both the Hindus and the Musalmans. I appeal to the Hindu public and Hindu leaders: Review, revise your policy. A lot of propaganda, false propaganda, is being carried on by the Congress, and recently the appeals and statements they have published are fundamentally wrong.

The Congress position has been this from the start up to August 8, that the policy and demand for Pakistan is an untruth. In his correspondence with the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi had forgotten to mention this point altogether, and hence he puts this in a postscript. "The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress, by its August resolution, asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware, the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly."

Am I Wrong?

This is Mr. Gandhi's language. The whole crux of this proposal is that he wants such a government as will be 'responsible to a duly elected assembly'. I ask you: what is left if this is carried out? Is there any doubt that Lord Linlithgow will be immediately turned into a constitutional Co Governor-General—or he might get a kick. The India Office will be abolished; the office of the Secretary of State will be abolished, and the British Parliament will have no say in India. This Central Constitution can only be brought into effect by repealing the present Constitution completely, and substituting another. If I am wrong, I shall stand corrected. Once the present central

foundation structure is gone, the surrounding provincial structure cannot last. What about the provinces? Are they to remain under the Governors? Are they to remain under the present Constitution? Therefore, you must overhaul, repeal the present Constitution, and undertake the framing of an entirely new Constitution for the whole of India, including the Indian States. We are asked: What is wrong in that? Pakistan is only to be postponed. The answer is that the moment you accept and undertake this position on the basis of Mr. Gandhi's proposal, the Pakistan demand is torpedoed by our consent; the framing of a new Constitution on the lines suggested by Mr. Gandhi would lead to the bitterest controversies if any such attempt were made—to say nothing about who is to be authorized to frame such a Constitution. Therefore, the position of the Congress is exactly the same as ever. It is only put in different words, in a different language; but it means Hindu Raj on an *Akhand Hindustan* basis—a position which we can never accept.

Nobody would welcome it more than myself, if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day for both Hindus and Musalmans. If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is the use of going to the Viceroy and leading deputations and carrying on correspondence? Who is to prevent Mr. Gandhi to-day? I cannot believe for a single moment—strong as this Government may be in this country, and you may say anything you like against this Government—I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me. (Loud cheers and applause.)

It would be a very serious thing, indeed, if such a thing were done by the Government. But I do not see evidence of any kind of change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or the Congress or the Hindu leadership.

I am told that we should do something. As far as my information goes, there is no change. What are we to do? When I was invited to the so-called 'No-Party Conference,' I said to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari that I did not want to attend the Conference, and I gave my reasons for it. I do not want to attack them in any way. I do not want to create any unnecessary bitterness. We know, of course, that they have no following, but they are men who occupy some position in life, men who have some experience. May be they are our political opponents; but once they were in the forefront, in the vanguard of the political movement. In the country these gentlemen could have adopted a more effective method of tackling this question than the resolution they passed and the procedure they adopted. But great men also make mistakes. Mr. Gandhi gets all the information, all the newspapers and knows and understands what is going on. If there is any change of heart on his part,

he has only to drop me a few lines, when, I assure you, the Muslim League will not fail, whatever may have been our controversies in the past. (Tremendous applause and cheers.)

The Hardest Nut to Crack

Now I come to the Britishers. They are the hardest nut to crack. What is their position? Their position is this. The Congress is a rebel organization. It is guilty of high treason. They are the enemies of the Government and the Crown. Therefore no truck with them. They are only one party. But the overwhelming majority of the people of India are not with the Congress; they are with the British Government. What do the recent statements of the Premier say? What does the press in London say? The *Sunday Chronicle* in a leader says: "Prime Minister Churchill's message, praising the gallantry of the Indian soldiers, will find an echo in the heart of the British nation." Where is the echo? Mr. Churchill went into mathematical figures, and he made out that the overwhelming majority of the people of India were not with the Congress. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, there is not the slightest doubt, we have kept aloof and thank God—we have kept aloof because we are between the devil and the deep sea. As I said earlier, I am not satisfied with the British who say that they are fighting the Congress to protect us and the interests of the minorities. They say they are ready and willing, and in fact are dying to part with power. The Viceroy made such references during the Christmas week at Calcutta. Having declared the Congress an outlaw, what do the British say to others. They say, "How can we ignore Congress?" In that case, don't you see that not only is nobody going to believe you, but by your own admission, you are proclaiming that your anxiety, your desire, your ardent desire to move in the direction of handing over power provisionally, has been successfully held up by a rebel organization, the Congress. It is a confession of failure on their part. Either the people of India are at the back of the Congress or they are not. If the overwhelming majority are not—as the 100 million Musalmans are certainly not—then what is the answer to the rest of India. They say, "We can't do anything because this rebel organization has paralysed us. We can only praise your services when you die on the battlefield and no more." Is this an honest attitude?

From this attitude, can anyone believe that there is a real and honest desire to transfer power? Times out of number we have made it clear. But we are ignored; our party is ignored because it suits them. We are, on the contrary, accused of not helping the war effort, and we are very often threatened by this very Government that "those who are not with us are against us." Now I say, ladies and gentlemen, so far as Muslim India is concerned, so far as we, Musalmans are concerned, our cup of bitterness is reaching the brimful.

If they have got any honest and capable agents, they ought to be kept informed in London. I once more draw the attention of the British Government to this fact. It is a very serious situation indeed, and I inform them from this platform that the cup of bitterness, and disappointment—not to use any stronger language—at the shaby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them. You cannot continue like this. Therefore reconsider your position. What is our demand? Make a declaration. The Muslim League calls upon the British Government to come forward, without any further delay, with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Musalmans the right of self-determination, and to pledge themselves that they will abide by the verdict of a plebiscite on the lines of the resolution passed at the Muslim League Session in Lahore in 1940.

Attitude to the War

The Muslim League has been ready, and is still ready and willing, to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government at the Centre, in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war. This resolution was passed at Bombay on August 20, 1942. That has so far been completely ignored. Now we are, in this war, kept in the position of mere spectators. I have said it once, and I say it again on this occasion, that whatever may be our views and opinions, there is not the slightest doubt that—a fact is a fact—India is in the war. Being in the war, whose interest is greater now? Is it more in the interest of the Britisher, or is it in the interest of the United Nations, who are in it like America, or is it more in our interests that we should not be reduced to mere helpless spectators by one device or the other, by one manoeuvre or the other, by one excuse or the other, to keep the 100 millions as they are and to carry on without their co-operation? They are making a great mistake. They are not out of the woods yet. Let me tell you as I have said very often: Our American friends can go to New York or Chicago if they are beaten, and the British can go to London. And further, I can say that their country is not going to be ruled by Hitler or Mussolini or the Mikado. That to my mind is inconceivable. It may happen that America is reduced to a second-rate Power after the war. That is the danger. But their danger does not go to length that their country might be ruled by another foreign Power. What is my position? It is this, if this war is lost, there is no other Power: either Japan or Hitler will come to this country, and we shall come under the jack-boot of Hitler or Tojo. I have no Chicago or London to go to.

What about us? Who is more interested in defending this country and prosecuting this war? It is not a sentimental thing. I say, nobody more than we. It is we who will suffer the ravages of war and the destruction and devastation of our homes and hearths in Muslim Zones in the East and West,

which are the immediate targets of the enemy. Who is more likely to lose, who is more likely to suffer than we? Who is more interested in defending India? It is thoroughly dishonest for the British to say that we are non-co-operating...The Muslim League says "We cannot co-operate because you want us to come in as mere camp-followers. What are the prospects for us? What will be the fruits of victory for us, when we have given our money, our blood and everything? If we are defeated, Japan or Germany will come. If we win, we are just camp-followers and may get a *baksheesh* in the end. Is this an incentive to co-operation? Can any honourable, self-respecting or organized nation accept that position? (Cries of 'No!' 'No!') That is the picture. Therefore, either they have blundered and are blundering, or they do not really want to part with power. They are taking their chance as a gambler does, saying to themseloes: "If we win, we will keep them where they are. If we lose, then after us the delgue?" *Apres nous le deluge.*

I do not want to say anything more about Pakistan. There is no difficulty in understanding Pakistan. Even outsiders have understood it. Again, it reminded me of Gokhale when Major Yeats Brown in his new book says: "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers." Here is the passage from his book:

"Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers. We, British, would consider ourselves aggrieved if some world-improving superman or super-government were to decree that we should be ruled by an All-Europe Government (no doubt with safeguards), with Teutons as the dominant race—or Slavs, if you prefer—because we were a minority in Europe."

Then he says further: "Even if this Super-Government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom, we should submit to it only just so long as we had not the strength to throw off the shackle. And if the supermen showed signs of doubting their own decision, yet continued to asseverate before the world that they had offered freedom to all Europe, that it was now incumbent on us to find a solution to the difficulty, we should reply as the Muslim League has, that such freedom was a farce."

May I add here that Mr. Gandhi, the superman, precisely wants *Akhand* Hindustan; and Muslim India cannot and will not agree to this demand. What would the Englishman say? Will he then say, "Smaller nations cannot exist. We are in a small island—only 35 million people. They are Teuton brothers, the Germans, and 80 millions." If a proposal were made that they should have one Government, would the English agree? What is the difference between an Englishman and a German? To begin with, they are the Anglo-Saxon race and all Christians. Their dress is not different. Their calendar is not different. Their language and jurisprudence and culture are not very different. Their architecture, art, music and civilization are not different. But what would and Englishman say? What would Canada say, if to-morrow a proposal were made that Canada and the United States should become one federated government, and Canada become one of the units?

And what about others—North America and South America? America is geographically one. So is Europe. So is Asia. What would they say if such a proposition were made. Therefore Major Yeats Brown says, very rightly, "Put yourselves into Muslim slippers". Even if the government consisted of superman of infinite strength and wisdom, we should not submit to it while we did not have the strength to throw off the shackles. The Muslim League would consider such a freedom a farce.

Hindu Conception of Freedom.

This is what should be considered by the Hindu leaders. The freedom they are offering to us is the freedom of their conception, the freedom of their determination, the freedom of their rule—which is a farce. Well, therefore, there is no difficulty of understanding. First of all, we have got to settle the basis. Do you really want to create some confusion and get some material for the purpose of propaganda? I have no doubt in my mind that a large body of us visualize Pakistan as a people's government. Either you seize it by force or get it by agreement. But until you get it—whether it is from a foreign nation or whether it is from our own government—the question as to the constitution and the form and system of government does not arise. Let us take the revolution of France. The party that wanted to break the Government had to have a Constituent Assembly after they seized the country. Take the case of Australia—that happened by agreement. Let us first agree that there shall be two Indias. Then the constitution-making body will be elected by some system from the people, and it is the people who will choose their representatives to go to the constitution-making body. Therefore, I visualize a constitution-making body being set up and based on a very low franchise. It may be two annas, or it may be an adult franchise in Pakistan. You will elect your representatives to the constitution-making body. You may not know your power, you may not know how to use it. This would be your fault. But I am sure that democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen, and your arteries are not functioning. But thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the Muslim League efforts. It will be a People's Government.

Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish, that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lesson of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power to-day. You go anywhere to the countryside. I visited some villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilization? Is this the aim of Pakistan?

(Cries of "No, No.") Do you visualize that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them: we shall not help them. (Shouts of 'Hear, hear!' and applause.) Therefore let us have faith in ourselves. Let us not falter or hesitate—that is our goal. We are going to achieve it. The Constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the *millat* and the people. Prepare yourselves and see that you frame a Constitution which is to your heart's desire. There is a lot of misunderstanding. A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be an Islamic Government? Is it not begging the question? Is it not a question of passing a vote of censure on yourself? The Constitution and the Government will be what the people will decide. The only question is that of minorities.[1]

The Minorities

The minorities are entitled to get a definite assurance or to ask, 'Where do we stand in the Pakistan that you visualize?' That is an issue of giving a definite and clear assurance to the minorities. We have done it. We have passed a resolution that the minorities must be protected and safeguarded to the fullest extent; and as I said before, any civilized Government will do it and ought to do it. So far as we are concerned, our own history and our prophet have given the clearest proof that the non-Muslims have been treated not only justly and fairly but generously.

Now one more thing I wish to say about Pakistan is this. There is a new propaganda. We had many wicked propagandas, like the one of cutting the mother cow into two, vivisection of mother India and all the rest. The latest argument, which I think is really very wicked—of all, the most wicked. The argument is this: that Mr. Jinnah is working for the territories in the North-West and Eastern zones as '*Pak*' and the others as '*Na-Pak*'. I have heard this from several quarters—and I was thunderstruck. You know what false propaganda can do. I think you will bear me out that when we passed the Lahore Resolution, we had not used the word 'Pakistan.' Who gave us this word? (Cries of 'Hindus') Let me tell you it is their fault. They started damning the resolution on the ground that it was Pakistan. They are really ignorant of the Muslim movement. They fathered this word upon us. Give the dog a bad name and then hang him. They shouted Pan-Islamism. When this was exploded, then came 'Pakistan' means alliance with other Muslim countries—Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey—and they will grind down Hindu India. That is the deep game they are playing. You know perfectly well that Pakistan is a word which is really foisted upon us and fathered on us by some section of the Hindu press and also by the British Press. Now our resolution was known for a long time as the Lahore Resolution, popularly

1. See footnote 2, p. 440.

known as Pakistan. But how long are we to have this long phrase. I now say to my Hindu and British friends: we thank you for giving us one word. (Applause, and cries of 'Hear, hear!')

What is the origin of the word Pakistan? It was not the Muslim League or the Quaid-i-Azam who coined it. Some young fellows in London, who wanted a particular part of the North-West to be separated from the rest of India and coined a name in 1929-30, started the idea and called a zone Pakistan. They picked up the letter 'P' for Punjab, 'A' for Afghan (as the N. W. F. P. is known even to-day as Afghan), 'K' for Kashmir, 'S' for Sind, and 'Tan' for Baluchistan. A name was coined. Thus whatever may have been the meaning of this word at the time—it is obvious that the language of every civilized country invents new words—the word 'Pakistan' has come to mean the Lahore Resolution. We wanted a word and it was foisted on us, and we found it convenient to use it as a synonym for the Lahore Resolution.

Loose Federation

We are asked by some constitutional Pandits, "Why can there not be some sort of loose federation or confederation?" People talk like that. I shall read out to you what I have written on this point, because it is important:

There are people who talk of some sort of a loose federation. There are people who talk of giving the widest freedom to the federating units and residuary powers resting with the units. But they forget the entire constitutional history of the various parts of the world. Federation, however described and in whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of authority in all vital matters. The units, despite themselves, would be compelled to grant more and more powers to the central authority, until in the end the strong central government will have been established by the units themselves—they will be driven to do so by absolute necessity, if the basis of a federal government is accepted. Taking for instance the United States and her history, the Dominion of Canada and Australia, the Union of South Africa and Germany, and of other lands where federal or confederal systems have been in existence, necessity has driven the component members and obliged them to increase and delegate their power and authority to the connecting link, namely, the Central Government.

These ideas are based entirely on a wrong footing, due to a want of correct understanding as to what federation really means or implies. It is not of much importance whether the units in theory have the residuary powers or the centre. But once the units accept the basis of a federal central government, it follows that it will inevitably and out of sheer necessity resolve itself into an all powerful central authority; and the units will be compelled to grant and delegate more and more powers to the centre, which also can hold these units as connecting links—more or less like country councils or glorified municipalities or feudatory States under the central authority.

We are opposed to any scheme—nor can we agree to any proposal which has for its basis any conception or idea of a Central government—federal or confederal; for it is bound to lead in the long run to the emasculation of the entire Muslim nation—socially, educationally, culturally, economically and politically—and to the establishment of Hindu majority raj in this subcontinent.

Therefore, remove from your mind any idea of some form of such a loose federation. There is no such thing as loose federation. When there is a central government and provincial governments, they will go on tightening, tightening, and tightening until you are pulverized with regard to your powers as units.

South Africa

Well gentlemen, I think I have exhausted most of the points. There can be no doubt that the recent communal India Legislation in South Africa is the blackest of the black. That it should have been undertaken at this critical moment when, on the one hand, every unit of the Empire is asked to contribute to the war effort—and Indians were considered good enough to shed their blood and to stand side by side with white men, or even to pick them up when they had fallen on the battlefield to save their lives—but on the other hand, this badge of the horrible colour-bar is the reward for one of the members of the Commonwealth who is contributing his share in blood, which is acknowledged and praised duly.

I am astonished that the Secretary of State for India, when he was asked in Parliament, should say that he has no statement to make, while the whole of India was condemning this bill—including even the Government of India, which is an agent of the British Government. Can we not learn a lesson from this with regard to our internal political controversies?

The Indian States

There is one other point. Recently another unfortunate thing has come to my notice. Things are not at all well in the Indian States. I shall name only some of the States: Kashmir, Gwallior and Kotah. It seems to me that it is most unfortunate; and I appeal to those States where the Hindus are in the majority and where there is real Hindu power to set a better example. Similarly, I advise those Muslim rulers where the Musalmans are in the majority that they should treat the minority community fairly and deal with their legitimate grievances suitably. It is not the way we will deal with the problem of India—that wherever you happen to be in the majority you should wreak your vengeance or bitterness over the minority. You would be nearer the solution of the problem if you protect the minority. I hope that some satisfactory solution will be arrived at. I shall be equally grieved if the Muslim power or Muslim majorities ill-treat the Hindu minorities.

Conclusion

There remains finally one thing. I say to the Musalmans, we have gone through nearly seven years of various vicissitudes, and we have reached the stage where there is not the slightest doubt that the 100 million Musalmans are with us. When I say 100 million Musalmans, I mean that 99 per cent of them are with us, leaving aside some who are traitors, cranks, supermen or lunatics—an evil from which no society or nation is free. The way in which I see them now is that the phoenix-like rise and regeneration of Muslim India from the very ashes of its ruination, after the terrible destructions in India in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries is a miracle. The people who had lost everything and who were placed by providence between the two stones of a mill, not only came into their own in a very short time, but became, after the British, socially the most solid, militarily the most virile, and politically the most decisive factor in modern India.

Now it is time to take up the constructive programme to build up this nation so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan. It is for you all to put your heads together, your Council of the All-India Muslim League, and undertake proper and systematic planning—I can only repeat once again, for educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift of the nation. We as a nation have got to attempt this constructive programme. I hope you will be able to do it. In the meantime, I will conclude by saying: The goal is near, stand united, persevere and march forward. (Loud and prolonged cheers, and cries of 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!' 'Pakistan Zindabad!' 'Muslim League Zindabad!'...)[1]

Second Sitting

The second day's sitting began by adopting a condolence resolution on the death of Sir Abdullah Haroon and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

RESOLUTION I

> This Session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise of Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon. His death at this juncture is a great loss to the Muslim League, and Muslim India has lost a sincere and zealous worker in the cause of Islam. The Session expresses its deep sympathy with the members of the bereaved family.
>
> This Session of the All-India Muslim League placed on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sudden and sad death of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, who rendered very valuable services to the Muslim League and was a member of the Working Committee and the Council

1. *Source*: **Official Pamphlet, printed at the Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi.**

for a long time. This Session expresses its sympathy with the members of the bereaved family in their great loss.

RESOLUTION II

Mr. Z. H. Lari next moved the following resolution on South Africa:

> This Session of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the trading and occupation of land (Transvaal) Bill passed by the South African Parliament, and makes it clear that if the Bill is assented by the Crown, it would lead to the gravest breach between Indian and South African peoples and will go on to sap the foundation of the future of the Commonwealth of Nations, and calls upon the British Government to intervene in the matter immediately.
>
> It is the considered opinion of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that the only solution of the Indian problem in South Africa is the enfranchisement of Indian Settlers there. This Session therefore calls upon the Union Government to refrain from enforcing the Bill, convene a round-table conference between the Government of India and the Union and arrive at an amicable solution of the situation which has arisen.
>
> The Session urges upon the Government of India that in case the Union Government fails to convene a round-table conference immediately, and enforces the Bill, they should examine the position with a view to bringing into operation forthwith some of the provisions of the Reciprocity Act recently passed by the Indian Legislature.

Mr. Lari said India could never neglect the interests of her nationals abroad. Although India was not in a position to effectively protect such interests, on account of her present dependent position, yet the court of protest was open to her. He explained the history of the Indian problem in South Africa, and said that Indians were being humiliated in that country. He hoped the Union Government would see the wisdom of agreeing to the demand for holding a round-table conference. If to-day India was not listened to, the day was not far off when India would be able to retaliate against the ill-treatment of its nationals.

Sir Raza Ali, Government of India's former Agent-General in South Africa, seconding the resolution, said that the condition of Indians in South Africa was pitiable. He criticized the speech of Field-Marshal Smuts in support of the 'Pegging' Bill, and observed that while Marshal Smuts was conscious of the delicacy of the situation, this made no difference to his determination to see the Bill through. The South African Premier had suave words for Indians, but his actions were altogether different. Had India been free, her nationals would not have been treated like this.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION III

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed moved the following resolution on food:

Whereas the Government is responsible for the supply of necessities of life to the people of India—specially during war time, when the movement of merchandise is controlled entirely by the Government;

Whereas the marked disparity between prices fixed by the Government for their own purchases and the prices at which the civil popultion is forced to buy some articles is against all sound theories of economics and leads to corruption, black markets and exploitation of the public;

Whereas the policy of control, as devised and practised by the capitalists, traders and manufacturers in the name of the Government has failed to achieve its purpose, is encouraging hoarding and abnormal profiteering and causing misery to the people in general and the poorer classes in particular,

The Muslim League urges on the Government of India the necessity of framing their policy of control and distribution of the necessities of life not so much in consultation with capitalists and officials, as in consultation with the representatives of the people, and ensuring that (I) necessities of life are made available to the people and are not locked up by distributors, (2) they are sold at reasonable prices providing economic profit to the producers, (3) distributors are selected from all classes of people, and (4) retail shops are opened in every quarter of a town.

The Muslim League further demands that the representatives of the people, specially of the Muslim League, should be associated with the officials and capitalists at every stage in the planning and execution of schemes of production and distribution.

Sir Ziauddin said that the Government had no courage to face textile interests, and cotton piecegoods were being sold at abnormally high prices, while the scheme for standard cloth had been in the making for the last two years. Coal was another article in the control of which the Government had greatly bungled, particularly because consumers' interests had not been consulted. As for food-grains, the Government controlled the prices without controlling the supplies. The system of distribution was equally defective. If the present conditions continued, he was afraid the worst sufferers would be the Musalmans and the poorer classes in India. This was bound to weaken the home front.

Supporting the resolution, Mr. Hussain Imam said that the Government was completely divorced from public opinion. Business was only

actuated by profit-making incentives and not by human feelings. The price of standard cloth had been increased by 25 per cent even before the cloth had been placed on the market. He regretted that the Government had not effectively dealt with the profiteers and industrialists in the same way they had dealt with the political agitation.

The resolution was passed.

RESOLUTION IV

Syed Zakir Ali moved the following resolution on collective fines *vis-a-vis* Musalmans:

> This Session of the All-India Muslim League records its most emphatic protest against:
>
> 1. the imposition of collective fines on Muslims, notwithstanding Government's clear declaration that the Muslims have kept strictly aloof from the subversive movement launched by the Congress.
>
> 2. non-exemption of Muslims from collective security orders which have been passed as a punitive measure;
>
> 3. the policy of issuing licenses for sale and distribution of food-stuffs and other necessaries of life to overwhelmingly non-Muslim dealers;
>
> and demands that the collective fines realized from Musalmans be remitted, and they may be exempted from the operation of the orders regarding collective security and watch and ward;
>
> and urges Government to issue licenses to Muslims dealers in due proportion.

Mr. Padshah supported the resolution, and said that in Madras a Musalman has to prove his alibi before he could be exempted.

The resolution was further supported by Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ismail and was adopted.

Third Sitting

In the third and last sitting of the League, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni moved his resolution about the execution of Pir Pagaro, as follows:

RESOLUTION V

> This Session of the All-India Muslim League deplores the unjustifiable action of the Government inasmuch as retrospective effect was given to Martial Law and Pir Pagaro was tried by the Martial Law Court instead of by the normal judicial tribunal of the land for offences alleged to have been committed before the introduction of Martial Law in the areas of Sind concerned and the sentence of death passed against him by such a Court was excluded.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, seconding the resolution, said in a brief speech that the incident depicted an act of injustice.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION VI

A resolution concerning Martial Law in Sind was moved by Mustapha Shah Gilani, which ran thus:

> The Session of the All-India Muslim League demands that all properties and treasures belonging or appertaining to the Pir of Pagaro recently confiscated or recovered by the Martial Law authorities, as they were held in trust by the said Pir of Pagaro for the benefit of Muslims, should be immediately entrusted to a committee of the representatives of Musalmans to be appointed by the Government of Sindh to administer this property for the benefit of the Muslims and for providing adequate maintenance for Pir Pagaro's heirs and representatives.

The resolution was supported by Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, and was unanimously passed.

RESOLUTION VII

Another resolution protesting against the continuance of Martial Law in Sind was moved by Mr. G.M. Syed.

> Whereas Martial Law has been in force in Sind now for about a year, resulting in great hardships and sufferings to the people of the Province, particularly the Muslims, and whereas Government of India have given no indication of withdrawing it in the near future, in spite of the protest of the two Houses of the Central Legislature;
>
> This Session of the All-India Muslim League records its emphatic protest against the continuance of the Martial Law in utter disregard of public opinion in the province, and demands its immediate withdrawal.

Mr. S.H. Abdul Majid Sindhi said the present Martial Law, unlike past practice, was not preceded by a Proclamation by the Governor-General. He said it was still not known under what authority or provision of the Government of India Act Martial Law was enforced. No satisfactory explanation had been forthcoming from the Government.

The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION VIII

The Honorary Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan moved the following resolution for reconstituting the committee of women for the purpose of propagating the League's programme amonsgt Muslim women:

> Resolved that the following names for the All-India Women Subcommittee be substituted for those approved under Resolution VIII passed at the Madras Session of the All-India Muslim League in April 1941,

with power to the Committee to fill in any vacancy that may occur owing to death, resignation or otherwise.

U.P: Begum Wasim; Begum Habibullah; Begum Aizaz Rasool; Begum Mohammad Ali; Begum Akhtar Mohammad Khan; Mrs. Razaullah Beg; Mrs. Saiduddin; Rahilla Khatoon.

Punjab: Begum Abdul Aziz; Begum Bashir Ahmad; Begum Tasudduq Hosain; Fatma Begum; Begum Rahman.

Bengal: Begum Shahabuddin; Mrs. Hakim; Begum M. Ispahani.

Bombay: Miss F. Jinnah; Begum Hafizuddin; Begum Jairajbhoy; Mrs. Mohammad Hussain, Mrs. Somjee.

C.P: Begum Siddique Ali Khan; Salimuzzohra Begum; Mrs. Iftikhar Ali.

Bihar: Begum Akhtar.

Assam: Begum Abdul Matin Choudhary.

Sindh: Lady Haroon, Begum Anwar Hedayatullah, Mrs. Allana.

Baluchistan. Begum Kazi Isa.

Delhi: Begum Hussain M. Malik; Anjuman Ara Begum; Mrs. Ikramullah; Mrs. Bokhari; Begum Mohammad Husain.

N.W.F.P: Begum Wahab and Mrs. Kamaluddin.

Madras: Mrs. Karim Ispahani.

The session approved the amendments.

RESOLUTION IX

Chowdhry Khaliquzzaman moved the main resolution of the session, which ran as follows:

This Session of the All-India Muslim League views with concern and grave apprehension the failure of the British Government to make an explicit declaration asked for in the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, in Bomay on the 20th of August, 1942, which *inter alia says*:

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League note with dissatisfaction the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the national aspirations of 100 millions of Muslims of India. While the Congress aims at ignoring and suppressing the Muslim demand, the Working Committee regret that the British Government have been unresponsive to the Muslim League offer of co-operation. The appeasement of the Congress has been the central pivot of the Government's policy with barren and sterile results, and has now culminated in open defiance of law and order. Since the commencement of hostilities, the Muslim League has been ready and willing, either singly or in co-operation with other parties, to shoulder the responsibility for running the administration and mobilizing the resources of the country for the war effort and for the defence of India,

if a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the provinces is conceded within the framework of the present Constitution; and in pursuance of this policy, the Muslim League accepted the underlying principles of the August offer of 1940 of the British Government.

But the Government, in implementing the offer, nullified the essential principles of it, and so made it impossible for the Muslim League to co-operate with the Government on honourable terms. In spite of the fact that the British Government had spurned the offer of co-operation of the Muslim League, under the imminent shadow of the Japanese menace, the Muslim League once again reiterated their offer by their resolution of December 27, 1941, in the following words:

"In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the war on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee consider it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League from the very beginning has expressed its willingness to share the responsibility of defence of the country as is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November 1939.

"The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that a real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the Centre and the provinces within the frame-work of the present Constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future Constitution.

"The British Government completely ignored the offer of the Muslim League. While the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps virtually conceded the Congress demands of the right of secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and the forming of a Constituent Assembly with a preponderantly Hindu majority for the framing of the post-war Constitution, they merely recognized the possibility of establishing Pakistan supposed to be implicit in the non-accession scheme.

"The Working Committee are definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort with all the sacrifices that are involved, it is only possible provided they are assured that it will lead to the realization of the goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League therefore calls upon the British Government to come forward without further delay with an unequivocal declaration, guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self-determination, and to

pledge themselves that they will abide by the verdict of a plebiscite of Musalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in March 1940.

"Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the world, the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of 100 millions of Muslims of India to establish sovereign States in the zones which are their homelands and where they are in a majority.

"The Working Committee are fully convinced that Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem, and is in complete consonance with justice and fair play to the two great nations, Muslims and Hindus, inhabiting this vast subcontinent; whereas if the Congress demand is accepted , it would bring the 100 millions of Muslims under the yoke of a Hindu Raj, which must unevitably result either in anarchy and chaos or complete strangulation and annihilation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for. The Muslim League, as it has been repeatedly made clear, stands not only for Pakistan and the freedom of Muslims but also for the freedom and independence of Hindustan and Hindus.

"The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a Provisional Government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally."

Since that resolution was passed, the speeches and statements made by responsible British statesmen, both in England and in India, lead to the conviction that not only the declaration, such as was asked for, will not be forthcoming, but that some kind of federal constitution, not necessarily on the model embodied in the Act of 1935, is under contemplation. This Session, therefore, warns the British Government in all earnestness that the imposition of such a federal constitution will be resisted by Muslim India with all its might, which will inevitably result in strife, bloodshed and misery, the responsibility of which will rest on the British Government alone.

This Session of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that the attainment of the cherished goal of Pakistan is only possible by the untiring effort, willing sacrifices and grim determination of the Muslims, and that they should therefore do their utmost to a acquire the strength requisite for such an undertaking.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that the resolution was self-explanatory. He traced the history of the constitutional deadlock since the beginning of the war *vis-a-vis* the Congress attitude towards the Muslims. The Congress, he said, focussed its attention on the future and demanded a declaration of war aims and peace aims. The League, on the other hand, declared that it was prepared to share in the mobilization of the war effort on the basis of equality. Then came the August Declaration of 1940, which made it clear that no constitution would be acceptable to the British Government unless it had the approval of the Muslims. That put up the back of the Congress which started its 'individual civil disobedience.'

The Bombay resolution of August 20, 1942, *inter alia* demanded that the British Government make an unequivocal declaration, without delay, guaranteeing the Musalmans the right of self-determination and pledging themselves to abide by the verdict of a plebiscite of Musalmans and to give effect to the Pakistan Scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, passed in March 1940. Through the Bombay resolution, the League also expressed itself ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated, were conceded unequivocally.

The Cripps Scheme conceded self-determination on a provincial basis, which led to the 'Quit India Movement'. The suppression of the Congress had changed the attitude of the British and their spokesmen had started the slogan of 'India is geographically one'. The Hindus would prefer to rot in jail rather than settle with the Muslims. The Muslims, meanwhile, were becoming stronger. Their Ministries had been set up in four Provinces, and would soon be established in the fifth. The Muslims would never accept federation or confederation or any improved constitution. The Muslims could not be fooled, and did not believe in non-violence.

The British would never be able to impose any federal or confederal constitution on the Muslims; nor would the Muslims ever again go before the British with a beggar's bowl for concessions. They would have free governments in their majority Provinces, and would see how the British imposed their will on them. They (the Muslims) knew the art and could defeat any attempt of the British to impose an unwanted constitution on them.

Mr. Gazder, seconding the resolution, charactrized it as revolutionary. It was clear that no nation got its freedom by merely asking for it. He exhorted the Muslims to get ready to make sacrifices; for it was only by sacrifices that they would achieve their goal. The Muslims were not going to beg for their freedom.

The Punjab Premier rose to support the resolution, amid loud cheers. He said that his last statement, made at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, was before the public. He assured them that the Muslims of Punjab were with their brothers of the other provinces, and if any obstacles were put, either by the British or the Congress, in the way of the legitimate and reasonable demands of the Muslims, the Muslims of Punjab would not lag behind others in making sacrifices. He reminded them that the Lahore Resolution of the League was passed in the land of the five rivers. Their demand for the right of self-determination was not unjust; and he assured the Hindus and Sikhs and other minorities that they need have no fear of any usurpation of their rights and claims.

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan further supported the resolution. The first part of the resolution dealt with the period of negotiations during which the Muslim League addressed its demand to the Government and the Congress. The Congress summarily rejected this demand, and claimed that it spoke for the whole of India. The Congress denied the Muslims' right to self-determination; and the British changed their tune after they had put the Congress in jail...Recent indications created apprehensions among the Muslims that some form of federal constitution was under contemplation for India.

Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhri, supporting the resolution said that the Congress movement of August was not only aimed against the British, but also against the Muslims of India, whom the Congress wanted to dominate. The Muslims kept aloof from the Congress movement. The resolution demanded that Muslims should stand on their own feet. It declared Muslim opposition to any imposed Constitution, and he assured the Session that they would have the full support of the Muslims of Assam.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, further supporting the resolution, said that the Muslims were a separate nation and were entitled to their homelands. The Muslims were for a free India and a free Pakistan. It was their birthright and they should have it. The cup of Muslim patience had overflown, and the result was the resolution. They (the Muslims) should lose no time, and like the Turkey of to-day should organize themselves, to face the danger, in every village and town.

Moulvi Latifur Rahman, supporting the resolution, said that the Muslims religion was the bond which kept them together. He assured the audience of the full support of the Muslims of Bihar to their efforts to win Pakistan.

Maulana Akram Khan gave his full support to the Resolution on behalf of the Muslims of his province (Bengal). He said that the time of begging for Pakistan had passed. The time for grim determination and the organization of Muslims had arrived in order to achieve their goal of Pakistan. According to the Quran, if one was killed for one's ideal, one became a *Shahid*, a

martyr. He said that the map's colouring into Pakistan and Hindustan would soon disappear; for every country belonged to the Muslims, as every country belonged to God.

Sir A.K. Dehlavi said that there was no need for a speech on behalf of the Bombay Presidency, from which the Quaid-i-Azam came. He said the Muslims did not envisage 'non-violent non-co-operation' to fight the imposition of a form of Constitution detrimental to their interests, but would adopt methods which had been employed in the past for winning freedom.

Qazi Isa Khan said that the Resolution did not so much imply a reiteration of demand for Pakistan as a further step towards this goal. The resolution demanded solid work. It was an ultimatum to the British Government, because the Muslims knew that their non-Muslim brethren were powerless to give anything to them. The power was held by the British; and the ultimatum was therefore aimed at the British. He appealed to Muslims to be ready to fight and die for their ideal. He had full confidence in the capacity of Muslims. He derived the Viceroy's reference to India's 'geographical unity' and Mr. Amery's reference to the days when Akbar ruled—and added that the Muslims would be only too pleased to be restored to the position they held in Akbar's days. He said their hand of friendship was extended for co-operation with the British on the basis of equality, but the Muslims were not prepared to have any humiliating pact. To say that the masses of India were with the British Government was a lie. He described the Muslim Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council as Quislings who were not representatives of Muslims in any sense.

Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf said the resolution represented the pith of Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address. The Muslims wanted the right of self-determination to be conceded to them, and they would oppose all constitutions which denied this.

Syed Rauf Shah said that a living nation was not afraid of death, and the attainment of Pakistan by the help of others was "tantamount to going to hell".

Begum Aizaz Rassul, supporting the resolution, remarked that it seemed that when all provinces were exhausted, it was the turn of women. In other words, women came last!

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, interjecting, said, "No. Women are dominating every Province." Begum Rassul stressed that Muslim women were alive to their share of responsibility, and were ready to make all sacrifices. They would resist any imposition of a constitution which went against the interests of Muslims and would assist the men as Muslim women used to help men in times of crisis in the early days of Islamic history.

The Raja of Mahmoodabad said that for Muslims the means justified the end and not *vice-versa*. Sacrifice was incumbent on Muslims, when they

found that Islam was in danger. As the President of the Muslim Students' Federation, he exhorted the youth to get ready for sacrifices.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Subsequently the following resolutions were also passed.

RESOLUTION X

Resolved that the President be authorized till the next Session to take every step or action as he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League as he deems proper, provided that they are consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the Session of the All-India Muslim League. (Proposed by Mian Bashir Ahmad and seconded by Mr. Bakht Jamal Shaib).

RESOLUTION XI

Resolved that the following changes be made in the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League:

In clause 11 the following amendment be made:

(1) At the end of Sub-clause (i) add the following proviso: "Provided that in special cases and for good reasons the Honorary Secretary may with the approval of the President extend the time mentioned herein for electing representatives by a Provincial League."

(2) Add the following at the end of Sub-clause (ii) :"xv. Coorg...5.)"

(3) Delete Sub-clause (iii).

(4) In Sub-clause iv, line 2, after the word 'elect', add 'representatives'.

(Proposed by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.)

RESOLUTION XII

This Session of the All-India Muslim League views with great concern and alarm the new Zionist propaganda and move in the U.S.A., which is putting pressure on the U.S. Government for exercising its influence with the British Government, firstly to remove all present restrictions on Jewish Immigration in Palestine, and secondly to adopt the policy of converting Palestine into a Jewish State.

In the opinion of this Session, the aim of this new Zionist move is to make Jewish majority in Palestine a *fait accompli* by opening her doors to the Jewish war refugees, on the ground of the war emergency and the persecution of Jews in Europe.

This Session condemns this new move as a deliberate attempt to perpetrate a wrong on the Arab and Islamic world at a time when the Arab National Higher Committee of Palestine stands disbanded and the Arab nationalists are, at present, almost defenceless against organized Jewry and High Finance in the world.

This Session, reiterating its demands for the fulfilment of Arab national demands for Arab independence in Palestine and Syria, solemnly warns the British Government against any step or move which may prove detrimental to Arab national interests, and declares that such a policy will be bitterly resented by the whole Arab Islamic world as an outrage on democracy and justice and inalienable Arab rights to their home-lands. (from the Chair.)

RESOLUTION XIII

Resolved that the next Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League be held in Karachi during the Christmas holidays in December 1943. (from the Chair.)

RESOLUTION XIV

Resolved that the following Office-bearers be elected for the next term:

Honorary Secretary:	Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
Honorary Joint Secretaries:	1. Mr. Mahboob Ahmad 2. Maulana Jamal Mian

(Proposed by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan.)[1]

1. *Sources*: *Indian Annual Register 1943*, Vol. I.; *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League from April 1942* to May *1943*. Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

2. Before the opening of the Thirtieth Session, a section of the Muslim Leaguers had proposed that the Muslim League should declare that the future Constitution of Pakistan would be based on the Quran. And Dr. Abdul Hameed Kazi of Bombay actually circulated a draft resolution, which he intended to move at the Session, to the effect that the Constitution of Pakistan would be based on the concept of *Hakoomat-i-Ilahiya* (i.e. the principles evolved by the first four Caliphs). However, in view of the Quaid-i-Azam's Presidential Address, Dr. Kazi did not move his resolution.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION

KARACHI, DECEMBER 24-26, 1943

The Thirty-first Session of the All-India Muslim League commenced amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. A very large number of delegates attended, and almost 10,000 visitors were present at the start. The whole *pandal* was brilliantly illuminated. Seated on the dais were the leading personalities of the Muslim League, including three League Premiers, namely, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana and Sardar Aurangzeb Khan.

At the outset, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, General Secretary of the Reception Committee, introduced some of the most prominent delegates. Among the delegates present were: Syed Abdur Rauf, President, C.P. Provincial Muslim League; Hon'ble Abdul Matin Chaudhri,—Minister of Assam; Haji Abdus Sattar Sait, M.L.A., Member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee; Hon'ble Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din, Education Minister, Bengal; Hon'ble Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar,—Minister, N.W.F.P.; Mohammad Bahadur Khan (formerly Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang), President, All-India States Muslim League; Pir Sahib of Bharchundi; Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A., General Secretary, All-India Muslim League; Hon'ble Moazzam-ud-Din,—Minister of Bengal; Nawab Iftekhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah entered the *pandal* at 9.45 p.m., accompanied by Miss Jinnah, Mr. G.M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. M. Hashim Gazdar, Minister, Sind, and a body-guard. He was greeted with loud shouts of

'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad', 'Pakistan Zindabad' and 'Conqueror of Congress Zindabad'.

Complete silence prevailed in the huge *pandal* when Mr. Jinnah occupied the beautiful silver chair sent specially for the occasion by the Sardar of Domkis from Jacobabad.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Quran. Mr. Anwar Qureshi, the well-known Urdu poet, recited the thrilling *tarana* of Iqbal, holding the audience spell-bound for 15 minutes.

چین و عرب ہمارا، ہندوستان ہمارا
مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہان ہمارا
توحید کی امانت سینوں میں ہے ہمارے
آسان نہیں مٹانا نام و نشان ہمارا
دنیا کے بت کدوں میں پہلا وہ گھر خدا کا
ہم اس کے پاسبان ہیں وہ پاسبان ہمارا
تیغوں کے سائے میں ہم پل کر جوان ہوئے ہیں
خنجر ہلال کا ہے قومی نشان ہمارا
مغرب کی وادیوں میں گونجی اذان ہماری
تھمتا نہ تھا کسی سے سیل روان ہمارا
باطل سے دبنے والے اے آسمان نہیں ہم
سو بار کرچکا ہے تو امتحان ہمارا
اے موج دجلہ تو بھی پہچانتی ہے ہم کو
اب تک ہے تیرا دریا افسانہ خوان ہمارا
اے ارض پاک تیری حرمت پہ کٹ مرے ہم
ہے خون تری رگوں میں اب تک روان ہمارا
سالار کاروان ہے میر حجاز اپنا
اس نام سے ہے باقی آرام جان ہمارا
اقبال کا ترانہ بانگ درا ہے گویا
ہوتا ہے جادہ پیما پھر کاروان ہمارا

After this, Mr. G.M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee read his address of welcome in Urdu.[1]

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Thirty-first Session of the All-India Muslim League, I welcome you all to the land of Sindhu. By Sindhu I mean that part of the Asian Continent which is situated on the borders of

1. *Source: Thirty-First Session of the All-India Muslim League.* Published by the Eastern Times Book Depot., Lahore.

the river Indus and its tributaries. In past ages, Sind and Hind have been considered separate entities; and Sind included Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Baluchistan and the present Province of Sind. But as time went on, the name began to connote a smaller and smaller area until now it is assigned only to that part of the land which is watered by the tail end of this great river. To-day again, fully aware of this fact, we are moving to weld together those different parts into one harmonious whole, and the new proposed name, *Pakistan*, connotes the same old Sindhu land.

Friends, Destiny ordained the past of this land to be glorious, and we hope its future will be as bright. In many ways the history of this land is unique. It is the seat of a very old civilization to which Mohenjodaro and Taxila bear testimony. Many a race have intermixed here. Traces of Dravidian, Aryan, Semitic and Mongol traits can be easily seen at a glance. It is not only the racial comingling—in no part of the world has the fusion of philosophies and religions taken place in such profusion as in this land. The religion of Buddha, though born on the soil of Hind, did thrive nowhere better than on this soil. The people of this land have not yet forgotten the lesson of *Nirvana* (the Doctrine of Renunciation) as taught by Gautama Buddha. When Islam reached this land, Buddhism was still prevalent, and Islam added only *Isha'at* (Realization) to its teachings. Nowhere have the Vedantic teachings and *Vahdaniyat* influenced each other more than on this land. On the one hand, *Vahdaniyat* influenced the Hindu Yogi, and worship of idols began to wane; on the other hand, the Muslim Dervishes used *Sanyasi* methods and music to their own advantage, and the Hindu and Muslim beliefs came nearer to each other. The teaching of Guru Nanak is a specific result of this. The Sufi Muslims of this land, topped by the great poet Shah Abdul Latif, always endeavoured to bring about religious unity. The practical proof which the people of this land have given in effecting unity is a well established fact, and the non-touchability that exists elsewhere with a vengeance is nowhere less prominent than in this land.

Centre of Many Civilizations

Nowhere has Nature attempted to weld different civilizations together as it has done here on this soil through the medium of trade and commerce. The port of Daibul was a centre of sea-trade, on the one hand, and on the other, carvans reached Bukhara and Samarkand from here to carry on the international trade. In turn, the fertility of the soil of the River Indus attracted many a race to migrate to Sindhu, and many of these races took up their permanent abode in the land. To this, too, ancient archaeological finds, on the one hand, and the historical records, on the other, bear abundant testimony.

From the political point of view, this land has always been the battlefield of many a people. The fertility of this soil has often tempted virile races to come down to this land of Sindhu; and if a few of them, satisfied with

plunder, returned to their homes, many, after their arrival here, were not willing to leave the soil. In this way, new blood has ever been pouring in its veins. As it is, the political influence of Babylon, Egypt, Iran, Greece, Arabia and Afghanistan are easily traceable here. In comparison to these, the influence of Southern India is almost negligible. I have narrated this short history of this land and its past glory with a view to reminding those who, under the dominant influence of Hind, have forgotten or are prepared to forget the splendour and ascendancy of their homeland. Having related some chapters of the glorious past of this land to refresh your memory, I now shall humbly put before you some ideas about its future, as I conceive it.

The Message from the Arabian Desert

Man from his commencement has advanced towards one ultimate object—that of human unity of thought and action. His different religious, political and economic endeavours and aspirations are merely different attempts to reach that common goal. On every page of history you will clearly see this evolutionary process in progress. In the beginning mankind is divided into small families. In time the families are welded and assume the shape of tribes. The tribes combine and form themselves into nations. The basis of union are various—to mention a few: habitat, language, mode of life and ideas have been some of the factors. In course of time, the materialistic basis for union grew less and less prominent. It was the idea that grew to gain more and more importance; and at this juncture, a new voice from the desert of Arabia was heard, which welded nations into one whole in a way no other attempt up to our times has ever succeeded. It discounted all the old forms of union based on race, colour, mode of life, habits, language, etc.

The great poet of Islam, Allama, Iqbal says:

اپنی ملت پر قیاس اقوام مغرب سے نہ کر
خاص ہے ترکیب میں قوم رسول ہاشمی
انکی جمعیت کا ہے ملک و نسب پر انحصار
قوت مذہب سے مستحکم ہے جمعیت تری
دامن دیں ہاتھ سے چھوٹا تو جمعیت کہاں
اور جمعیت ہوئی رخصت تو ملت بھی گئی

Although the influence of this voice, in the beginning, was felt by most parts of the ancient world; yet later the world once again began to revert to its old modes of thought. The result of this was that the Unity of *Millat* was broken and the peoples that represented this idea began to separate and degenerate. This became apparent to many observant minds, such as Shah Walliullah, Syed Ahmad and Jamal-ud-Din Afghani. They endeavoured to re-animate their co-religionists with the forgotten lesson that Islam had brought. God be praised, to-day the poet of the East, Allama Iqbal has re-echoed the

same voice in a new phraseology, by the blessings of which we can observe a new vital spirit in this *Millat*. At the same time, the West, after a lot of blood-shed, has begun to feel that it will not go well with the world unless the foundations of so-called nations are completely altered. 'Ideology' is the fashion of to-day. But defective and outworn ideologies are being retired, and they inevitably fail and lead to great war after war. Partial solutions superficially conceived are being paraded under different names, and these mushroom growths rise and wither within years which count no more than moments in the history of man.

The great poet of Islam, Hazrat Allama Iqbal says:

اقوام جہاں میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے
تسخیر ہے مقصود تجارت تو اسی سے
خالی ہے صداقت سے سیاست تو اسی سے
کمزور کا گھر ہوتا ہے غارت تو اسی سے
اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بٹتی ہے اس سے
قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے اس سے

Although the drive towards universal brotherhood has commenced, yet real unity and permanent peace will not be achieved unless a satisfactory solution of the world's present divergent political, economic and religious theories is found. For this, a special environment and intellectual training based on historical traditions is a necessary condition. For the fulfilment of the above mission, the people of Sindhu are better suited than most. Ancient records bear testimony as to how races, civilizations, religious philosophies and political methods of governance have mingled in this country. In the establishment of a new world order, and in uniting the East and the West, Sindhu has to give a special message—and I have already been observing indications thereof. The synthesis must be conceived here. If America and Russia can jointly endeavour to bring nearer a new world order (although their political and economic ideologies are contradictory of each other), there will be no wonder then if Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and Sir Chhoturam could join and submit the above-mentioned message and set an example.

Artificial Unity of India

But it is regrettable that some inhabitants of Hind, with a view to bringing about temporary combinations, have been misleading the people of this land; and their nefarious propaganda has already affected some of our Muslim and non-Muslim countrymen who have closed their eyes against history and hard facts. They have been raising slogans of 'One Nation' and 'United India'. Sindhu wants not only to unite India but the whole world. But this objective cannot be achieved by the methods adopted by these people. May God Almighty

guide them to the right path. But if they do not extricate themselves from the tramels and allurements of the self-interested politician of Hind, an unnecessary discord will ensue.

The majority of the inhabitants of the land of Sindhu are now awake, and with a view to contributing their share towards the world order, they must be made free from extraterritorial influences.

Muslim Commerce

I again appeal especially to my non-Muslim countrymen that they should join us and help us to free our land and make it independent. Our cry of 'Buy from Muslims' has raised an uproar amongst them. That is one certain proof that a true sense of nationalism is lacking in them. Instead of encouraging the less industrious and poorer countrymen with an effort to bring them to their level and lay the surest foundation of the democratic government and prosperity of their land, they take exception even when Muslims attempt to raise up their Muslim countrymen. They fail to see that their action only connotes a lack of the national sense—a narrow mindedness which is destructive of the very hope of an international concord.

In spite of this, if they insist on their course of action, the only way left to us will be to depend upon God and do our best for ourselves. I must then appeal to the Muslims of Hind that the non-Muslims of this land, in spite of the fact that they share common interests with us, are joining hands with the non-Muslims of Hind and want to make the inhabitants of this land slaves—solely for the reason that the majority of the inhabitants are Muslims. Under the circumstances, it is the duty of every Muslim of Hind to help us to make our native land free and independent. I, of course, greatly appreciate the efforts that the Muslims of Hind have put forth in furtherance of the Pakistan Movement, but I think these are not enough. The independence and progress of a people cannot be achieved by passing resolutions and indulging in paper propaganda. For our purposes, the best endeavours and heavy sacrifices are needed. The people of this land are prepared to make sacrifices, and the conditions here are favourable; all we need is sincere workers and capital.

Industrial and Economic Revolution in Pakistan

By sincere workers, I mean those men and women who, for the sake of a great ideal and the *Millat*, would come to this land to work for the political and social advancement of the *Millat* and be prepared to strive for our object. By capital, I mean this, that from now on well-to-do Muslims of Hind should please direct their activities in the field of trade and commerce to this land, so that it may, in future, become economically independent and self-supporting. You can help us greatly in meeting these two needs. History bears witness that in the past you have sent such gentlemen as Syed Brelvi and Ismail Shaheed for these purposes. Have you no Ahmad or Ismail among you now? I am sure

you have; but possibly their activities in Hind do not permit them to direct their attention elsewhere.

If people from Gujrat and Bombay could go out to the Frontier to establish Hindu dominance there, could we, too, not repose some hope in you friends? Our future is interwoven with your future. Whatever high stations in Hind you may occupy, I am sure, they will not be permanent without the stability of our homeland. Your integrity in India will mainly depend upon the stability of our National State.

Programme for National Organization

In order to prepare the nation to reach its desired goal, the following three things are necessary:

(1) To organize the dispersed and disorderly elements in the nation and create unity of action.

(2) To improve the economic condition of the land and make it self-sufficient.

(3) To build the future political programme on the equality and fraternity that Islam enunciated.

The first requirement will be fulfilled only when the spirit of independence has been infused in the entire people, and every adult is enlisted in the organization of the National Guard.

In fulfilling the second requirement, you Muslims of India can help us a lot. The inhabitants of this land mostly belong to the agricultural profession, and are very backward in trade and industry. Your money and experience could remove this drawback. We are prepared to afford every facility for this with a view to making your way easier. We have already started the campaign of 'Buy from Muslims', so that Muslims may be encouraged to take to trade. Thanks to Almighty God, this movement has produced good results, and now only experience and capital can perfect this scheme. It is hoped that you would be good enough to extend your helping hand to us in this direction.

Organization of Muslim Labourers and Farmers

The opposition, at the present moment, seeing the *Millat* gather at one place, and with a view to creating a rift, has started to divide and weaken the nation on the issue of setting the poor against the rich. Unfortunately, several simple people have succumbed to that tactic and are working as its agents. Under the guise of sympathy for the poor of the nation, they have been dragging it towards civil war and ruination. It is possible that poor and illiterate people might get entangled in the hidden snare of the hunting opposition. Therefore, it is very necessary that, with a view to solving the problem in a satisfactory manner, immediate steps should be taken in this direction. Sincere workers amongst us should endeavour to bring the poor agriculturist and labourer under the flag of the Muslim League, making every effort to better

their economic and political conditions, so that the insidious and mischief-making activity of the opposition may be nipped in the bud.

Friends, from a historical point of view, great significance attaches to this conference. Until now, the Muslim League has been endeavouring to unite the *Millat* on the theory of an independent, sovereign State of the Sindhu Nation. By the grace of God, Muslims are now united on that issue. Now the nation has reached the stage when steps for action have become necessary. This will be the beginning of the new phase in the political history of the *Millat*.

In the end, I welcome you all and thank you for coming here from long distances to this city to join us in the conference. We have tried our best in our humble way to provide for the requirements of our guests. But nothing human is perfect, and I hope your love and regard will cover our shortcomings —because after all, love is what really counts, and in the best resort is decisive.[1]

The Hon'ble Mr. Hashim Gazdar then garlanded the President, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, with a beautiful gold lace garland.

At 10:50 p.m. the Quaid-i-Azam began to deliver his Presidential Address. Mr. Jinnah, who delivered his speech extempore in English, was heard with rapt attention. Every inch of space was occupied. About 100 journalists, including foreign correspondents, were present in the Press Gallery.[2]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

Brother delegates of the All-India Muslim League, ladies and gentlemen: I thank you for having once more honoured me and elected me as President of the All-India Muslim League this year. I can only say, as I have repeatedly said, that if there is any call from you for any opportunity to serve, with my heart and soul, Muslim India and the cause for which we stand, I shall neither falter nor hesitate to obey. You know that it is now more than seven years since we undertook the revival, the reorganization and the re-vitalisation of the All-India Muslim League. I think, without exaggeration, it is an undeniable fact that in these seven strenuous years, and in the struggle we have gone through for the last seven years, we have made remarkable progress, which has been admitted by our friends, by our admirers, and even by our opponents to-day.

You have shown not only to India, but to the whole world, and fully established, that we are a nation and that we shall never rest content until we seize the territory that belongs to us and rule over it.

The struggle is a long one, and is a hard one. It requires of you all—let me tell you, and especially those who get impatient and who get into a

1. *Source*: Pamphlet published by the Daily Gazette Press, Karachi.

2. *Source*: *Thirty-First Session of the All-India Muslim League. op. cit.*

frame of desperation or despair—to realize that the struggle is a long and hard one; and it calls upon every one of you—especially, I now address the youth—for patience, hard work, steady progress in the building up of this great nation to which we belong. I caution that every step has got to be considered from various points of view before we take one step, and the next before one. Well, so far I think you will admit that we have met every manoeuvre, every machination, every scheme and design to break us, with success every time. I do not want to give you the whole story; I shall just run through it. We have survived the opposition, which came first from the Government and the bureaucracy when we undertook to reorganize our movement. Public memory is not always very strong and is very fleeting, and therefore, I think it will be better to repeat it here: that first opposition came from the bureaucracy, and for reasons of their own, that opposition was slackened.

Then came the terrific onslaught from the Congress mass contacts and challenges. When the Congress Ministries were formed, the Muslim League was an anathema to them. The Muslim League was ordered to liquidate itself. The members of the Muslim League were told to abjure their allegiance to this body before the Congress could even touch them. Elections, then disruptions were created amongst the Muslims, one after another, Congress Musalmans, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Ahrar, Azad Conference, Momins, Shias, Sunnis. Every effort was made to destroy the Muslim League, but every effort to cause disruptions in the Muslim League re-bounded upon them as a boomerang, as the Muslim nation knew where their true course to follow was. Yet even to-day we are not left in peace, though their methods have changed a bit. Their methods are subtle, insidious, and intended to ply underground and undermine the League.

Shock-Proof—United in Ideal and Thought

In the course of my speech, I shall have to refer to this later on. But I think that I am not exaggerating when I say the Muslim League and Muslim India have now become shock-proof, slogan-proof and stunt-proof. In fact it is proof against every machination. I would most respectfully advise our opponents, be they Congress or Hindu leadership or the British: you cannot break us—you will never be able to break us now. The sooner they realize this, the better. Do not meddle with our affairs.

If you want to come to terms with us, we are always ready and willing to come to terms with the British Government or the Hindus on honourable terms and on no other terms.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, we have gone through, as I said, all these seven years of struggle, and the time has now come for us to examine our balance-sheet and take stock. To-day there is not the slightest doubt that it is acknowledged the world over that the Muslim League is the only authorita-

tive and representative organization of Muslim India. We have got millions and millions of Musalmans behind us; we have got our flag and our platform, and what is more, our definite goal of Pakistan. We have created a complete unity of ideal and thought. About that there can be no doubt whatsoever. We are completly united in our ideals and in our thoughts.

Unity of Action

Now has come the stage when it is absolutely essential that we undertake further steps and start an organizational machinery: directive, efficient and effective for action. We must prepare ourselves. Just as we have after seven years, established our unity of ideals and unity of thought, so we must in the next period of our programme, establish complete unity of action. Now, before you take any action, you must be qualified for it. And what are the necessary requisites which would qualify you for effective action?

First, you must undertake, in real earnest, a constructive programme for the uplift of our people, educationally, socially, economically and politically. It is now for you, the delegates of the All-India Muslim League, who are here from all parts of India, to apply your minds seriously to these questions. I know we have not got an air force; I know we have not got tanks; I know we have not got any army; I know we have not got any navy. You will get all that. You may not require it even. There may be no need for it provided you have the will and determination and unfaltering faith and unity, and faith in your cause. You will achieve your goal provided you organize yourselves thoroughly and efficiently.

Therefore, I urge upon you at this session that it is most essential to take the next step to set up an organizational machinery.

It is for you to consider this in the Subjects Committee. I can only put my views before you. But I suggest that now the work of the Muslim League organization has grown beyond the physical capacity of any single man. If you were to know what I have to attend to all alone, you would be astonished. All over India—to-day this thing happening in Patna, to-morrow that thing happening in Bengal; day after to-morrow this thing happening in the N.W.F.P., day after that thing happening in Madras. All sorts of questions arise from day to day and from week to week. Now it is not possible for one single man to do justice to all this.

And remember the position of Muslim India, if I can explain by analogy, is this: When a man is sick and almost dying, he has not got the energy either to complain or to ask for anything. He is practically unconscious of what is happening around him, and he does not care what is going to happen to him, the world or anybody else. He is in a semi-unconscious state or almost on the point of death. That sick man on the deathbed has not the energy to say anything and cannot do anything. He has not got the

energy even to complain. That was the condition of Muslim India seven years ago; but to-day, the sick man has recovered from his deathbed. He has acquired consciousness. He is not only convalescent but he is in a position to move about. Now he has got so many suggestions and proposals to make, so many disputes and so many quarrels to settle. It is a good sign, provided it is kept within limits. It is a very good sign of a healthy man. I get some suggestions which are splendid ones and thoughtful ones and very good, too. I get complaints and petty quarrels, which I do not like. But anyhow it is a healthy sign. In one word, let me put it to you this way. I am thankful to God that Muslim India is awake—I am thankful that Muslim India has regained consciousness. I am thankful that Muslim India is taking interest in things around it, not only in India, but throughout the world. I am thankful that Muslim India is taking an intelligent interest in everything that is going on now.

I am asked why the Muslim League should not establish a complete machinery and bureau to set up national industries for Muslim India all over India, and especially in Pakistan. Why should we not undertake planning? Why should we not undertake the establishment of big and heavy industries in Pakistan? Why whould the Muslim League not undertake the planning of a national system of education? I am only giving just a few instances—I have got so many of them that I could go on mentioning them till midnight, but I shall not do that.

Committee of Action

All these proposals, suggestions and demands are pouring in. As I say, this is a very good sign. Now, we are also self-conscious. We are also alive to the stage that we have reached. My humble advice to the delegates of the All-India Muslim League is this: we may not be able to achieve or realize all these demands at once, nor can we immediately put into operation all the various suggestions and proposals, but the stage has come when it is absolutely essential that you must have a Committee of Action, a Committee consisting of not less than five and not more than seven. It should be the function of this Committee, not only to organize, further organize, co-ordinate and unify as an All-India policy, but also to examine the various demands and proposals and suggestions that come from time to time.

In other words, we want a Committee with a Secretariat. I, therefore, ask you, brother delegates, to consider this question most seriously.

It is true we are not flushed with money. In a way, my expectations have not been realized. I made an appeal for funds. I think the Muslims could have done it. But still it has not happened. I made an appeal for funds totalling at least Rs. 10,00,000. That was more than a year and nine months, or very nearly two years, ago. Anyhow, I have received some support. I have been getting some encouragement. Up to the present

moment I have realized about Rs. 5,50,000. Well, this money is not collected for the purpose of investment. This money is not collected for the purpose of multiplying it. But this money is collected for the purpose of helping the Muslim League organization and development. I am sure we shall get more funds. Of that I am confident. But we need not wait till we get more. Let us at least do something with what we have got. We are in a position now to set up an efficient secretariat and this Committee of Action.

Next, you know that Parliamentary activities are growing. We are, as you know, fighting by-elections sometimes. We had by-elections in the North-West Frontier Province. We had a by-election only recently in Shikarpur. Now, with regard to your Parliamentary activities, it is absolutely essential and necessary that there should be a supreme body. For that purpose, again, my respectful suggestion is that you should have an All-India Parliamentary Board consisting of three persons. I tell you why. A number of candidates apply for the ticket of the All-India Muslim League. Some of them are rejected—maybe rightly, maybe wrongly. When disputes arise, there is no machinery of a standing character that can be approached at once and can be appealed to, to intervene and do justice.

You know that in local affairs there are certain prejudices. You know that very often familiarity breeds contempt and distrust. This is so not only in India but everywhere else. You know there are local intrigues and cliques. At present our machinery is not efficient, and therefore it cannot work efficiently. At present the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League is the authority for the purpose of giving the Muslim League ticket to candidates for various elections—not only the elections to the Assembly or the Upper House—such as in Bengal, where there are two Houses—but with regard to Municipalities, District Boards and Local Boards. In some of the Provinces, the Working Committees have appointed Parliamentary Boards.

But, ladies and gentlemen, as you know, even in an ordinary litigation, the litigants are not satisfied unless they can go to the Privy Council. There is always the subordinate judge or the district judge, and there is the High Court and there is the Privy Council. Well, people get more satisfied when they go to the High Court, because it is a detached body, away from local surroundings and the local atmosphere. People are still more satisfied—even the losing party is more satisfied—when they get a decision from the Privy Council, because it is a detached body. Similarly, it is necessary that we should have a final court of appeal as a detached body of three persons who would be appointed by the All-India authority of the Muslim League.

Therefore, these two bodies are absolutely essential, and we must not lose any time in creating and appointing these two bodies.

No doubt there are many other questions, which will require our

consideration—educational planning, economic planning, social planning. These are very big questions; but once you have set up a Committee of five or seven, believe me it will be the beginning of the examination of all these various questions, and there will then be an efficient machinery which will be able to direct, guide and control all these various suggestions, and if possible put them into practice. That stage has come. These are my concrete suggestions to you for further strengthening, further organizing, further consolidating and further creating more strength, more power, more vigour in the organization of the All-India Muslim League.

The Food Problem

The next question that I would like to place before you is the food problem. Ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you that I called a meeting of the five Premiers from the dominant Muslim League Ministries and dominant Muslim Provinces. I invited them to meet me in Delhi about the 15th or 16th of November. They were all good enough to come, except the Premier of Assam, Sir Saadullah. But then he wrote expressing his inability, and deputed Mr. A. Matin Chowdhry, his colleague and a Minister in the Assam Government. Amongst other things that I had to consult them about, this food problem was discussed with them at great length. Let me tell you there was entire agreement among all these five provinces. It is absolutely untrue—as misrepresented in a certain section of the press—that they were divided.

It is further absolutely untrue that Lord Wavell took the wind out of our sails by summoning them over my head while they were in Delhi. It is after full discussion and after agreement that we ourselves asked Lord Wavell to meet the Premiers and discuss the food problem. He was good enough to give an immediate appointment and time the very next day. It is in consequence of that arrangement that the Muslim League Premiers had an interview with Lord Wavell. It is utterly false to say that there was any difference of opinion. It is utterly false to say that Lord Wavell upset my machinations. There were no machinations at all. Ours is a plain, honest, straightforward position. It was this, that so far as the food trouble in India was concerned, knowing as we did the conditions and the Constitution of the Government of India, we were ready and willing—for very good reasons and obvious reasons, and, above all, in the name of Humanity—to do everything in our power to avert the scourge of famine and the shadow of death and prevent a recurrence of it anywhere in this country.

Fair Deal for the Farmer

Actuated by this motive, the whole situation was discussed. It is not at all true that these provinces, or any one of them represented by the Muslim Premiers, are not fully alive to their sense of responsibility, or are actuated

by any vested interests. The real issue was, ladies and gentlemen, not that we did not recognize the efficacy of control; not that we did not recognize the efficacy of procurement; not that we did not recognize the efficacy of rationing; not that we did not recognize that under the present system of government and the conditions under which we are living, there must be a uniform policy—the real issue (and that real issue is not clearly understood) was: Are the agriculturists and the producers of foodgrains to be bled to fatten the industrialists? Is there going to be one rule of justice for one class or one interest, and another rule of justice and fair play for another class and another interest? (Shouts of 'Hear, hear! and cries of 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad'.)

What we urged, and what we still urge, is that if you want to control food grains, you must equally, in all earnestness and sincerity, control the prices of all other essential articles and essential ingredients which are necessary for the existence of the very man, the agriculturist, whom you want to control.

Let me put it to you this way. To-day I am a producer; I am an agriculturist. You say to me look here, before the war, or even sometime after the war, you got only Re. 1 for a seer or whatever of food. I am going to give you Rs. 3 for the same measure. Well, what are you giving me? When I got that Rupee before the war or even for some time after the war, that Re. 1 had the purchasing power not of Rs. 3 of to-day but of Rs. 4 of to-day. What is the good of your giving me three notes of one rupee each, when on going to buy my necessaries of life, these three rupees of mine are not equal to the old rupee but only to 12 annas?

Therefore, you don't count in terms of currency or number of notes, but count in terms of the value of your currency paper and its purchasing power in the bazar for the necessaries of life. That is the real issue. That is the issue which the Government of India have got to tackle. Unless they come out with a clear-cut and honest policy of giving a fair deal to all interests, it is no use oppressing only the agriculturist and the producer and giving undue advantages to other interests at the cost of farmers. (Cries of 'No, no, never!')

The Political Situation

Ladies and gentlemen, the next question that I wish to deal with is the political situation in the country. So far as the political situation in the country is concerned, addressing the Council of the All-India Muslim League last November, I said that there was no change and nothing new had happened. The position to-day before you briefly is this. The British Government are playing. This is more or less clear, and has repeatedly been made clear. They say one thing at one time and another thing at another time. The net result is that they tell the Musalmans: "We are not against Pakistan, it is the Hindus who are against it." They tell the Hindus, "We are not against Akhand Hindustan, it is the Musalmans who are against it." They are, it seems only, in

favour of one thing—to see how their own raj should continue. But so far as the Hindus and Musalmans are concerned—I put it to you again, ladies and gentlemen, if my voice can go beyond this *pandal* to those who are also really honest and sincere well-wishers of the peoples of India—can we, Muslim India, accept Akhand Hindustan and Hindu Raj over this entire Subcontinent? (Cries of 'No, no, never!')

It is possible to expect us, unless we are unconscious—and we were unconscious before the war, but now we are fully conscious—to expect Muslim India to agree to Akhand Hindustan and Hindu Raj in this Subcontinent? (Shouts of "It is not possible.") But that is the proposal, and they have not yet given up their dreams. On the other hand, there is the talk of independence. I ask, "Whose independence?" I warn you, and I have repeatedly warned you, they mean the independence of Hindu India and the slavery of Muslim India. Now what do we say? We say, "Pakistan."

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask any intelligent man, if he would only apply his mind for one second, "Can you achieve Pakistan without the independence of India?" (Cries of 'No, it is impossible!') When we say Pakistan, we mean not our independence only, but the independence of Hindus also. ('Hear, hear!')

If the Hindu, owing to his obsession, dream, or cussedness, still puts obstructions in the way of the freedom of both, and insists upon the freedom of one and the slavery of the other, then I ask you, "Who is the man, who is the party, except the Hindus, who are responsible for holding up the progress of this country?" Well, that has been obvious for a long time. But for the pronouncements of Lord Wavell, the present Viceroy, there would have been nothing new. Lord Wavell made a speech recently at the Associated Chambers of Commerce meeting at Calcutta, as is the custom and tradition of every Viceroy to make important announcements at the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, a foreign corporation. He, in his speech, has said what was already more or less clear, although the previous Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, indulged in subtleties and embellishments.

The Plain Language of Lord Wavell

Mr. Amery preached to the world about the attitude and the policy of the British Government regarding the Indian constitutional problem with great finesse. Recently Mr. Amery made it clear through somebody that the principles of the Atlantic Charter were made applicable to India 18 months before the Atlantic Ocean produced the Atlantic Charter. But that was, as I said, full of the subtleties, embellishments and finesse which these two great statesmen practised. The soldier-like Viceroy, Lord Wavell has spoken in plain language, so that even a man in the street can understand. I think those of you who have read that speech know where you stand and how you stand. In that respect Lord Wavell has made a great contribution to the political problem of India.

What does he say? Of course, his mental bag, he probably found it necessary to jettison in the Mediterranean before he crossed the Suez Canal, and he is no more embarrassed by this bag.

What does he say now? He says, "I do not believe that political differences can be solved by administrative actions or by talking about them at present. I am quite sure they cannot be solved by talking. I am quite sure they cannot be solved by administrative actions either." There is nothing new about that. The Viceroy then says that he still believes that he can solve all immediate economic problems. He also believes that he can materially tackle the post-war reconstruction and the food problems. So having put the political issue in cold storage for all practical purposes, or at any rate indefinitely—although he does not say that it is put in cold storage till after the war—he proceeds to say: "I am concentrating on the job we have to do." What is the job or work that he has to do? Winning the war is number one.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is really astonishing that he, the representative of the Crown, speaking with responsibility and in all seriousness, thinks that he can win this war while he is totally indifferent to the political situation in India. What is happening in this world? Is the British Government not concerned with winning the war? What happened when the Lebanon question came? What happened when the Syrian question came? Were all these political adjustments made from merely the humanitarian point of view? What happened when the difference took place between the French in Algiers? What is happening in other parts of the world?

Ladies and gentlemen, it is really astonishing, it is sheer blindness to say, 'My job is only to win the war'. To win the war and how? With all humility, I say to the British Government, "You have got to get the whole-hearted and enthusiastic support of some party in this country, if not of all."

The next thing the Viceroy is going to do is the organization of the economic home-front. How is he going to do that? He tells you how he is going to do it. He says that amongst the jobs that he has to do is the economic home-front and preparations for peace by using all resources which India has in determination, energy and intelligence. May I know, how he is going to get all the resources of India in determination, energy and intelligence, when every party is kept at arms length, discontented and dissatisfied? But this is how he is going to accomplish it. He says: "For this purpose (wining the war, the economic home-front, the post-war reconstruction and mobilizing the resources of India in determination, energy and intelligence), I would welcome co-operation from anyone or anybody." I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this really not a flagrant abuse of the English word, 'Co-operation'? What co-operation? Does it not, in plain language, mean that without giving any part, any real share in the authority of the Government, we are asked to do the work of camp-followers, menials and subservients? Can you expect any self-respecting organization to accept that position? (Cries of 'No!')

Even if we were so foolish as to fall in with this fantastic suggestion, can any intelligent man believe that we can ever succeed in putting real enthusiasm into the people and secure their whole-hearted and genuine support and co-operation? Can we succeed in making them war minded, when we are invited to assist the Viceroy as camp-followers, as menials or as subservients? It is amazing, this complacency with which these pronouncements are made. Does it not really mean, in plain language, that the British Government are pursuing a definite policy and they do not want the co-operation of any party—it does not matter which party it is. The Congress has decided to non-co-operate. The Congress has decided to resort to mass civil disobedience if their demands are not conceded. The Congress has been outlawed. What has the rest of India done that you should talk to them in this language, which nobody can tolerate or even understand?

Divide and Quit

We have, time and again, made it clear—we have offered our hand of co-operation for the job or work that Lord Wavell wants to do, provided our hand is accepted as that of a confident friend with a share, a real share, in the authority of the Government, and with a definite promise that we shall get our share in the fruits of victory when we win it. That has been rejected. They speak of organizations—the Congress, the Hindu organization which represents, no doubt, the solid body of Hindu opinion, and the Muslim League which represents the solid body of Muslim opinion. They have outlawed the one. Well, I suppose they would like to outlaw the Muslim League also. We are quite ready for it. (Cheers.)

Why do you, dishonestly and falsely, bracket these organizations together and treat them on the same basis and beat them with the same stick? That is my complaint. It is not honest. I am of the opinion that this policy that is pursued by the British Government—after all, Lord Wavell is only acting according (what shall I say?) to the instrument of instructions of the British policy which has already been decided—this British policy, is going to prove disastrous. You know, Mr. Churchill, some time ago, said that he was not called or summoned to be the First Minister of the King to liquidate the British Empire.

Now, I can tell him this, that voluntary liquidation is more honourable than a compulsory one. ('Hear, hear!')

It will redound to the honour of the British nation, and it will be recognized by us as an act of friendship, which has got its value and assets in the future. But compulsory liquidation will have none of those advantages, and the British Empire will have to be liquidated one day, whether you like it or not. ('Hear, hear!' and shouts of 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad'.) I will only trouble you with one quotation, as it is rather interesting. This is what John Bright said in 1858. John Bright was making his speech on the India Bill introduced in Parliament

on the occasion of the assumption of sovereignty over India by the British Queen. In that speech he said:

"How long does England propose to govern India? Nobody can answer. Maybe, 50 or 100 or 500 years. Does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country with its 20 different nations and 20 different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible. We must fail in the attempt if ever we make it, and we are bound to look into the future with reference to that point. The Madras Presidency, for instance, having its own Government, would in 50 years become one compact State, and every part of the Presidency would look to the city of Madras as its capital, and to the Government of Madras as its ruling power. If that were to go on for a century or more, there would be five or six presidencies of India, built up into so many compact States, and if at any future period, the sovereignty of England should be withdrawn, we should leave so many presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and its own Government, and we should be able to say we had not left the country a prey to that anarchy and discord which is to be inevitable if we insist on holding those vast territories with the idea of building them up into one great empire."

This is what John Bright said in 1858. After 85 years we are now impressing upon the successors to those great British statesmen that the only way, the only honest way for Great Britain is to divide and quit. Unity can only be realized on the basis of division of property and possessions between the respective two nations, the Hindus and the Musalmans. The other minorities will be the acid test. It will be the sacred, solemn duty of Pakistan and Hindustan to safeguard, to protect, to give a fair and just deal to the minorities who would be under two zones. (Hear, hear!)

The Congress and the Communists

Well now we come to the Congress and Hindu leadership. Gentlemen, I see no change except a parrot-like cry. I find that the cleverest party that is carrying on propaganda are the Communists. They have got so many flags, and I think they consider that there is safety in number. They have got the Red flag; they have got the Russian flag; they have got the Soviet flag; they have got the Congress flag. And now they have been good enough to introduce our flag also. (Laughter.) Well, when a man has got too many flags, I get suspicious. They shout that they want a Congress-League settlement. Who says no? But the question is, on what basis? It is no use repeating this parrot-like cry that they want a Congress-League settlement. On what basis?

Mr. Gandhi, in the letter he wrote to Lord Linlithgow on January 19, 1943, as a part of the correspondence between him and the ex-Viceroy, says: "If I could be convinced of my error, or worse of I should need to consult

nobody, so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error. I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India of September 23, 1942. I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter to you of August 14,1942."

Well now this was in January 1943. Am I wrong, am I doing an injustice if I say that the clear meaning of this letter is that when Mr. Gandhi wrote it, he stood every inch by the August 1942 Resolution and the policy and the demand made in that Resolution? I do not want to worry you unnecessarily. But those of you who have read that Resolution must come to this conclusion—there is no other conclusion, for Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, not only did not consult the Muslim League, but quite ignored the Muslim League that it was a definite, determined and deliberate attempt to by-pass the Muslim League and to force the hands of the British Government to surrender to their demands, which would mean death to the Muslim demands. Mr. Gandhi in his letter of January 1943, in effect says, 'I stick to my guns'.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, if Mr. Gandhi sticks to his guns, and if he is holding a pistol at us, not at the British only, but at us, and wants to by-pass us and there is no change in his policy, may I ask any man with common sense, "What is the basis on which any negotiations can proceed and can fructify into any reasonable settlement?" Has there been any change since January 1943? Is there any indication or sign of it? Millions of Congressmen are outside the jail. On the contrary, they have been contemplating the form of government that could be based on the ancient culture and the political system which prevailed in the days of that great Hindu historic period of Vikramaditya. I ask any sensible man, any fair-minded man, how is it possible for us to accept that position?

A few isolated Hindu leaders have shown some sort of sympathy with our point of view. But when they talk, they talk in a language of subtlety. In fact, to begin with, they are afraid to use the word 'Pakistan'. They prefer to use the phraseology of 'self-determination'. When they talk of self-determination, they talk about it with their tongue in their cheek, and wind up by saying, 'Well, we are willing to go as far as possible.' In the same breath, when responsible Hindu leaders speak in this dubious language, they turn against us, and we are told that we are non-co-operating with the Congress, *if we don't agree with them*. I ask you, "Is there any iota of truth in that?" It is the other way. It is the Congress which is responsible and which forced us to defend our rights and ourselves.

To start with, it is the Congress that would not touch the League with a pair of tongs. It is the Congress to whom the League is an anathema. They corrupted Musalmans, by offering Ministries to give up the League; they picked up any Muslim who was willing to abuse the League, and demanded that the Muslim League should be liquidated. That is the Congress.

So far as we are concerned, it is not a question of non-co-operation. It is a question of defence against the attitude the Congress has taken up since 1937, to dominate Musalmans and to establish, by hook or by crook, Hindu Raj and Hindu Government. We are defending ourselves against that monstrosity, those machinations and those designs. It is not a question of non-co-operation at all. Then again we are told politely, but again most untruthfully, that our demands are impossible. We are not told what is the impossible demand that we are making. But we are told this, that Hindus will begin to prefer to make the best of things as they stand at present, rather than agree to what they honestly deem to be our unreasonable demands.

So rather than agree to what they consider our unreasonable demands, the Hindus will, and are ready to, accept the British Raj. We are not told what our unreasonable demand is—what makes them so desperate, except that we refuse to accept or agree to the establishment of Hindu Raj? Then we are told that signs are indeed not wanting; from which we may infer that this process has already begun, the process that the Hindus are ready and willing to accept the British Raj.

Lastly, we are told that our indifference to the goal of independence—'we are indifferent to the goal of independence', mark these words—would lead the Muslim youth to rebel against the League. Now, is this not subtle? Is this not suggesting that we are indifferent to the goal of independence? Is it not slighting the Muslim youth to say that their elder politicians are indifferent to the goal of independence? Let me tell you from this platform that this is a vicious, sinister, wicked propaganda to incite the Muslim youth against the League. There is no truth whatsoever in the suggestion that we are reconciled to the British Raj. On the contrary, we are told by this authority that signs are, indeed, not wanting that the Hindus are willing to accept British Raj rather than come to a settlement with us. (Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: "Who was the Hindu leader that said all this?") The Hindu leader that has said all this is Mr. Rajagopalachari. You will find it in his pamphlet entitled, *The Way Out.*

A Beginning Towards Pakistan

Well, ladies and gentlemen, that is the position so far as Hindu opinion is concerned. Now all I can say to you is this. We cannot depend upon any one, and we do not depend upon any one. It is only by our own inherent strength, by our work, by our service, by our sacrifices, that we shall achieve this goal of ours—Pakistan. Hindus cannot give you Pakistan. The utmost that the Hindu can do is not to obstruct you, so that he may get his freedom and you may get your freedom. That is the utmost that he can do—withdraw his obstruction, with a reasonable chance of his getting his freedom and our getting our freedom. The British Government can give it, because they are in possession. Whether they make up their mind to give, or whether they do

not make up their mind to give, or whether they go on camouflaging, evading, putting forward plausible excuses, I am confident that, with all their diplomacy, with all their great genius in bamboozling people, in befooling people, we are now shock-proof even against the diplomacy of the British Government. They cannot, and will not be able to, prevent us from seizing Pakistan. (Cheers.)

We have made a beginning. It is a small beginning. It is not for the sake of getting jobs for our people as Ministers that we are approving those Ministries being formed and functioning where Musalmans are in the majority. We have taken the first step. These Ministries are there, because of the Muslim League behind them. It is the Muslim League, through its agents, that has seized such power—limited power—as there is. This is only a part which will make a contribution to the whole of our organizational field. If our Ministers properly utilize such powers as they possess, limited as they are, they can, if they are so minded, galvanize, consolidate, unify and make the Muslim League a living force in those provinces. At the same time, they can immediately undertake measures of an ameliorative character and a constructive programme, not with a view to do injustice to the minorities, but for ameliorative purposes of their provinces. Socially, educationally, economically, they can, within these limited powers, render great services to their respective provinces if they are so minded. Well, we are trying the experiment. Let us see what emerges from this laboratory.

Starving Bengal

Now, I wish to say this—and I think I shall be echoing the feelings and sentiments of every person who is present here, and even outside—that our deepest, most heartfelt and sincerest sympathies go out to the people of Bengal in their suffering from this terrible famine that has overtaken them. Let us pray that this scourge will disappear, and let us pray that it will not recur—not in Bengal nor in any other part of India.

In conclusion, I say to you, to everyone—man, woman and child, young and old—stand unflinchingly, without faltering. In Pakistan lies our destiny. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)[1]

Mr. Jinnah spoke for about 100 minutes. During his speech he coughed four or five times, which showed that he had a touch of cold, otherwise he seemed quite hale. He finished his history-making speech just past midnight.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, speaking on behalf of all, congratulated Mr. Jinnah on his 67th birthday, it being the 25th of December.

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1. *Source*: Official pamphlet, printed and published by S. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, All-India Muslim League, at the Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi; and pamphlet printed by the Latifi Press Ltd., Delhi.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, President of the All-India States Muslim League, then rendered Mr. Jinnah's address in Urdu.[1]

Second Sitting

The second sitting commenced at 9 p.m. on December 25, 1943.

Proceedings of the Conference began with a recitation from the Holy Quran by Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, which was followed by Urdu, Sindhi and Punjabi poems. Maulana Khan Mir Hilali—formerly Secretary, Peshawar Congress Committee and now a prominent League leader in the Frontier—recited a Pushto poem demanding the establishment of Pakistan.

Clad in black sherwani, the Quaid-i-Azam, as usual escorted by two bodyguards with drawn swords, and accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah. Mr. G.M. Syed, Nawab Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial League, Qazi Isa Khan, President of the Baluchistan Provincial League, and the Hon'ble Mr. M.H. Gazdar, a Minister of Sind, entered the *pandal*, at 10 p.m. He was greeted by loud shouts of 'Quaid-i-Azam, Zindabad', 'Pakistan Zindabad', 'Fateh-i-Congress Zindabad', 'Shahinshah-i-Pakistan Zindabad'.

Over 100,000 Muslims were present in the *pandal*, which presented a grand appearance with long parallel rows of brilliant lights. The gathering had lost nothing of the magnitude and enthusiasm that characterized the first sitting. National Guards were busy controlling the large crowds seeking admission into the *pandal* through its various gates. The number of delegates and members of the All-India Muslim League Council had increased since the first day's sitting, because of fresh arrivals and of the national importance of the deliberations that were now to be undertaken.

Mian Bashir Ahmed, a Bar-at-Law of Lahore and a member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, had written a poem in Urdu, specially for the occasion of Mr. Jinnah's 67th birthday. It was recited by Mr. Anwar Qureshi in his own distinctive style:

گلشن ہند میں وہ پھول کھلا آج کے دن
جسکی خوشبو سے مہکتی ہے فضا آج کے دن
آئی دنیا میں بہار اور خزاں سرسٹھ بار
رنگ وبو پھر ہے پہلے سے سوا آج کے دن
آج کے دن جو کراچی میں ہوا تھا پیدا
روح پرور ہے کراچی کی ہوا آج کے دن
قوم مسلم کے لئے پھر سے مزا آج کے دن
ایک نفس اس کو ہے ملا آج کے دن

1. *Source: Thirty-first Session of the All-India Muslim League. Op. cit.*

حوصلے اپنے ہیں مضبوط ارادے ہیں بلند
شامل حال ہوا ہے فضل خدا آج کے دن
قطرہ خوں جو گرا اس کا تو اٹھی یہ صدا
غازیٔ قوم ہے رشک شہدا آج کے دن
قوم کی راہ نمائی کرے سو سال جئے
دل مسلم سے نکلتی ہے دعا آج کے دن

Sir Nazimuddin, the Premier of Bengal, who arrived earlier in the day, was sitting in the first row behind Mr. Jinnah, along with the Premiers of other provinces.

RESOLUTION I

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman moved the first resolution, on setting up a Committee of Action, which read as follows:

Whereas the All-India Muslim League, in its annual session held at Delhi in April, 1943, had, in view of the vague, indefinite and unsettled policy of the British Government towards the Muslim demand of Pakistan, on the one hand, and the unpatriotic, short-sighted and antagonistic attitude of the Hindus, on the other, resolved to rely on the untiring effort, grim determination and willing sacrifices of the Muslims of India generally, and the Muslims of the Pakistan zones in particular, for the attainment of their cherished goal.

This Session of the All-India Muslim League hereby resolves to appoint a Committee of Action of not less than five and not more than seven members to be nominated by the President to prepare and organize the Muslims all over India to meet all contingencies, resist the imposition of an All-India Federation or any other constitution for one united India, and prepare them for the coming struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman said that the Muslims in their fight had an advantage in that the areas in which they wanted to establish Pakistan were already, to all intents and purposes, a distinct part of India.

He referred to some of the objections made by the opponents of the League scheme: that historically India had been one united country; that if the League scheme were accepted, unity would be destroyed and the country weakened; that Hindus and Muslims were one nation; that Pakistan, if established, would be economically so weak that it would not be able to stand on its own legs. Choudhry Saheb referred to the parallel case of the Lebanon, a country with a population of hardly 1,500,000. For 1,300 years the Lebanon had been a part of Syria, but it was thought fit, at the end of the last war, to separate it from that country, and hand it over as a mandate to France. During the present crisis, the Arabs, who were in a minority in that country, were whole-heartedly behind the national demand for complete and immediate

independence, without regard to the fact that the majority was Christian. When such a small country, the speaker added, could be a separate independent country, why could Pakistan not, with a population of 60 millions and an area greater than that of most of the big countries of Europe. The Muslims did not want Pakistan just to oppress the Hindu minorities, but because they did not wish to live under permanent Hindu domination, as would be the case in a federal India.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman expressed the determination of the Muslims of India to attain their objective of Pakistan at all costs. The proposed State of Pakistan, with its huge territory and large population, could hold its own. He deplored the attitude of the Hindus in their opposition to the just demand of the Muslims. Their attitude kept both the nations under British tutelage.

The proposed Committee of Action, he said, would undertake the task of working towards achieving Pakistan, and he assured the Session that it would not be a committee of words. He also added that the minorities in Pakistan would get a fair deal and that their legitimate interests would be protected.

Concluding, he said, "If any effort is made to keep us under the eternal yoke of slavery, we will resist it to our utmost. The idea underlying the appointment of this Committee of Action is that we should be organized and declare that we will sacrifice our very lives for the attainment of our cherished goal—Pakistan."

The resolution was seconded by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, "Pakistan", said the Frontier Premier, "is our *Iman*. It is our very life." Referring to the Hindu charge that the Muslims stood in the way of Indian freedom, he asked, "Whose freedom? Is it not the freedom of 75 per cent Hindus and oppression and slavery of 25 per cent Muslims?" The Muslims were not enamoured of such a freedom. They wanted freedom in their own six provinces, while the Hindus could have theirs in the other six. "We will not be only fair and just to the minorities inhabiting Pakistan: we will be generous", he declared.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan said that the Congress claimed that it had a large following among Muslims. If so, it should have no objection to Pakistan if a plebiscite of the Muslims of India decided to have it.

Referring to the Hindu contention that Hindus and Muslims were one nation, and as such India should remain one unified whole, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan observed that compared to India the various peoples inhabiting Europe were more homogeneous. Almost all of them professed the same religion. And yet Europe was split up into various countries, big and small. Statesmanship demanded that India should also be partitioned as that was the only solution of the vexed Indian question. When Europe could not be federated it was a folly to try to federate this Subcontinent. "I am prepared to fight for the freedom of India if Hindus promise us self-determination in the six Pakistan Provinces", Sardar Aurangzeb Khan said.

When the Shahidgunj Mosque incident occurred, he said, and Muslims neglected to claim their right for a short while, the Mosque was lost to them. Was this just? Could Muslims expect justice from the hands of their Hindu brethren, when such glaring examples of injustice could be practiced under British protection?

Another objection to Pakistan was that, economically, Pakistan could not be self-sufficient. The real position, the speaker continued, was that at present most of the income of the provinces went to the Centre, out of which the Centre gave back only a fraction to the provinces. For example, the Frontier Province, out of its revenues, sent about Rs. 9 million to Delhi, and Delhi sent back hardly one-eighth of it. Similarly, the Central Government earned no less than Rs. 70 million in customs duties from the port of Karachi. Under Pakistan, all this income would go to the Pakistan Treasury; so there was no reason to suppose that Pakistan was an economic impossibility.

Sardar Aurangzeb regretted the Hindu attitude, but he regretted the British attitude more. During the recent Congress movement, he said, the Muslims had adopted a neutral position, and had thus scrupulously avoided embarrassing the British Government at a most critical period of the war. But the British attitude to the Muslim demand for Pakistan was unchanged. In fact, almost all British spokesmen still swore by the unity of India.

The Muslim attitude to the war, he added, was the same as that of Turkey—strict vigilance. Their leader, Mr. Jinnah, knew that it was stupid to blow the bugle when the army was not ready. But, he said emphatically, as soon as the call came from the Quaid, his Ministry would be the first to quit office and make all the sacrifices necessary for the achievement of the Muslim goal. At present Mr. Jinnah's position was that by establishing League Ministries in five provinces it had become possible to strengthen the League organization, particularly, believing, as he did, that possession was nine-tenths of law.

Referring to the war, the Frontier Premier said that if the British were sincere in their profession that they were fighting for democracy, they should see justice done to Muslim India. If they were not able to unify their own Europe, all the Powers of which owed allegiance to the same religion, Sardar Aurangzeb asked, how did they expect two different nations—of which the Hindus regarded the Muslims as untouchables—to come together. Sweden and Norway stood together on the map of Europe but were two separate countries. Taking these facts into account, Muslims had the right to be a free and independent nation in the areas in which they were in a majority.

Proceeding, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan said that there was a limit to patience. Many promises of the British Government remained unfulfilled; but now conditions were changing. If possession was nine-tenth law, the Muslim League had already captured and was ruling over the provinces which came into the scheme of Pakistan.The Frontier Premier added that the Muslims were not only fair and just to the minorities, but had been generous to them. In Pakistan

the conditions of the minorities would be such as to attract even the Hindus of Hindu India to come and live in Pakistan.

"Our Hindu brethren", the Frontier Premier said, "object to the name of 'Pakistan'—they are afraid of it. I wish to inform them that there is no danger lurking in it. Just like a place where dates grow is called Nakhlistan, or a place where Baluchis live is called Baluchistan, and where Hindus live is called Hindustan, in the same way where Muslims live should be called Pakistan. So our Hindu brethren have nothing to fear from it. I wish to assure them that in Pakistan all the religious and social rites of Hindus will be well looked after and protected, so that they may be happy and contented and prefer to live in Pakistan."

"Muslims who wish to attain Pakistan—I wish to assure them that they will have to strive and work hard for it. It will not be given to them by the Hindus, or by the English, they will have to seize it in order to get it. This Committee of Action that has been proposed will go into all such matters of importance."

Concluding, he said, "The day of reckoning is coming, and when the call from Mr. Jinnah comes to us to get out and fight for Pakistan, we shall not falter. If we want Pakistan, we should not rely upon the British Government or the Hindus; we should rely upon our inherent strength and obey the orders of the Quaid-i-Azam."

Khan Bahadur Shaikh Karamat Ali, supporting the resolution, said that the issue of Pakistan had been before the public for a long time now, and the Hindu community should realize that Pakistan meant their freedom also. He urged the Muslims to be prepared to make any sacrifice for the attainment of Pakistan. He said that the appointment of the Committee of Action as envisaged in the resolution before the house was the first step in the preparation for the struggle that was shortly to come for the achievment of Pakistan. The Committee would take stock of the whole situation, and then prepare the Muslims for direct action. It was no use appealing to either the Hindus or the British. The British Government would never care for their appeals. "If you lick John Bull", he said, "he will kick you. But if you kick him he will lick you." And so what was required was force, and force was the result of organization.

"We do not have as much against the Hindu as we have against the Englishman; he is not practising half as much tolerance as the Muslim kings practised against the Hindus in India. With this fact in view, the Hindu is erring if he thinks he can find a more congenial friend in the British than in the Muslims. We fully know that the Hindu has never gone without British patronage, and yet he is always accusing Muslims of it. The Hindu should remember that if he will not have faith in Musalmans, he will never succeed in his war for freedom. The resolution that the Congress passed in August 1942 was in reality not aimed at the British, in fact, it was a serious onslaught

against the Musalmans of this country."

Concluding, he said, "When the time comes my Province, the Punjab, will not lag behind in any respect. No Musalman has ever tolerated a life of disgrace."

Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar then rose to support the resolution. He said the Committee of Action would build and increase the inherent strength of the Muslims. They could not rely on the support of anyone else, and should continue their struggle alone till victory was achieved. Mr. Nishtar added that the days of negotiations and petitioning were gone, and the Muslims should be prepared to make any sacrifice that might be required to achieve their goal. He warned the Hindus "not to fall in the trap of an All-India Federation, which, he asserted, would only mean the continued subjection of both the communities."

"There was a time", he said, "when Muslims of this country did not know their future or their goal, but now they have one. Therefore, in the provinces where they are in majority, they should be given full independence."

The time was now ripe to begin carrying out a constructive programme, he said. "We have decided our goal—Pakistan. Regardless of Hindu assistance, we should, relying solely upon our own powers and efforts, work out our salvation and should develop the spirit of self-reliance. We should ignore the Hindu cry that Muslims do not deserve Pakistan. Hindus wish to keep us under their yoke of slavery with the help of British force, and wish to deprive us of our due. We will never agree to this."

The General Secretary then put the resolution to the vote, and it was carried unanimously amidst loud and prolonged cheers, and shouts of 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad'.

RESOLUTION II

Mr. Z.H. Lari moved the second resolution:

Whereas, as the first step towards consolidating the strength of the Muslims of the Pakistan areas and preparing them for the heavy and onerous responsibilities inherent in the status of an independent sovereign State, the All-India Muslim League has, with the support and co-operation of the Muslims, succeeded in establishing its Governments in all the Pakistan Provinces, which has naturally opened up vast opportunities to the Muslim representatives in the Assemblies and Cabinets for service to their people in the provincial sphere of activities like education, agriculture, irrigation, providing facilities for labour, economic holdings and fair rent for tenants, etc.

And whereas it is acutely realized that neither the people nor the Provincial States, which have for long been denied opportunities for a fair and natural development due to historical, political and, in some instances, communal considerations, will be able to ameliorate their

> lot to any appreciable degree, or effectively function as a State without a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction and State industrialization.
>
> This Session of the All-India Muslim League hereby authorizes the President to appoint a committee with powers to prepare a comprehensive scheme for a five-year programme for economic and social uplift: State industrialization in the Pakistan zones; the introduction of free primary basic education; reform of the land system; stabilization of rent; security of tenure; improvement in the condition of labour and agriculture, and control of money-lending.
>
> The Committee shall submit its report as early as possible, and an interim report not later than June 1944 to the Working Committee for necessary action thereon.

The mover said that all the Pakistan Provinces now had Muslim League Ministries; but in spite of this, the Muslims in those areas were still backward, both educationally and economically. He stressed the importance of agriculture in the national economy of those areas. The need of the hour, he said, was to abolish the class of big zemindars and protect the rights of the *kisans*.

Mr. Lari said the resolution had four main parts: (1) Solid and firm Muslim Ministries should be established with the help of the Muslims in their Majority Provinces. (2) A practical programme should be chalked out for the economic and industrial advancement of the Muslims in India. (3) An extensive plan should be made for the educational and general uplift of the Muslims. (4) A five-year plan for the industrial development of the Pakistan Provinces should be adopted.

Explaining the establishment of Ministries, the mover laid stress on the point that the aim was not to gratify the political aspirations of a few individuals, but to improve the social, educational, and economic condition of the proletariat.

He demanded that elementary education should be made free and compulsory, so that every inhabitant of Pakistan would benefit from the blessings of education. The Muslim League did not wish to go on with the kind of education imparted by the British. "We will arrange our own curriculum in the way ordered by the Holy Quran, and as suits us best according to the times", Mr. Lari said.

Talking about industries, he said that State Industries were to be established so that the labourers got a fair deal. To find ways and means of achieving all this would be the duty of the proposed Committee. He hoped that the Committee would go through the various questions relating to the uplift of the Muslims and make suitable recommendations.

"You are no doubt aware that the biggest portion of the population of this Subcontinent lives in villages. Our *kisans* are in a bad way, they never get any education or social benefits. Our big landlords are the creation of British

machinations, and the Muslim League does not desire to back them. We have to think of ways to lower land taxes, so that the poor *kisan* gets an opportunity of improving his lot. We desire to remove his restlessness, so that he can enjoy the fruits of his land in peace and prosperity. Our Committee will work out plans on how a tiller of the soil may get the best from his rights. The foundation of all this will be laid down upon Islamic principles. In all our schemes and actions the benefit of the proletariat will ever be kept in sight'', Mr. Lari concluded.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. Tamizuddin said that nowhere in the world was the standard of living so low as in India, and no one could bring about a millennium by merely preparing a comprehensive plan. In order to find the cure, they should first ascertain the disease. The disease was political subjugation, and so there could be no economic progress until this subjugation was removed. There was no short-cut to the desired millennium, and their first duty therefore was to win independence and Pakistan simultaneously.

Continuing, Mr. Tamizuddin said that if the Hindus really wanted to have independence for India, they should join hands with the Muslim League. If they were not prepared to do so, one should conclude that it was the Hindus who were standing in the way of the independence of the country.

Mr. Tamizuddin added that the liquidation of illiteracy was of prime importance in any scheme of improvement. But he was afraid that not much could be done in that direction also, so long as India remained a subject country. The Bengal Minister then referred to the new world conditions that might emerge after the war was won and the need for a comprehensive economic and social plan. It was therefore quite opportune that a committee should at once undertake the task of planning ahead and drawing up schemes for the future.

''The essential industries'', he said, ''should be run by the State and there should be complete industrialization of the country. We shall not be able to create conditions under which the State can own all the essential industries unless we are able to get our independence. Money can come from the same source from which it came in Soviet Russia.'' He hoped that the Committee to be appointed would deal with these issues.

Mr. Hamid Nizami, supporting the resolution, said that it was necessary to pass the resolution for the sake of the all-round progress of Muslims in the entire Pakistan area. The Muslim League, he said, must show to the people that it was an organization, not of landlords, zamindars and jagirdars, but a body devoted to the cause of labourers and peasants, who formed the majority in the body politic. The resolution sought to make the Muslims self-sufficient, and they would not have to rely for anything on Hindu India.

The setting up of Muslim Ministries did not mean that friends and relatives of the Ministers be provided with lucrative jobs. The Ministers were there to serve the people, especially the poor.

"Muslims have now reached that stage of organization", Mr. Nizami said, "where we must think seriously over the future programme, so that we may take full advantage of all our moves. Our Quaid-i-Azam, in his Presidential Address, only last night pointed out that our national unity has become known all over the world. In other words, the Indian Muslims have united to achieve their goal—Pakistan.

"Musalmans are a nation of poor people. We must therefore first attend to the demands of our poorer brethren; we have to think of their needs, we have no time now for attending to the rich landlords. Let us open all doors of the All-India Muslim League, so that poor people and the proletariat can enter it and realize that joining the League is the one and only panacea of their needs. I would request the workers of the League to go amongst the poor and give them relief; 90 per cent of our Muslim brethren are poor people. Without bringing them into its pale our League cannot succeed truly in its aims.

"The Hindu always says that he does not help the British, but in the present war 99 per cent of the big war-material supply contracts have been taken and fulfilled by the Hindu. Is this not a live proof of his helping the British war efforts?"

Mr. Jinnah himself next commended the resolution. He said that the responsibility of selecting the personnel of the Committee was his. The experience of such committees in the past, said Mr. Jinnah, had been that people came forward merely for the sake of publicity. After their appointment they hardly did any work. He would not favour such a committee. He asked those members of the League to come forward who were prepared to carry out a strenuous task—men, confident, capable and fully devoted to the task entrusted to them.

The report, added Mr. Jinnah, should be submitted to the Working Committee within six months, and members should be prepared to devote their whole time to their work. He would choose the personnel of the Committee from the names received by him.

The President then put the resolution to the vote, and it was carried unanimously amidst loud cheers and shouts of 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad'.

RESOLUTION III

The house then took up the following resolution on Satyarath Prakash.

This Session of the All-India Muslim League invites the attention of the Central Government, as well as of the Provincial Governments, to those chapters of the late Swami Dayanand's book, *Satyarath Prakash*, which contain objectionable, insulting and provocative remarks against the Holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be on Him) and other founders of religions, and emphatically demands that the said Governments should proscribe these chapters, and also prosecute the publishers of these

chapters under the revelant Section of I.P.S., with a view to securing effective prevention of such literature.

Moving the resolution, Professor Malik Inayatullah of Lahore said that since the beginning of Islam, Muslims had never made offensive remarks against any religion. It was a pity that, at a time when everyone wanted to respect other peoples' religious susceptibilities, the chapters in *Satyarath Prakash* were allowed to remain untouched. Muslims had no objection to those chapters in *Satyarath Prakash* which defined the religious precepts of the Arya Samaj. But they could not tolerate this book's chapters 12, 13 and 14, which were condemned by Muslims all over India.

At this stage, the speaker wished to quote certain passages from the chapters in question, whereupon Mr. Jinnah got up and said, "These passages are so objectionable that I do not want any publicity to be given to them."

Haji Ali Akbar Shah, seconding the resolution, said he was glad that the agitation against the *Satyarath Prakash* first began in his Province, Hyderabad (Sind). He insisted that all copies of the book should be seized by the Government of India. He declared that a Muslim, however cowardly he might be, will never hesitate to give his very life if his Prophet were insulted in any way.

Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, supporting the resolution, said that, in *Young India*, even Mahatma Gandhi had written that so long as *Satyarath Prakash* was extant, there could be no communal unity in India. Muslims, he said, were prepared to make any sacrifice to see that the objectionable chapters were proscribed.

The resolution was passed unanimously; and the house then adjourned till the next morning.

Third Sitting

The third and last open session of the All-India Muslim League was held on Sunday, December 26, 1943, in the Haroonabad Pandal at 10:30 a.m. The huge *pandal*, measuring 700 feet by 380 feet, was packed from end to end long before the sitting was due to commence. Again, at least 100,000 people, including those on the dais, were present. There were special purdah arrangements for ladies, but quite a large number of them were seen sitting on the open dais.

As usual the proceedings of the day commenced with the recitation of verses from the Holy Quran.

Anwar Ali Qureshi then recited a new Urdu poem that he had composed for the occasion.

At 11 a.m. Mr. Jinnah entered the *pandal*, accompanied by two bodyguards, with drawn swords, and Miss Fatima Jinnah, Mr. G.M. Syed and others.

ANNUAL REPORT

At the very outset, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the

League, submitted the Annual Report of the League to the Session. In a review of the activities and progress of the League, the Nawabzada said:

We met last April, 1943, at Delhi. On that occasion the Quaid-i-Azam, in the Presidential Address, extended a fresh invitation to Hindu leadership to come to terms with the League to solve the deadlock resulting from the failure of the Cripps Mission and to put in joint efforts for the liberation of India. What Mr. Jinnah obviously meant was that, if there were definite indications that Mr. Gandhi had really changed his heart and was now willing to withdraw his August Resolution, which was tantamount to a pistol aimed at the heart of Muslim India, and if he was prepared to base negotiations on the acceptance of fundamental rights of self-determination for Musalmans, he could write to Mr. Jinnah direct and the British Government would not dare stop such a letter.

Now instead of adopting a straightforward course with a view to solving the deadlock, Mr. Gandhi resorted to trickeries for landing Mr. Jinnah into fruitless trouble. He wrote to say, as it transpires from the Government communique, that he would like to see Mr. Jinnah. There was no indication whatsoever that he had now decided to give up his inimical policy towards the Musalmans and was prepared to recognize their fundamental rights. The game, however, could easily be seen through by the Quaid-i-Azam, who proved too seasoned to fall a prey to such machinations. The Hindu Press now came up, as usual, with their taunts and sarcasms, and used all sorts of mischievous remarks against the Quaid-i-Azam with a view to disrupting the solidarity of the Musalmans. Thank God, these vicious contrivances could not shake the confidence which the 100 million Musalmans reposed in their beloved leader.

The Food Crisis

This political deadlock, on the one hand, and the calamities raging in the country, on the other, engaged the full attention of the Muslim League. The Muslim League's Civil Defence Committee did all in its power to help the people in whatever manner it could. Prices began to shoot up too high to be within the reach of the average man. Commodities began to disappear from the markets; and certain parts of India, specially Bengal, were actually in the grip of the most disastrous famine in living memory. The Civil Defence Committee toured the affected areas. Maulana Jamal-ud-Din Abdul Wahid Saheb, Joint Secretary, and I myself made extensive tours and devised ways and means to provide such relief as was possible. The Quaid-i-Azam personally appealed to the Musalmans throughout India to rise to the occasion; and I am glad to say that they responded to the appeal with enthusiasm and generosity. The Muslim Chamber of Commerce rendered great services in this connection, and deserves the heartiest congratulations of the Musalmans of India. The Bengal Muslim League Relief Committee are also up and doing; but the

tremendous calamity which has overtaken the Province is extremely baffling. However, the Muslim League Ministry in the Province, handicapped though it is due to the very limited powers it possesses, is sparing no pains to ameliorate the condition of the masses and to prevent a recurrence of such a disastrous calamity.

The By-elections

The Muslim League had also to fight a number of by-elections in Bengal, the N.W.F.P. and Sind. Thank God, the League has achieved cent per cent success in all these elections and defeated the opponents by overwhelming majorities. These elections have furnished further proof, if any had still been required, that Musalmans throughout India stand as a solid body behind their beloved leader and under the banner of the All-India Muslim League, which is their only representative organization. Elections in the Frontier Province especially proved to the hilt that the vicious propaganda carried on by the Hindu Press and the Hindu organization that the Frontier people follow the Congress was entirely mischievous.

Success in these election campaigns is largely due to the untiring efforts of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Saheb, his colleagues and Maulana Abdul Wahid Jamal Mian Saheb; and I am deeply grateful to them. We have now got Muslim League Ministries in the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, Bengal and Assam Provinces, which cover almost the entire Pakistan area. Is anything more required to prove beyond every shade of doubt that the Musalmans of India stand for the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and have absolute confidence in the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Dastardly Attack on Mr. Jinnah

In July last, the whole of Muslim India was shocked to know that a dastardly attack had been made on the life of the Quaid-i-Azam—I am pained to say, by one who professed to be a Musalman. When I appealed to the Musalmans to observe a Thanks-giving Day on August 13, 1943, the whole of Muslim India responded to the appeal, and the day was observed with the deepest enthusiasm throughout India, thus furnishing another proof of how dear Musalmans hold their Quaid-i-Azam and what confidence they have reposed in his leadership.

Our Ideal

There can be no denying the fact that we have now reached the stage where we have one definite ideal, one leader, one platform and one flag. Now the next step is to decide how to achieve that ideal? Can we achieve our ideal depending upon the goodwill of the British or the Hindus? Nay, certainly not. We have to depend upon the inherent strength of the Musalmans, which has got to be consolidated, mobilized and used judiciously and

with statesmanship and foresight.

The Musalmans of India are now wide awake. They are moving forward with their heads erect and eyes open; and I am sure that, God willing, the day is not far off when their firm determination and untiring efforts, willing sacrifices, disciplined and organized action, under courageous and inspiring leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, will secure for them their cherished goal of Pakistan.

After the conclusion of this speech and adoption of the Annual Report, the house agreed to a number of amendments, including one setting up a Central Parliamentary Board.

RESOLUTION IV

Mr. Hussain Imam then put the following resolution before the house:

> This Session of the All-India Muslim League is greatly perturbed by the shortage and rising prices of all necessaries of life throughout the country, and is of the view that the present position is primarily due to the policy pursued by the Central Government during the last four years.
>
> This Session places on record its considered opinion that immediate, comprehensive and effective price control of all necessaries of life and procurement and rationing thereof is an absolute necessity, and calls upon the Central and Provincial Governments to introduce the same forthwith.

Mr. Hussain Imam criticized the Government of India for not taking effective steps to prevent profiteering and hoarding and to arrange for the proper distribution of food-grains. He felt that inflation was largely responsible for the present distress, and urged that effective steps be taken to rescue poor people who had been affected adversely.

Mr. Hussain Imam said that unless the Government of India took energetic steps, they would not be able to achieve anything, in view of the fact that trade and industry were very well organized in this country. By passing this resolution, he said, the League would be standing by and fulfilling its duties to the masses.

He declared that current controls all over the country existed merely in name, nowhere did the poor benefit from them. The previous year a price control had been set on wheat, but no sooner had the tiller sold his wheat, and had no more left in his hand, when the Government immediately lifted the control, with the result that the capitalists nicely feathered their nests. The same thing happened with rice; cloth was now going through the same routine. Poor people were suffering in each case.

"When something comes to market in large quantities," Mr. Imam said, "it is usual that its price falls; it is an economic principle of supply and demand. To-day the market is simply glutted with money—I mean currency notes—with the result that the value of a rupee is barely three annas to-day. The

Government's power of purchase has greatly increased, and the people's power of purchase has greatly diminished. Now the only way to save ourself in the present situation is to establish controls on everything, and undue profiteering should be stopped. The commercial community is organized: they easily extort any facility they want from the Government, while the poor man is a sufferer in each case. We want that the capitalists should not take undue advantage of the poor in this crisis. It is the vested interests that are to be blamed."

Concluding he said, "We want justice; we do not want any party to flourish through the misery of the other. The poor and the middle classes should not suffer."

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Sind Premier, then rose to second the resolution; and putting forward a spirited defence of the Sind Ministry's food policy, spoke for about 50 minutes. He particularly resented the charge that the Sind Government were out to win favour at the expense of the vast majority of producers and consumers. He said that exactly the opposite was the case. Our critics seem to forget that the Sind Government had the courage to turn down the Government of India's open invitation to drop price control, which was tantamount to giving a free hand to exploit and make money at the expense of the consumer. If the Sind Government had done so, then truly they could have been accused of zemindari domination.

"I am proud of my Ministry", said Sir Ghulam Hussain, and added that when Lord Wavell came to Karachi, he told the Viceroy that if Mr. Amery found fault with the Provincial Governments, then he (Sir Ghulam Hussain) would have to reply to Mr. Amery, explaining how the measures proposed by the Sind Government were intended to benefit the cultivators and consumers and not the 400 or so zemindars.

Sir Ghulam Hussain pointed out that in Sind the landless cultivator got 50 per cent of the produce for himself. Therefore, he stood to benefit from any rise in the price of grain; but the condition for this was that the crop should not pass out of his hands. That was the crux of the situation. The cultivator could not hold on to his crop for long. "I am telling the cultivator", said Sir Ghulam Hussain, "Do not sell before I return from Delhi." Sir Ghulam Hussain said that the cultivators in previous years had suffered greatly due to low prices for their produce; and now when they were asking for a little more, an outcry was being raised. It was but fair that the cultivators should get some relief.

Speaking about controls, Sir Ghulam Hussain said, "Who is responsible for this man-made famine in India? It is the irresponsible Government at the Centre that is responsible for this famine. When we are short of supplies, we are to control and commandeer. We were the first to introduce control. The Centre then demanded decontrolling. We refused because, and we were right, with no control you cannot commandeer. I wish to inform my critics

that we wish to do good for the whole of India. I will explain to you how the Central Government is at fault. We have some powers; the Centre wants to take away these powers. But to-day the Centre knows that they are in the wrong. We cannot sacrifice the majority of the poor farmers of Sind at the cost of pleasing the Centre.

"When Lord Wavell came here, I told him plainly that the Secretary of State should not attack us; if there is no control, you will not be able to solve the food problem. We knew there was not enough food-grain in the country, and it was the duty of the Central Government to keep food-grain under control.

"It would have been a very easy matter for the capitalists, if Free Trade had existed in the country. The capitalists would have purchased the entire stock of food-grains, and then sold it to consumers at higher prices. In that case, they would have had their remedy at court if you had taken their grain by force.

"We had established controls in Sind of our own accord, no one had forced us to do so. We did not care much for big landlords. In short, we did what we thought was the best thing for the Province. Even at that time the Centre asked us to decontrol, but we refused plainly. Then the Centre threatened us; but we refused to fall in with their wishes, thereby proving that we had sided with the poor. Even though the Centre had full powers, they could not fix the ceiling price of our Kharif crop. The Centre wants to break my Ministry, and wants the zemindars (who have voted for me to become a Minister) to fight with me. Accordingly, I have told my farmers that they should not sell their food grains up to January 6. We have increased the land taxes, and the farmers expenses have gone up; the price of their produce also must go up at least as high as that of the Punjab.

"I am doing all this, not to help a few big landlords, but to better the conditions of the poor tiller of the soil. When the whole world is earning, why should poor people not earn a bit of what they deserve rightly. We have made a present of Rs. 200,000 to Bengal in the form of reduced prices of rice sold to them. Who else has made such a gift to Bengal?" asked the Sind Premier as he concluded.

Sir Nazimuddin, the Bengal Premier, who supported the resolution, sincerely thanked the military and the whole country for the great help and practical sympathy they had shown to Bengal in her time of trial. He said the Muslim League Ministries had always worked for the masses and not the rich. While the Ministries wanted to control the price of the agricultural produce, the control of other necessities of life must go hand in hand with this. The Ministries had been falsely accused of ignoring the interests of the masses or of procrastination. Actually, it was the Government of India that had so far been the supporter and protector of vested interests.

Dealing with the Aman crop in Bengal, Sir Nazimuddin said that it was

essential to get hold of the Aman crop in order to meet the situation better. But the Central Government was advocating a policy which could frustrate the object of getting hold of the Aman crop in Bengal that year.

The Bengal Ministry had gone on with its schemes in this connection; but objections were raised by a member of the Government of India only a few days ago. If those objections were not quickly withdrawn, there might be great difficulty in the procurement of the Aman crop, Sir Nazimuddin warned.

The Bengal Premier then painted a grave picture of the conditions in rural Bengal. Although the famine was being overcome, the situation from the point of view of clothing and health was giving cause for anxiety. In many villages as much as 50 per cent of the population had been stricken down by a malaria that was of the most virulent type. The lack of quinine and a paucity of doctors added to the complexity of the problem. The Bengal Premier appealed to doctors in all parts of the country to come forward to serve the people of Bengal. No less than 500 more doctors were needed. His Province would give good salaries and conditions of service.

Dealing with the financial side of relief, Sir Nazimuddin said that the situation with which Bengal was faced was an extraordinary one. Her distress was undoubtedly due to war conditions. The Financial burden or relief should therefore be borne by the British Government and the Government of India, and it would be unfair to saddle the Provincial Government with it. There was a tremendous task ahead, and a colossal amount would be needed for the rehabilitation of the stricken districts. The urgent need now was not food but medicines, clothing and blankets.

Sir Nazimuddin took the opportunity to issue an emphatic denial of a statement issued by Mr. Savarkar that conversions of starving Hindus had taken place. There was not an iota of truth in Mr. Savarkar's statement, said Sir Nazimuddin, and added that neither Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee nor any Hindu Sabha leader had mentioned such a thing to him, either direcly or indirectly. It was extraordinary, Sir Nazimuddin concluded, that a responsible leader of a section of the Hindus should give currency to such a baseless charge.

Sir Nazimuddin had spoken for about 25 minutes in his inimitable style. Next, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhri, Minister from Assam, seconded the resolution, and spoke for about 5 minutes. He said the food problem was getting very acute, and to cope with the present situation, the resolution placed before them was of great importance.

Then the resolution was put to the vote and passed unanimously, followed by shouts of 'Pakistan Zindabad'.

RESOLUTION V

The next resolution was proposed by Qazi Mohammad Isa, and read as follows:

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League calls upon the Government of India to ask the British Parliament to review their policy of staying elections of the Provincial and Central Legislature, during the pendency of the war. This policy had led to the reduction of the Provincial Legislature to a position where they are rapidly getting out of touch with public opinion and can no longer be said to be representatives of the true views and sentiments of the people.

The proposer read the text in English, and then translated it into Urdu for the benefit of those that did not understand English. He said:

The last elections took place in 1937; at that time the League had no life in it. In the last seven years the League has become a live body. Normally the elections should have taken place in 1942, but the lives of both the Provincial and the Central Assemblies are being extended. The reasons given for not holding fresh elections is war. Is it right? If the reason given is right, then why are elections being held in other parts of the world? Why do they not prove a hindrance in the way of the so-called war effort? U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, and in fact all over the world, elections are being held; then is it only an excuse, and at that a lame one, that is being put to us to put us off? War conditions do not stand in the way of holding elections. This policy of procrastination is harmful to the Musalmans. In 1937 the League had not expanded; it was not organized as it is to-day; at that time it had no definite aim. In the last seven years, under the unfaltering and wise guidance of our Quaid-i-Azam it has become powerful; therefore under present conditions, it is imperative that fresh elections should take place, and the assemblies become the true representatives of the electorates.

To-day conditions have changed, the Muslim League has a goal, Pakistan, before it. She wants to achieve it. Nearly 50 by-elections have been fought throughout India; and barring one place, the victory has in each case been for the League candidate. This clearly indicates that the time is now ripe for fresh elections to take place. The Muslim mentality in each province has greatly changed and become Pakistan-minded. It has become clear like daylight upon the world that the Indian Musalman has now become aware of his rights, and therefore wants his due.

We wish to tell the Government that 'the extension you are giving to the lives of these Assemblies, in other words means that you are only prolonging your hold on this country. Such a state of affairs should forthwith be terminated therefore, we demand that fresh elections should take place.'

Concluding his speech, Qazi Isa said, "From the 50 by-elections, you have seen which party is fit to represent your rights. If you all agree with me, please support this resolution with a unanimous voice. The new Government that will be formed in these provinces after the fresh elections will be the real Islamic Government."

Mr. Yahya Bakhtiyar from Baluchistan, seconding the resolution, said,

"Elections mean that the true representatives of the electorates should sit in the Assemblies, so that they can defend the rights of their electorates. The present Assemblies, in the true sense of the Constitution, are not at all true representatives of the present condition. Therefore, it is essential that fresh elections should take place, so that the government of the country should run as the voter wants it." The only reason for the postponement of elections in India, he said, was to continue British rule under Section 93. War conditions had not stood in the way of other parts of the Dominions, why should they stand in the way of War efforts in this country? Why should other parties in the country be penalized for the mistakes of the Congress?

The resolution was further seconded by Shaikh Abdus Salam, who said, "The Government in this country can undertake new schemes, can dabble in commerce, can establish a rationing system—do they not prove a hinderance in the way of war efforts? It will be essential to have a census of houses for the effective establishment of a rationing scheme. Then why this lame excuse of a hinderance to war efforts? As a matter of fact, the Government does not want true representatives of the people to sit in the Assemblies."

Giving further support to the resolution, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab Government, stepped forward and said that in one way this resolution was of very great importance. "I do not want to second this resolution in the usual formal manner, but I second it very sincerely. When the last elections took place in 1937, the aims the League had before it were quite different to what they are to-day. Therefore, it is only fair to the League that fresh elections should be held. To make this resolution a successful one, great and, in fact, supreme efforts will have to be made. Leagues in each province will have to get their Provincial Governments to agree to this resolution that the present Assemblies are not the true representatives of the proletariat. Only a fresh election could correctly reflect the opinion of Muslim India, which stands solidly on Pakistan."

The resolution was put to the vote, and passed unanimously.

RESOLUTION VI

The next resólution was put forward by Syed Zakir Ali, Secretary of the Defence Committee. He first read out the resolution in English and then translated it into Urdu for the benefit of those who could not follow it. The resolution read as follows:

> This Session of the All-India Muslim League urges, with all the emphasis at its command, upon His Majesty's Government in particular and other Allied Powers, that the territories recently released from the control of Italy, *viz.*, Ceranaica, be not handed back to the Italian Government, but be constituted independent sovereign States.
>
> This Session is further of opinion that the vicious system of mandates should be abolished once for all, and the countries of which the mandates

were held by Great Britain and France, *viz.*, Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon, should be restored to the people of the countries to set up their own sovereign Governments in these territories.

Having regard to the oft-repeated declarations by the United Nations that they seek to liberate subject nationalities. This Session demands that the United Powers should urge France to liberate Morocco, Algeria and Tunis.

The proposer of the resolution said, "The resolution is quite clear. In the Atlantic Charter it was clearly stated that the countries that are liberated from the Axis Powers will be allowed to become free nations. It now becomes incumbent upon the Allies to liberate those countries and not to return them to Italy."

Concerning Morocco, the speaker wanted that it should be freed from all mandates. For the Lebanon and Syria, he demanded that these too should be freed from the French mandate.

"The British have made so many promises," Syed Zakir Ali said, "and since none of them have been fulfilled, we have little faith left in them. If the Government will not listen to the united voice of Muslim India, the whole world will know, and the war will not be won for the Allies."

The resolution was seconded by Jamal Mian Firangi Mahali, the Joint Secretary, All-India Muslim League, who said: "We are slaves; we are asking for freedom. We are ourselves seeking freedom from the British; in such a state what else can we do but request freedom for our co-religionists? As long as we will not be free, and as long as we have not achieved our Pakistan, no one will listen to us—our cry will be a voice in the wilderness. If we wish to help our brethren in attaining their freedom, we should first be free ourselves, and then we will be in a position to enforce our demands by sheer power."

After this the resolution was put to the vote, and passed unanimously, amidst prolonged cheers.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan proposed the names of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan for the General Secretaryship, and Amir Ahmad Khan, Raja of Mahmudabad, for Treasurership. Mr. Yusuf Haroon seconded the names.

In putting the proposition to the vote, Mr. Jinnah described Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as 'my right hand'. The Nawabzada had worked and served day and night, and none could possibly have an idea of the great burden he shouldered. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Jinnah continued, commanded the universal respect and confidence of the Musalmans. Though a Nawabzada, he was a thorough proletarian, and he hoped other Nawabs in the country would follow his example. Mr. Jinnah paid tribute to the General Secretary for the services he had rendered to the League during the last seven

years, and wished him a long life of service to the community.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the Muslim paper *Dawn*, which had been founded a year back, and said that had it not been for Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's supervision, and his hard labour, the paper would not have attained the success which it had achieved in such a short period. The Nawabzada, in reply, thanked Mr. Jinnah and said, "I have devoted my life to the cause of the country and the nation, and I pray that I may be strong and firm in the discharge of my duty."

Following the election of these office-bearers, the election of the Joint Secretaries was postponed till the next meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Winding up the proceedings of the session, Mr. M. A. Jinnah expressed his satisfaction at the magnificent success of the meeting. He paid tributes to Mr. Yusuf Haroon, the General Secretary, and Mr. G. M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and to the other members and workers of the Committee for the untiring efforts which had made the session a great success.

Mr. Jinnah also cordially thanked the delegates for the great success of the session. Both in the presidential procession and inside the *pandal*, he saw Muslims of every section, Khojas, Memons, Bohras, Pathans, in fact of every class, and it showed clearly that Muslims were united.

What was it that kept the Muslims united as one man and what was the bedrock and sheet-anchor of the community, asked Mr. Jinnah. "Islam", he said, and added: "It is the Great Book, the Quran, that is the sheet-anchor of Muslim India. I am sure that as we go on and on, there will be more and more of oneness—one God, one Book, one Qibla, one Prophet and one Nation."

Before the session was declared closed, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, in a short speech, offered his thanks to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. G. M. Syed for the trouble they had taken over the session.

Mr. Haroon also thanked the following persons for their co-operation in making the session a success:

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Khan Bahadur Khurro, Mr. H. M. Gazdar, Peer Ilahi Bakhsh, Syed Mohammed Ali Shah, who worked as volunteer, Hussain Bakhsh Shah, Ghulam Nabi Khan, Lala Shambhoo Nath (the Mayor of Karachi) and several other persons, local organizations and bodies, other officials and non-officials who helped in the preparation and completion of the *pandal* and other arrangements.

NAWAB BAHADUR YAR JANG'S ORATION

The following is the English translation of the speech of Moulvi Muhammad Bahadur Khan, President All-India States Muslim League, which

he made on December 26, just after the conclusion of the Thirty-first Session of the All-India Muslim League:

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, ladies and gentlemen: The session of the All-India Muslim League is over, and in keeping with our old tradition, I am once again called upon to address you. I consider this session to be a momentous one, inasmuch as it has opened a new chapter in the life of the Muslim League.

Of the six resolutions passed at the session, three, as they look to me, are the most important. The first deals with the appointment of a Committee of Action, the second demands the formation of a Five-Year Planning Committee, and the third urges the Central Government to allow General Elections.

I will not say much about the last mentioned resolution beyond saying that however much my Punjabi friends may be indebted to the blessed soul of the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, if the new elections take place, in the words of Ghalib:

بھرم نکل جائے ظالم تیری قامت کی درازی کا
اگر اس طرہ پر پیچ و خم کا پیچ و خم نکلے

I will now explain at length the other two resolutions. I consider them to be the harbingers of a new era, heralds of a new dawn, and an auspicious sign of the bright future of the League. I would beg leave of our Quaid-i-Azam to say in the words of Dagh:

تیور تیرے اے رشک قمر دیکھ رہے ہیں
ہم شام سے انداز سحر دیکھ رہے ہیں

Steady Progress Towards Pakistan

The regeneration and the progress of the League is a natural process of regeneration and progress which has taken place gradually and steadily and will continue in the same manner. The Muslim League has not revolutionized our political life abruptly, but has led us slowly and steadily to our goal, so that every step may carry us forward and be irrevocable. When the Quaid-i-Azam took the reins of the League in his hands, we were hypnotized by false notions and wrong ideologies. Our compatriots had given us to understand that we were a minority in spite of our 100 millions. This inferiority complex had influenced every one of us. The Quaid-i-Azam told us that we were not a minority; for 100 million people cannot be called a minority. We were a nation—a separate and self-contained nation—whose ingredients and structure differed fundamentally from those of other nations of the world, and which was founded on fundamentals that transcend geographical boundaries, race and colour.

When this idea that we are not a minority but a nation earned the general support of the Muslims, the Quaid-i-Azam told us that the Parliamentary system of Government cannot be suitable for a country which is inhabited by two separate nations having nothing in common with each other. When this theory too became popular with the Muslims, the Quaid-i-Azam went further and gave practical shape to Iqbal's dream by demanding the establishment of sovereign and free Muslim States in the North-West and North-East of India, which are predominantly Muslim zones. This demand is now popularly called Pakistan.

Three years ago many of us did not even believe that Pakistan would ever be realized.

Committee of Action

But the Cripps Proposals and the present hopeful conditions have assured its early realization. More and more Muslims are now joining in our demand for Pakistan. The time has now come that the League should take a final preparatory step in this direction. At Delhi we gave our last warning to the British Government. To-day the All-India Muslim League, by passing the resolution of a 'Council of Action', has expressed its firm determination that if Pakistan was not to be had on demand, we will have it by force.

A leader or commander of an army whose soldiers are paralysed, lame and inactive cannot hope to win any war. It is expedient for him to evaluate his true strength before raising the war cry. This Council of Action has been appointed not only to make an estimate of the League's strength in each province, but also to raise new strength and preserve it for the day when our Leader would order us to march forward.

Muslims of India, holding public meetings, passing resolutions and making or hearing speeches never revolutionize the life of any nation. So far as the stage of your purity of thought and ideology is concerned, that stage is passed. The time is for action, and action alone. If you are not prepared for it, do not abase Pakistan by your demand. Perhaps Dagh addressed us when he said:

نہ تھی تاب اے دل تو کیوں چاہ کی
بـڑا تـیـر مـارا اگـر آہ کی

Therefore, get ready and assure your cautious and foresighted Leader that the whole nation is with him at every stage of the struggle.

Quaid-i-Azam, do not be disappointed. Your friend and old colleague, Iqbal (may God bless his soul), perhaps addressed you when he said:

اے رہبر فرزانہ مایوس نہ ہو اس سے
کم کوش سہی لیکن بے ذوق نہیں راہی

It is possible you may not get people of sound and strong calibre from our so-called elite, but our nation is not devoid of sturdy, obedient and selfless soldiers. Allow me to offer myself in the capacity of a humble soldier for the Council of Action. I make this offer with all my heart. I solemnly pledge and bear you and the audience as my witnesses, I bear the air, the shining sun, the stars and the moon and, above all, I bear God as my witness, that I will sacrifice my life and everything at your command in the name of God. I assure you that you will never find me lagging behind even at the most difficult stage of our struggle.

Quaid-i-Azam, that day will be the greatest day of my life when I shall have sacrificed the last penny in my pocket and the last drop of my blood at the altar of God. (Voices from the meeting: "We are with you."

Do not make a hasty decision. I arrived at this decision after) 12 years of constant thinking. For all these years I have been preparing myself. Now I am ready for action. Go and make your decision after having a look at the blooming faces of your wives and the smiling faces of your children. Make your decision after taking into account all sorts of sacrifices that you will have to make in this path. Think of all your relations, think of the ruination of your property. Many a decision of the Musalmans, which they make in a fit of passion and in imitation of others, is only for the moment and ephemeral. To-day we do not want those people who want to effloresce into fragrant sweet flowers on the 'Tree of the Millat'. We want people who will kill all their desires and efface themselves into manure to strengthen the roots and trunk of the tree. We want people who will spill their own blood and give their life for the life of their nation. Those enthusiasts are not needed who nourish a desire for pageantry. Only those foundation stones are needed which bury themselves deep into the earth to support a magnificent edifice on them. I said it yesterday and repeat it today.

ایسی کوئی دنیا نہیں افلاک کے نیچے
بےمعرکہ ہاتھ آئے جہاں تخت جم وکئے

Planning Committee

The second speciality of this session is the resolution about the formation of a Five-Year Planning Committee. As the Persian maxim goes, 'happy is the man who is foresighted'.

مرد آخر بیں مبارک بندہ ایست

Even those nations who are involved in a life and death struggle in the present global war, and whose success and defeat cannot as yet be prophesied, are busy to-day chalking out post-war plans. If, therefore, the Muslim League has also thought it fit to prepare a plan about the future progress and prosperity of Pakistan, it has taken a step in the right direction.

The achievement of Pakistan will not be so difficult as its maintenance. Your Quaid-i-Azam has proclaimed more than once that the Muslims have no right to frame the constitution and law of any one of their States. The laws governing the constitution of a Muslim are definitely laid down in the Holy Quran. There is no denying the fact that we want Pakistan for the establishment of the Quranic system of government. It will bring about a revolution in our life, a rennaisance, a new fervour and zeal, and above all a resuscitation of pristine Islamic purity and glory. The object of this Planning Committee will be to enable the Muslims of Hindustan in general and Pakistan in particular to make their life worth living and plan their educational, social, economic and political uplift from the purely Islamic point of view. No actual revolution can take place unless an intellectual revolution precedes it. It is therefore imperative to bring about an intellectual revolution first of all.

Present Educational System

In the history of revolutions, we find that Muhammad (peace be upon him) was the only person who successfully brought about these two kinds of revolutions in a short period of only 23 years. To complete the first stage it is necessary that we pay the utmost attention to our educational system. It is only the present system of education in our country that has taught us humble servility, self-negation and absence of ambition. It was India's misfortune that our educational system was chalked out by a nation that did not only want to exploit the economic resources of this land, but also wanted to have a firm grip on our heart and soul. It presented our history before us in such a manner that we turned enemies against each other. We therefore want a complete reorientation of this system of education, which has killed all initiative and spirit of enterprise and co-operation amongst us. Only that system will suit us which is based on the Quran and the Traditions, and which would produce true Muslims.

In any system of education, I attach the greatest importance to primary education. It is on primary education that our socio-political structure is raised. The Planning Committee will chalk out a system which will not only be better than any other scheme of education, but will also be revolutionizing. It is your duty to help this Committee to your utmost.

Solution of Economic Problems

The second important subject this Committee will deal with is the solution of your economic problem. You know only too well that economic issues are the root cause of this war. Before the advent of Islam, there was a deep division between the rich and the poor. On one side, there were mounds of silver and gold, while on the other were deep gaping caves of poverty. People used religion as a means to maintain this unnatural class division. Imperialism and capitalism ruled supreme. When Muhammad,

the Prophet of God (may peace be on him), came, he mitigated all these divisions with one stroke of "*La Ilaha Illallah*", and brought about a perfect and natural equality between man and man. In his society, Bilal and Abu Bakr, Ammar bin Yasir and Omar were all set equal. The abolition of interest cut out the roots of usury; the law of inheritance checked all ways to the amassment and accumulation of wealth; Zakat led to the circulation of hoarded wealth, and encouragement of charity wiped out all poverty and economic inequality from the soil of Arabia.

But Islam's economic system does not end here. It goes much further. The Quran enunciates that land belongs to God and consequently to the Islamic State—rivers, canals, forests, minerals are all State property, no individual can have any exclusive claim on them. The system of Zakat, which is a tax on capital and not on income, is the greatest of all taxes that modern civilized countries have levied on their people. In view of this flawless economic system, can we care to cast a look at any other system? I feel—and ardently feel—that the entry of Russia into this war on the side of the Allies has opened the door to Communism in India, and the scarcity and dearness of food have provided Communist preachers with an opportunity to raise 'the slogan of bread' with some effect and to seduce the poverty-stricken masses to embrace their faith. But I would draw the attention of Muslim youth to the fact that, if Communism means to efface poverty and class distinctions and to provide bread and clothing to the poor, I can call myself a rank Communist. But if Communism, as inspired by Carl Marx's philosophy, is based on a negation of God, I seek the shelter of God from it.

Islam is based on the affirmation of the Unity of God. If Muslims relegate this to a secondary importance, they are getting out of the fold of Islam. I proclaim from this rostrum that people who base their economic system on the negation of God should quit this *pandal*. I am sure that when our Planning Committee chalks out an economic system, it will be based upon the Quran.

Quaid-i-Azam! We have understood Pakistan in this light. If your Pakistan is not such, we do not want it. ("Is this a challenge to me?" asked the Quaid-i-Azam smiling.)

No, Sir, I am not challenging you. I wanted to explain to the audience through this 'challenge' the nature of the Pakistan we visualize.

Brethren and sisters-in-Islam! Remember, the formation of the Planning Committee is a new phase in your political life. That nation which is not well off economically and educationally can never be a great political power. Political independence with economic enslavement is the worst type of slavery. The chief aim of the Planning Committee would be to secure your economic emancipation.

Before I conclude my speech, I would like to bring it to your notice that, if you want to have a Pakistan in which the people inhabiting it would be

mentally and physically pure, you should strive for it in right earnest and from to-day. Start to lead a pure life and be honest in all your dealings. Remember! Physical impurity can be removed, but it is very difficult to remove mental or spiritual impurity. Even if you achieve Pakistan, it will be of no avail and the purpose of Islam will remain unfulfilled if you continue leading impure lives. Make it a point, therefore, to be pure in thought and action at each and every moment. It will be the first and foremost duty of your Council of Action to purify Pakistani soldiers for the great fight ahead. But alas, it is an undeniable fact that a soldier cannot be purified unless each and every commander is also pure. Listen and remember what the greatest Muslim Philosopher of the present age has said:

عطار ہو رومی ہو رازی ہو غزالی ہو
کچھ ہاتھ نہیں آتا بے آہ سحر گاہی
دارا و سکندر سے وہ مرد فقیر اولیٰ
ہو جسکی فقیری میں انداز یداللہی

(Turning round and addressing those sitting on the dais):

اے طائر لاہوتی اس رزق سے موت اچھی
جس رزق سے آتی ہو پرواز میں کوتاہی

MEMBERS FOR COUNCIL OF ACTION APPOINTED

A Committee of Action of six members was appointed on December 27 by the President of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in terms of the main resolution passed at the session just concluded.

The members of the Committee were: Nawab Ismail Khan (Chairman); Mr. G. M. Syed; Haji Sattar Essack Sait; Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot; Qazi Mohammad Isa; Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (Convener).

Mr. Jinnah's announcement read: "In pursuance of Resolution III passed by the All-India Muslim League Session held at Karachi on December 25, I appoint the following committee till the next annual session to undertake immediately the work of organizing, co-ordinating and unifying the Provincial League and the entire Muslim League organization in consonance with the Constitution, Rules and Programme of the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah announced that the following powers had been delegated to the Committee as authorized by the League Constitution:

To appoint or institute subcommittees for carrying out such duties and function as may be entrusted to them to control, direct and regulate all the activities of the various Provincial Leagues, strictly in consonance with the Aims, Objects and Rules of the All-India Muslim League; to take disciplinary action against any member of the League who violates the decisions of

the League or acts in contravention of its Aims and Objects, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All-India Muslim League; to suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any Provincial League which fails in its duties, infringes or ignores the decisions or directions of the higher bodies; and to take disciplinary action against any office-bearer of a Provincial League who fails in his duties or ignores the decisions or directions of the Working Committee or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever, subject to right of appeal.

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The Working Committee of the Muslim League, which met on December 27 at the residence of Mr. Yusuf Haroon, appointed a Parliamentary Board of three members in pursuance of the suggestion made by Mr. Jinnah in his Presidential Address.

Members appointed to the Committee were Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Hussain Imam.

After Mr. Jinnah, who presided over the meeting, had announced the appointment of the Committee of Action, the Working Committee resolved that in view of the appointment of that Committee, it was not necessary to constitute a separate All-India Civil Defence Committee, as its functions would also be exercised by the Committee of Action.[1]

1. *Source: Thirty-first Session of the All-India Muslim League, Karachi, December* 1943. Edited by Abdul Hamid and published by The Eastern Times Book Depot, Lahore.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

COUNCIL MEETING

LAHORE, JULY 30, 1944

The half-yearly session of the Council opened at Barkat Ali Hall, Lahore, on the morning of July 30 , under the presidentship of Mr. M.A. Jinnah. Besides the Premiers of Bengal, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, members of the Working Committee and representatives from all parts of the country, including a large number of women, were present. The hall of the meeting was packed to overflowing and the public outside were restrained with great difficulty at the entrance of the hall.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Holy Quran. Mr. Jinnah then rose to make his statement on Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula, which was frequently applauded with cheers. It took him a full hour to read the statement, which had been approved by the Working Committee at its meeting the previous day.

Reviewing the political developments in India, with particular reference to Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula, Mr. Jinnah said:

Since the release of Mr. Gandhi there has been a flood of statements, press reports and comments, and I have tried to follow all these as carefully as it is possible for me to do so, particularly with reference to what Mr. Rajagopalachari calls his formula for a Hindu-Muslim settlement; and for the moment, I wish to deal with the matter. Burying the past and starting from that point, let us examine the position.

On May 18, 1944, Mr. Gandhi's letter to me from prison, dated May 4, 1943, was released because, it was stated, the *Dawn* had asked for its publication, and it was owing to the public that the letter should see the light

of day. Hence the release of the letter under Mr. Gandhi's instruction. In that letter, Mr. Gandhi says: "I have followed the proceedings of the League as reported in the *Dawn* columns. I noted your invitation to me to write to you. Hence this letter. I welcome your invitation. I suggest our meeting face to face rather than talking through correspondence. But I am in your hands. I hope that this letter will be sent to you, and if you agree to my proposal, that the Government will let your visit me. One thing I better mention. There seems to be an 'if' about your invitation. Do you say I should write only if I have changed my heart? God alone knows men's hearts. I would like you to take me as I am."

I knew the substance of this letter because the Government had furnished me with it at the time, and in my statement I pointed out that it was not the kind of letter that I expected from Mr. Gandhi in response to the appeal which I made in my speech in April 1943, in my presidential address to the Muslim League. It has now been fully borne out, without a shadow of doubt, that Mr. Gandhi understood that there was an 'if' about my invitation, which was evaded; but nevertheless, as usual, the entire Congress Press accused me of having gone back on my word, and did everything in their power to misrepresent, vilify and mutilate my speech. That 'if' still remains, and the letter still remains undelivered to me. While Mr. Gandhi has been busy —and there has been a plethora of correspondence between him, from the Aga Khan's Palace at Poona, and the Viceroy—and since his release, he has been well enough to see numerous prominent men from day to day and carry on correspondence with the Viceroy and others, he has not, however, thought it proper to send me even a copy of the letter, I being the addressee of the original, but thought fit to release it to the press.

Then comes the next chapter. After all his efforts had failed to establish contact with Lord Linlithgow to negotiate with him over the head of the Muslim League, completely ignoring and bypassing it, he sought an interview with Lord Wavell, his dear friend, conveying to him *ad nauseam* that he was a friend of the British nation and a loyal son of the British Empire, and that he should be allowed to meet the members of the Working Committee in prison or they should be released. And for that purpose he said: "I plead now as a free man for such permission. If you will see me before deciding, I shall gladly go wherever you want me to." This request of his was refused by the Viceroy by his letter of June 22. This 'No' to Mr. Gandhi, it was reported, cast gloom over Poona. Even the final effort of Mr. Gandhi, through the British Journalist, Mr. Calder, as a go-between to link him up with Lord Wavell, was a misfire.

At this psychological moment, Mr. Rajagopalachari was at Poona, and suddenly I received a telegram from him on June 30, as another go-between, complaining without any reason that his letter of April 8 remained unanswered, although he knew perfectly well that it required no answer, as the

answer was already given to him, and threatening me that he would like to publish the formula and my rejection. He said he had sent the telegram with Mr. Gandhi's approval, and further warned me that he would like me at this juncture to reconsider my rejection. In my reply, I pointed out to him that his version that I had rejected the formula was wrong; and I am glad that he does not contradict the true facts as stated by me, but confirms them. The correspondence was, however, abruptly released to the press, so that I should stand on trial before the bar of the public opinion of the world, and of India, and especially of the Musalmans. Immediately the word had been passed, and the Congress Press had framed various grave charges against me. To give a few instances from some of the so-called responsible newspapers: "the irresponsible and ill-considered reply from one who claims to speak for his community is nothing short of a betrayal of his community and the country at large. It is now up to the Muslim community to judge the offer on its merits and find the leader or leaders who will play the game." There were charges like "intoxicated with ego and vanity", "uncompromising attitude", "a block in the way of the freedom of India". It was urged that I should be sacked or made to retire by Muslim India, and so on and so forth. It is surprising that even Mr. Gandhi, at this juncture, had encouraged this propaganda, both in this country and abroad, by the enemies of the Muslim League, by stating, in his interview on July 13, that the British Government is using me as a cloak, and that this "diabolical conspiracy to stifle India's aspirations must be broken". This is the background of the so-called negotiations for a Hindu-Muslim settlement started by Mr. Rajagopalachari, with the approval of Mr. Gandhi, and from the mass of varying statements and contradictions to-day, only one essential issue emerges, namely, that I am put on my trial and that I have now to defend myself. Thus the private negotiations ended. My only sin was that I requested Mr. Raja gopalachari to allow me to place his proposal before my Working Committee and that, as Mr. Gandhi was no longer in prison, I requested that he should directly communicate to me whatever proposals he might choose to put forward, assuring him that I would place them before my Working Committee. What was the objection to such a course? I fail to appreciate the line adopted by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari, and I am willing to face the verdict of the Muslim League and any other independent and impartial men in India or abroad.

Form of the Formula

This is so far as the procedure adopted is concerned. Now we come to the form of the formula. The proposals were not open to any discussion or modification. It was on the basis of 'take it or leave it'. It seems that the Congress philosophy goes one better than British Imperialism. Even the Cripps proposals had the sanction of His Majesty's Government behind them, and His Majesty's Government sent one of the members of the Cabinet all the

way to India to personally approach the Congress and the Muslim League. Not only that. Sir Stafford Cripps was closeted with the Congress leaders and the Working Committee for more than two weeks, explaining and clarifying whatever points were raised by the Congress and the Muslim League. True, there also was the rigidity that the fundamentals of the Cripps proposals were not open to any modification, and that was the reason why he failed. But Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari are out-Heroding Herod. This is pure and simple dictation and not a sincere desire to negotiate. In the first place, Mr. Rajagopalachari is an expelled member of the Congress. Whatever individual efforts he may have made were made by virtue of the approval of Mr. Gandhi to his proposals during Mr. Gandhi's incarceration. Once Mr. Gandhi is released and is a free man, it is up to Mr. Gandhi personally to deal with this grave problem of the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, and there is no need of any go-between. But Mr. Gandhi is too ill, and in his recent interview, when any question was put to him, he directed the questioner to Mr. Rajagopalachari, and the press representatives have been told that he had personally subscribed to Rajaji's offer when he was fasting in the prison camp: "It is now 16 months old. For the rest of the offer, I must carry out the contract between Rajaji and myself. He is to bear the brunt of all criticism that might be made about that offer." It is pity that he gave no indication of this in his famous letter dated May 4, 1943, which still remains undelivered to me—and it has got a new name now, it is not a 'formula' but an 'offer'.

As regards Mr. Gandhi, who says he has subscribed to this offer—but according to Mr. Rajagopalachari, it is "a joint contribution" and "formula"—the question arises, in what capacity can Mr. Gandhi's association be urged, for he also is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He has got so many capacities—his personal capacity, his capacity as the dictator of the Congress, and above all, his Mahatmaic divine authority, which is guided by his inner voice, and he is a *satyagrahi* and the sole interpreter of what it means and stands for. He is not a Hindu but a *Sanatanist*, and he follows a Hinduism of his own. It is rather difficult to know what capacity Mr. Gandhi will use at a given time. Mr. Gandhi, I hope, will be good enough to study the Constitution, Rules and Regulations of the All-India Muslim League, and then he will better understand my position as the President of a really well-organized and democratic body, namely, the All-India Muslim League. I remember when Mr. Gandhi met Lord Linlithgow in September 1939, after the outbreak of the war, and he broke down and tears rolled down from his eyes when he visualized the possible destruction by bombing of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, and said: What is the use of Indian freedom if England and France are defeated; and in a statement, declared this whole-hearted and most enthusiastic support for the prosecution of the war. But hardly a week afterwards, the Congress Working Committee decided to

non-co-operate if their demand for immediate independence etc. was not met; and as a first step, the Congress members of the Central Assembly were ordered to withdraw. Mr. Gandhi turned round and said they were right. He was only in a minority of one, and advised Lord Linlithgow to come to terms with the Congress, approving of their decision.

Merit of the Proposal

Now we come to the merits of the proposal. In this case, we are told by Mr. Rajagopalachari, to quote his own words of the series of telegrams which were released by him:

"Mr. Gandhi, though not vested with representative or special capacity in this matter, definitely approved of my proposal and authorized me to approach you on that basis. The weight of his opinion would most probably secure Congress acceptance."

Mr. Rajagopalachari, in his statement of July 16, from Panchgani, starts with an absolutely untrue and misleading statement. He says that "it is now two years since I started work, even though I had secured Gandhi's unqualified support to the scheme, and it conceded all that the Muslim League had ever demanded in its Resolution of 1940." If this is so, why not say we accept the League Resolution of 1940? His formula is a parody, a negation of, and intended to torpedo, the Muslim League's Resolution of March 1940; and when he says that his formula concedes all that the Muslim League had ever demanded by its resolution, it is the grossest travesty. First of all, where does he find any mention of a plebiscite of any kind in that Resolution? Then why this ridiculous proposal of a plebiscite districtwise? But let me take, clause by clause, some important points of Mr. Rajagopalachari's formula.

First take the preamble, the basis of the terms which, if accepted, will completely bind the Muslim League, whereas the Mahatma may withdraw his blessings, as he is not speaking, according to Mr. Rajagopalachari, with the authority of the Congress or in his representative capacity, whatever that may mean. Then we come to the first clause, "subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution". I do not see "the constitution" in this formula; which constitution does he refer to? Then comes the demand for endorsing the Indian demand for independence. It implies that we are against the independence of the peoples of India; and both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari know that it is an uncalled for insinuation to make, and they are casting an unwarranted reflection upon the Muslim League.

Next comes the condition that we should co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period, thereby arrogating to the Congress a dominant and superior position

and requiring our co-operation as a subordinate body with this leading organization; and as to the kind of Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period that is to be formed, no indication is given as to its powers, etc. After the termination of the war, a Commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India, and a plebiscite of all the inhabitants would be held districtwise, where the Muslim population is in absolute majority. It is not stated who will appoint this Commission, what will be its personnel and its powers, and who will enforce its findings. Really, how can Mr. Rajagopalachari stand unabashed and make a public statement that his formula concedes all that the Muslim League's resolution of March 1940 demands? It would be open to all parties to advocate their point of view before a plebiscite is held, although this agreement is intended to be only between the Congress and the League.

Next, in the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce and communications, and for other essential purposes. The question arises, safeguarding these matters from whom, and what does it mean? These mutual agreements are made obligatory, and it is not very easy to understand the significance of this clause.

Then comes the last clause which is the height of ingenuity. "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India." But it does not say to whom, how and when.

Muslims and the August Resolution

According to the latest statement by Mr. Gandhi, the August Resolution is "absolutely innocuous, and that while his authority has lapsed, the August Resolution has not lapsed. Let it now collapse, for the Muslims do not regard it as innocuous, as both the demand and the sanction to force this demand are inimical to the Muslim ideals and demands. Let Mr. Gandhi join hands with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan in plain and unequivocal language, and we shall be nearer the independence of the peoples of India, which is so dear to the heart of not only Mr. Gandhi, but of millions in this country. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari are putting the cart before the horse when they say that all these clauses can have any value, or can become effective, only if Great Britain transfers power to India—save and except acting on his latest seven points and immediately establishing a National Government of Mr. Gandhi's conception. There is no chance of it unless the Hindus and Muslims come to a settlement and unite, and thus by means of a united front, wring out our freedom from the unwilling hands of the rulers of Great Britain.

I am sorry if by expressing my views honestly and freely and in self-defence, I have hurt anybody's feelings. I purposely did not wish to say

anything when Mr. Gandhi was good enough to release to the press his famous letter to me dated May 4, 1943. I refused to say a single word throughout the period commencing from the release of Mr. Gandhi up to date. I refused to say anything when abruptly the correspondence was disclosed and released to the press by Mr. Rajagopalachari. I had expected, along with millions of people in this country, that Mr. Gandhi would review and revise the entire situation and give a correct lead, having regard to the realities and conditions prevailing in India. But I think, in fairness to the Muslim League and to myself, I must now put our case before the bar of world opinion, and particularly, the public opinion of Hindus and Muslims in this land, as by the tactics of Mr. Rajagopalachari, approved by Mr. Gandhi, I am forced to do so. But out of evil cometh good. I do not mind all the vilification and misrepresentation and the base compaign that is carried on against me. But at last, and it is to the good and conducive to further progress, Mr. Gandhi has, at any rate in his personal capacity, accepted the principle of partition or division of India. What remains now is the question of how and when this has got to be carried out. Mr. Gandhi knows and understands the position better than any living man, for in one of his articles in the *Harijan*, he puts the question of the Pakistan demand in a nutshell. This is what he said: "I hope the Quaid-i-Azam does not represent the considered opinion even of his colleagues. Pakistan, according to him in a nutshell, is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and sovereign State."

I am glad that Mr. Gandhi realizes that 1944 is not 1942. It is not so in more senses than one, and he may further take into consideration that 1939-40-41 is not 1944.

I hope I have made it clear that the procedure and method adopted is hardly conducive to friendly negotiations; and the form is pure dictation, as it is not open to any modification. This is not calculated to lead to fruitful results, or solution and settlement of the problem which concerns the destiny of a nation of 100 million Muslims and their posterity. As regards the merits of the proposal, Mr. Gandhi is offering a shadow and a husk—a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan, and thus trying to pass off having met our Pakistan scheme and Muslim demand.

Mr. Gandhi's Letter

But since all these happenings, I have received a letter from Mr. Gandhi dated July 17, and I have already replied to him on July 24, from Srinagar before my departure. They are as follows. Let us, therefore, wait and see, hoping for the best.

Mr. Jinnah then read out the English translation of Mr. Gandhi's letter written in Gujrati:

'Dilkush'
Panchgani, July 17

Brother Jinnah,

There was a day when I could induce you to speak in the mother-tongue. To-day I take courage to write to you in the same language. I had invited you to meet me while I was in jail. I have not written to you since my release. But to-day my heart says that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me.

I am enclosing herewith a translation of this letter in Urdu.

Your Brother,
Gandhi.

Mr. Jinnah then proceeded to read his own reply as follows:

H.B. "Queen Elizabeth"
Srinagar, Kashmir,
24th July 1944.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I received your letter dated July 17 here on July 22, and I thank you for it.

I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which will probably be about the middle of August. By that time, I hope that you will have recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothing more till we meet.

I am very pleased to read in the press that you are making very good progress, and I hope that you will soon be all right.

Yours Sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah.

RESOLUTIONS

The Council adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of Maulvi Bahadur Khan Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, President of the All-India States Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah described his death as a "terrific blow to Muslim India" and paid tribute to his qualities.

The Council next unanimously passed a resolution moved by Maulana Karam Ali, urging the Government of India to make arrangements for the Hajj pilgrimage. The resolution expressed the view that the pretexts of insecurity in the voyage were absolutely unacceptable in view of Allied victories.

The Council decided to observe a 'Hajj Day' throughout the country to voice their demand.

Syed Zakir Ali then moved a resolution recommending the collection of *zakat* from Muslims through the agency of the League. After a heated discussion in which Nawab Mohammad Ismail, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni and Maulana Karam Ali participated, the resolution was not pressed to a vote, as Mr. Jinnah gave an assurance that the matter would receive the attention of the Working Committee.

The Council authorized Mr. Jinnah to fix the dates and venue of the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League, and then adjourned for lunch.

The Council concluded its session at 8 o'clock in the evening after adopting two resolutions relating to recent developments in the Punjab.

Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni moved the following resolution: "This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League declares that the Governor of the Punjab has, by his improper interference in the case of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan Sahib, and by dismissing him from Ministership without obtaining his reply in regard to the charges levelled against Sardar Sahib, acted in contravention of the basic principles of democratic government and has severely injured the feelings of the Musalmans of India."

Mr. Chundrigar moved the following substitute resolution, which was accepted by the mover and unanimously passed by the Council:

> This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League condemns the action of the Governor of the Punjab in dismissing Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, as apart from the question of his power to dismiss an individual Minister by virtue of the power conferred upon him under section 51 of the Government of India Act, he never furnished the particulars of allegations or charges against him, nor did he allow him any opportunity to give his explanation or defence—which is the inherent right of every citizen, according to the rules of natural justice—before dismissing him, thereby casting grave reflections on his honour, and in spite of repeated demands calling upon him to place the full facts of the case, the Governor has declined to do so.
>
> This Council, therefore, calls upon the Government of India and the British Government to recall the Governor, as he is no longer qualified to hold this office of great responsibility and has been guilty of abusing extraordinary and reserve powers vested in him by the Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935.

Speaking on the resolution, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni said that the dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan had released new forces in the Punjab and had roused the Musalmans of the Punjab to a high pitch of political consciousness. The resolution put in a plea for the recall of the Governor as he had proved himself incapable of holding this high office. The speaker

said that it was surprising that Shaukat Hayat Khan was not given any charge-sheet nor was any explanation asked. The Governor, he said, did not even consider it fit to make a show of justice in this case.

Nawab S.M. Ismail said that Shaukat Hayat Khan had been dismissed primarily because he was loyal to the Muslim League. Even *The Statesman*, he added, had commented against Sir Bertrand Glancy's action and had asked him to give reasons for the dismissal. The speaker asked for the intervention of the Viceroy and the British Government in the matter.

Syed Abdur Rahman then moved the following resolution:

> This Council of the All-India Muslim League approves and endorses the action taken by the Committee of Action in expelling Malik Khizr Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, from the Muslim League for his utter disregard of the wishes of the Muslims of India in general and the Muslims of the Punjab in particular, and for having acted in contravention of the Rules, Aims and Objects of the All-India Muslim League, and also contrary to the decision of the League authorities, that a Member of the Muslim League cannot owe allegiance to two political parties, and notes with contempt that Mr. Khizr Hayat Khan had not even cared to place his case before the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which is the highest national tribunal, consisting of several able and eminent judges, and instead, desires to refer his case to a judge outside the National Council, which evidently means that he is ashamed of facing the Muslim nation on this issue and take its verdict.

The mover said that the expulsion of Malik Khizr Hayat Khan was due to his acts of gross indiscipline, and felt that the interests of the Musalmans of the Punjab were not safe in his hands. He added that the Punjab Premier had taken shelter behind the so-called Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, which had no official recognition from the All-India Muslim League. He asked whether there could ever be a pact between an organization and one single member of the organization, and declared that Malik Khizr Hayat Khan had joined the League not out of conviction but for his own personal convenience. The speaker concluded by saying that Unionism must be completely wiped out from the soil of the Punjab.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali, seconding the resolution, said that he was one of those who tried his best until the last moment to avoid this unpleasant episode in the Punjab. If Malik Khizr Hayat Khan had been a real well-wisher of the Musalmans, he would have accepted Mr. Jinnah's orders.

The speaker said that Malik Khizr Hayat Khan's profession of loyalty to Pakistan was an absurd attempt to befool the Musalmans. He and all his supporters would not be able to stem the rise of League forces in the Province. The Musalmans of the Punjab were behind the Quaid-i-Azam and prepared to make all sacrifices.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Jinnah thanked the members of the Council for having travelled long distances to attend the Council session and expressed his gratitude to them for their support. "Insha' Allah, Pakistan is coming", he concluded.[1]

1. *Source: The Indian Annual Register, 1944*, Vol. II, pp. 188-191.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

SIMLA, JULY 6-14, 1945

RESOLUTION I

(a) The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, after giving careful consideration to the following letter placed before it by the President, All-India Muslim League:

Letter dated June 29, 1945 from His Excellency the Viceroy's Private Secretary to Mr. M.A. Jinnah—

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The following is the action which His Excellency would like you to take if, after consultation with your Working Committee, you are able to accept the suggestion he made at this morning's meeting of the Conference.

(1) To prepare and send him a list giving the names of members of the Muslim League who, in your opinion, could suitably be included in the proposed Executive Council. The number of names in this list should not be less than eight or more than twelve.

(2) If you think you can usefully suggest, for possible inclusion in the Executive Council, the names of persons of any community who are not members of the Muslim League, you are at liberty to add them to your list, keeping them distinct from the names of Muslim League members. His Excellency hopes he made it clear this morning that this is entirely optional. His Excellency's

intention is to scrutinize the lists sent to him and to see whether, from them, and possibly from additional names of his own, he can, on paper, form an Executive Council likely to be acceptable to the parties and to His Majesty's Government. If so, he will consult leaders, including yourself, and thereafter decide whether it is worth while making definite proposals to the Conference.

Resolved that the President be authorized to send the following reply:

Letter dated July 7, 1945 from Mr. M.A. Jinnah to H.E. the Viceroy—

Dear Lord Wavell,

I placed before my Working Committee the suggestion made by Your Excellency at the last meeting of the Conference and communicated to me by your Private Secretary in his letter dated June 29, 1945. The Working Committee, after careful consideration, desire me to convey to you their views, which are:

(1) With regard to your suggestion for submitting a panel of the Members of the Muslim League for inclusion in the proposed Executive Council, the Working Committee desires to point out that when a similar proposal was made by your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Linlithgow, in connection with his offer of August 1940, the Working Committee opposed it and, when its objections were brought to the notice of Lord Linlithgow, he dropped the proposal and suggested another alternative in his letter dated September 25, 1940, addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League, an extract from which is given below: "I appreciate, however, the difficulties which, you made it clear to me, confronted you in connection with the formulation of the panel which I had earlier suggested to you; and in the light of our discussion, I am content that the selection of representatives, while resting with the Governor-General, should be based in the case of the Muslim League (and, should they so desire, of the other parties to be represented in my Council) not on a panel formally submitted, but on confidential discussion between the leader of the party concerned and myself." This alternative was acceptable to the Muslim League. The Working Committee is of the opinion that the procedure settled on the previous occasion should be followed in the present case so far as the Muslim League is concerned.

(2) Further, the Working Committee is emphatically of the opinion that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council should be chosen from the Muslim League, subject to a confidential discussion between Your Excellency and the President of

the Muslim League, before they are finally recommended by you to the Crown for appointment. The Working Committe feels very strongly on this point and regards it as one of the fundamental principles.

(3) Besides the foregoing, certain other points were also discussed in the Working Committee, particularly the question of providing an effective safeguard against unfair decisions of the majority. While the Committee appreciated the remaks in the statement of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons that the power of veto will be exercised by the Viceroy to protect the minority interests, it was felt that some other effective safeguard would be necessarry, in the interest of the smooth working of the interim arrangement. It was, however, thought that this question could be settled after the strength and the composition of the Executive Council was decided upon.

I have given in the above paragraphs the unanimous opinion of my Working Committee, and I am ready and willing, if you so desire, to meet you and explain the reasons and the grounds for the decision arrived at by the Working Committee.

(b) The Working Committee, after giving their careful consideration to the following letter received from His Excellency the Viceroy:

Letter dated July 9, 1945, from H.E. Lord Wavell to Mr. M.A. Jinnah:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At the end of our talk yesterday evening you said that I could make your problem easier if I replied in writing to your letter of July 7. I do not think you expect any comment now on the first and third points in that letter. Our talk was concerned mainly with the second point, "that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council should be chosen from the Muslim League before they are finally recommended to the Crown for appointment."

I fully appreciate your difficulties, but regret that I am unable to give you the guarantee you wish, i.e., that all the Muslim members of the proposed new Council shall necessarily be members of the Muslim League. As I explained to you, I cannot commit myself to give a similar guarantee to any other party.

I have to attempt to form an Executive Council representative, competent, and generally acceptable, but of cource, I cannot compel any person or any party to co-operate in my own solution if they do not wish to do so.

It will help me greatly if you will let me have names from the Muslim League and I sincerely hope you will do so. I asked for eight, but will certainly accept five if you do not wish to send more. You can

consider later whether any solution I put forward is acceptable to you.

During the next two or three years decisions of great importance will have to be taken by the Government of India, whatever its composition may be. These decisions—on demobilization, economic development, taxation, trade and so on—cannot wait, and it is the hope of His Majesty's Government that the Executive Council responsible for them will be one in which the major political parties are represented. It willl of course be my principal duty to see fair play between all parties not only in the composition of the proposed Council but in its working.

I need the active help of your colleagues and yourself, and I am sure your will give it to me. I have no objection to your showing this letter to your colleagues, but it is not intended for publication."

Resolved that the President be authorized to send the following reply:

Letter dated July 9, 1945, from Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, to His Excellency the Viceroy:

Dear Lord Wavell,

I thank you for your letter of July 9, which I placed before my Working Committee. The Committee, after giving its very careful consideration to the matter, desires me to state that it regrets very much to note that Your Excellency is not able to give the assurance that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council will be selected from the Muslim League. In my letter of July 7, I mentioned that the Committee considers this as one of the fundamental principles, and, in the circumstances, I regret I am not in a position to send the names on behalf of the Muslim League for inclusion in the proposed Executive Council, as desired by you.

I should like to assure Your Excellency that it has been the earnest desire of the Committee and myself to assist you in every reasonable way, but it is not possible for us to depart from our fundamental principles.

I need not, therefore, at present say anything more with regard to the other points raised.

(c) The Working Committee, after hearing the proceedings of the concluding session of the Simla Conference reported by the President, resolved that the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League in regard to the Wavell Plan be approved.[1]

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1. *Resolution of the All-India Muslim League from January 1944 to December 1946.* Published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETINGS

DELHI, MARCH 30-31 AND APRIL 4-6, 1946

RESOLUTIONS

I. The Working Committee considered the letter dated March 18, 1946, placed before them by the President of the All-India Muslim League, which he had received from the Private Secretary to H.E. the Viceroy, inviting him "and such other representative or representatives, if any, as the Muslim League may desire to appoint" to meet the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on April 4, 1946. The Committee decided that the President alone should meet the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

II. The Working Committee, after examining the food situation in the country, fully endorse the offer of complete co-operation which the President of the All-India Muslim League has made in the matter of facing the serious danger of food shortages.

The Committee call upon the Muslim League organizations throughout the country to co-operate fully and give every assistance, in the name of suffering humanity, to save the country from starvation, irrespective of political controversies and party politics.

III. The Working Committee strongly disapprove of the policy adopted by the Government in not taking immediate steps to release Captain Abdul Rashid and other I. N. A. men, as the reviewing authority had committed a great error in discriminating between their cases and that of Mr. Shah Nawaz, who was convicted of a graver offence, on the plea of the degree of brutality in the case of Captain Abdul Rashid and others, which is neither legally nor morally tenable. The Working Committee call upon the Viceroy to intervene and, if no other course is open, to grant pardons to them and remit their sentences.[1]

1. Resolutions published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE LEGISLATORS' CONVENTION

DELHI, APRIL 7-9, 1946

The Muslim League Legislators' Convention which was held in Delhi from April 7 to April 9, was the first of its kind in the political history of the Muslim nation of India.

Amidst scenes of tense expectancy and in a specially constructed *pandal* bedecked with Muslim national green flags, green buntings and green streamers bearing national slogans, the Muslim Legislators' Convention opened in the quadrangle of the Anglo-Arabic Hall, Delhi, on Sunday evening.

The famous extract from the Quaid-i-Azam's speech in which he had defined just why Muslims are a separate nation was inscribed in white letters on green cloth measuring some 24 feet by 24 feet, and this made a striking impact:

> We are a nation of hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation.

Two streamers stretched across either side of the dais read: "The road to freedom lies through Pakistan." And another read: "We are determined to fight till the last ditch for our rights in spite of the British or the Congress."

As the various provincial leaders arrived, they were given enthusiastic ovations, and the Quaid-i-Azam on arrival was led in a procession headed by

Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Chief Salar of the Muslim National Guards, and members of the Working Committee and other leaders.

Among the visitors were four Akali leaders,, including Gyani Kartar Singh whose arrival was greeted with enthusiasm. A large number of women visitors were also present. Some 200 journalists were present, representing the world press, and an entire wing was allotted to them. The Press Enclosure contained a number of women journalists, and most prominent among the large number of press photographers was a well-known woman photographer representing the American magazine, *Life*.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan explained that, as the Convention was an entirely new gathering, a formal Chairman had to be elected from among its members. Nawab Ismail Khan proposed and the Nawab of Mamdot seconded that the Quaid-i-Azam should take the Chair, which he did amidst acclamation.

The Quaid-i-Azam wore a cream-coloured Sherwani, white Shalwar and the fur cap which is now widely known by his name.

After a recitation from the Quran, the Quaid-i-Azam rose to speak at exactly three minutes to six. He spoke in ringing tones which were carried to the remotest parts of the large *Pandal* packed to capacity through loud-speakers which functioned excellently. At times the Quaid-i-Azam's voice became charged with a quiet passion of earnestness which produced a visible effect on the delegates and the visitors. At times he spoke in more subdued tones, and once or twice with devastating sarcasm, specially when he referred to the inducements in the shape of better trade facilities which Congress leaders, including Mr. Gandhi, were offering to the British for the purpose of an Anglo-Hindu deal.

MR. M. A. JINNAH'S ADDRESS

Members of the Central Legislature and of the various Provincial Legislatures who have gathered together in this Convention, I offer you my cordial thanks and welcome you in this Convention.

You know that in the battle of elections that was raging for months all over India, by the grace of God and with your sweating labour we have won a victory for which there is no parallel in this world. Ladies and Gentlemen, we had to fight against heavy odds, powerful organizations and all the manoeuvres and machinations of our enemies. But I am glad to say that we have routed our opponents in every battlefield. To-day this historic record stands, that we have captured something like 90 per cent of the Muslim seats, and you have gathered here to-day as the chosen legislative representatives of various constituencies all over India. This Convention is one the like of which has never taken place in the history of India.

It is a heavy and sacred responsibility that we bear as elected and chosen representatives of our people. This Convention is going to lay down once for all, in unequivocal terms as to what we stand for, and I have no doubt that

we are of one opinion only, and that we stand for Pakistan, and we shall not falter or hesitate to fight for it, to die for it if necessary—and achieve it we must, or else we perish. (Prolonged cheers.)

Now you will have the opportunity of exchanging your view among yourselves. We have tried to lay down a practical programme; and the programme is that after my address to you, you form yourselves into a Subjects Committee—and each province will select a limited number because we cannot have a large body. After this Subjects Committee is formulated, any resolution or resolutions will be placed before the full House. You cannot discuss a resolution when there is a large body, and the practical way of dealing with it is that each province should elect its quota of 10 per cent; to that will be added the members of the Central Legislature, and that will be a very small number. That will form your Subjects Committee. There we shall have to carefully examine and review the entire situation that is facing us especially with reference to the solution of the constitutional problem of Pakistan, and in view of the fact that the Cabinet Mission is now here and they have come to discuss matters with us.

Now, I think you have been reading various statements and speeches that are made every day especially in the course of the last three weeks, I have tried to understand what the Congress position is, and I put it before you as I see it.

The Congress position, according to the latest pronouncements of the leading spokesmen of the Congress during the course of this week, is this: In answer to the Muslim demand of Pakistan, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel says: "The Congress can accommodate the Muslim League to the extent of reorganizing the provinces and giving the fullest autonomy possible to those areas in which the Muslims are predominantly in the majority." He goes on to say: "This would be subject to there being a strong Centre, which would be necessary for the defence of India as a whole." "The Congress", he adds, "would never agree to the idea of there being two nations, nor will it recognize nationality based upon religion."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said on April 4, that the way to deal with the present situation was to see Indian independence clearly recognized and leave Indians to compose their differences and find a way out without interference. "It is always difficult to consider these differences in relation to the presence of a third party which controls the situation. When once it is clearly and definitely realized that India is going to function as an independent entity and that the people of India of various groups and communities must come to terms or unfortuntely fight before they come to terms, then reality comes into the picture." He further goes on to say that he envisages, as the first stage after the recognition of independence, the creation of a constitution-making body with sovereign authority. In another recent speech, he was good enough to offer a 'diluted Pakistan' under the suzerainty of a strong Central Congress Government.

If you reduce this Congress formula, it comes to this: that the British Government must first grant independence and hand over the machinery of the Government—both civil and military—to the Congress by way of setting up a national Government of their conception and stand aside. When they are fully saddled in that power and authority, they will proceed to form a constitution-making body with sovereign authority, which will finally decide the fate of 400 million people inhabiting this vast subcontinent. Then, according to Pandit Nehru, the various communities and groups must submit to the decision or fight, and then reality comes into picture.

But we have already got the reality in front of us, and it is foolish to shut our eyes and imagine that the Congress Interim Government or a decree, the writ and the fiat of the so-called constitution-making body of his conception, will command allegiance, respect and obedience. If such a proposal be given effect to and a Government of his dream is set up, it will not hold for 48 hours. It is inconceivable that this Fascist Grand Council should be vested with full powers immediately to decree the fate and destiny of 100 million people—the existing machinery in their hands to be used against 100 million Musalmans and other millions of minorities of and other interests involved. It seems that Congress does not realize how fantastic this proposal and scheme is, whatever you may call it.

On the other hand, the Muslim League proceeds on the basis of reality. I have explained in great detail the fundamental and vital differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. There never has been, for all these centuries, either social or political unity between these two major nations. The Indian unity that we talk of up to to-day is held by the British Government, and they have—by their ultimate sanction of the police and army—maintained peace and law and order in this country.

The Congress claim is founded on a nationality which does not exist, except in the eyes of those who merely dream. Our formula is based on the territory of this Subcontinent being carved into two sovereign states of Hindustan and Pakistan.

Next, the acceptance of the fundamental principle of Pakistan is a *sine qua non* of the consideration of the question of Muslim League co-operation in an Interim Central Government—and further a clear and unequivocal undertaking must be given to implement it without delay. Then alone we can get to the next step.

It follows that the idea of a single constitution-making body has then no place, and we shall not accept it, for it means our consent to proceed on the basis of a united India, which is impossible, and we cannot give our consent to such a course. Apart from many other objections, one is quite clear: that a single constitution-making body will only register the decree of the Congress, and it is a foregone conclusion that Muslims will be in a hopeless minority there.

On the other hand, according to our formula, there would be two sovereign constitution-making bodies, one for Hindustan and the other for Pakistan, and it is the Pakistan constitution-making body which will be in a position to deal with defence or such other matters as may require adjustment, by virtue of contiguity, which will naturally arise. But all this can only be done by means of treaties and agreements between Pakistan and Hindustan.

We cannot accept any proposal which would be, in any way, derogatory to the full sovereignty of Pakistan.

Our formula gives the Hindus three-fourths of this Subcontinent, with a population of nearly 250 millions. Hindustan will be a State bigger than any other State in the world, both in area and population, except China, and we shall have only one-fourth, and in this way we can both live according to our ideals, culture and the social construction of the two major nations. Whereas, if the Congress demand is accepted, it is clear as day-light that we shall be thrown under the yoke not only of Hindu Raj but this present Congress Junta will still have the temerity to harp that they alone represent India, and that they are the sole successors to step in and establish the Congress Raj in place of the British Raj—a position which is impossible and intolerable.

Muslim India will never agree to its realization, and will be bound, and will have no other course open but to resist it by every means possible.

The British are threatened that if they don't surrender to the Congress demand there will be bloodshed, for which preparations are going on: that they will paralyse British trade, and they further threaten that the same will be the result if they favour Pakistan.

If, unfortunately, the British are stampeded by the threat of bloodshed, which is more a bluff than a reality, this time Muslim India is not going to remain passive or neutral. It is going to play its part and face all dangers. Mr. Nehru is greatly mistaken that there might be trouble, as he says, but not very much. He is still living in the atmosphere of 'Anand Bhawan'.

Equally, if the British fall a prey and are prepared to sell the Muslims for trade facilities, which are so profusely offered by the Congress leaders to them—and Mr. Gandhi has gone one better, as he has strongly expressed the view that they will be ready and willing to give 'preferences' to British goods. But they forget that the consumer has got a say in the matter, too, and not merely the Hindu capitalist patrons of the Congress, and that the largest consumers of British goods are Muslims. I hope that the commercial tendencies of Britain will not stampede into such alluring promises and attractive preferential trade offers. In fact, the Congress is always in the habit of giving terms, but they only not mean to keep them, and they over-rule any commitment that may be made according to the circumstances that may suit the Congress.

But apart from that: are the British going to sell the 100 million Muslims and millions of other minorities for the sake of illusory hopes and promi-

ses of their having a flourishing trade, commerce and markets in India? It will be the greatest tragedy indeed in the history of Great Britain to go to that length—and what is more, it will never be realized.

Gentlemen, I have had, as you know, long talks with the Secretary of State for India unofficially, and thereafter officially with the Cabinet Mission as a whole. I am not in a position to tell you anything except that it was a free and frank and most cordial exchange of views on various matters relating to the solution of India's constitutional problem that is facing us. But so far as we are concerned, there can be no compromise on the fundamentals of Pakistan and its sovereignty.

We cannot agree to a single constitution-making body, because it will mean our signing our death-warrant and we cannot agree to consider any interim arrangement unless the Pakistan scheme is accepted as a *sine qua non*.

If any interim arrangement or constitution is forced upon us, we have no other course open to us but to resist it in every way possible. I am sure I say this on behalf of all of you, that we are prepared to sacrifice any thing and every thing, but we shall not submit to any scheme of government prepared without our consent. And if the British go to that length, they will be guilty of the grossest breach of faith and the solemn assurances that they gave us when they wanted our blood and money in the midst of war by their declaration of August 1940. It will be the last straw on the camel's back, and we shall bear it with courage and determination and resist it by all means if they betray us. God is with us because our course is righteous and our demand is just to both Hindus and Muslims inhabiting this great Subcontinent, so we have nothing to fear. Let us march forward with complete unity amongst ourselves, as disciplined soldiers of Pakistan.

Gentlemen, I am sure that you are full of joy and happiness at the great victory that we have achieved in the elections. You have shown to the world that we are a united nation, and that we mean business. Now the only thing I can say is this: I do not think there is any power or any authority that can prevent us from achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan. There is only one condition—unity, and I am confident that we shall march on from victory to victory until we have Pakistan.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

After the Quaid-i-Azam had delivered his speech, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan announced that a Subjects Committee would be formed consisting of 10 per cent of legislators in each province. The quota allotted was: Madras 4, Bombay 4, Bengal 14, United Provinces 8, Punjab 9, Bihar 4, C.P. and Berar 1, Assam 4, N.W.F.P. 4, Orissa 1, Sind 3, Central Assembly 10, Council of State 3. The elections then took place.

The names of the members of the Subjects Committee are given below:

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Sir

Muhammad Yamin Khan, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Haji Esaak Sattar Seth, Mr. Moosa Killedar, Mr. Muhammad Nauman, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Captain Abid Hussain—as representatives from the Central Assembly.

Mr. Husain Imam, Mr. Mahmud Padsha, Mr. Abdul Razzak Sattar Seth, from the Council of State.

Bombay: Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, Mr. K.S.A.A. Khan, Mr. S.M. Hassan, Mr. A.S. Sheikh.

Sind: Haji Ali Akbar Sahib, Agha Badruddin Sahib, Mr. Mahmud Haroon.

Punjab: Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Mian Iftikharuddin, Begum Shah Nawaz, Pir Sahib Makhad, Major Ashiq Husain Qureshi, Choudhury Salamuddin.

Assam: Maulana Abdul Hamid, Mr. Saeed-ur-Rehman, Moulvi Munawar Ali, Moulvi Abdul Haji.

C.P: Syed Rauf Shah Sahib.

N.W.F.P: Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Colonel Nawab Sir Akbar Khan of Hoti, Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan, Mr. Habibullah Khan.

U.P: Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Z.H. Lari, Begum Aijaz Rasul, Nawab Sir Muhammad Yousuf, Moulvi Aijaz Ahmad Khan , Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Professor A.B.A. Halim, Mr. S. Rizwanullah.

Madras: Muhammad Ismail Sahib, Mr. K.M. Seth, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Khan Bahadur Doctor Tajuddin.

Bihar: Mr. Latifur Rehman, Mr. Tajammul Hussain, Mr. Abid, Mr. Jafar Imam.

Bengal: Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Mr. Abdul Hashim, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, Mr. Hameed-ul-Haq, Mr. Fazl-ur-Rehman, Khan Bahadur Noor-ul-Amin, Khan Bahadur Sharfuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Muazzam Uddin Hussain, Maulana Baqi, Khan Bahadur Ghofran, Mr. Ahmad Hussain, Khan Bahadur Ahmad Ali, Mr. M.A.H. Isphahani.

The Subjects Committee of the Muslim League Legislators' Convention spent a busy day on Monday discussing the resolutions to be presented before the open session held on April 8.

The Committee commenced its work at 10. 30 a.m. in one of the rooms of the Anglo-Arabic college, the Quaid-i-Azam presiding.

The morning session lasted for over four hours and adjourned at 2:45 p.m., to meet again at 7 p.m. The evening session lasted for nearly one hour.

All the time that the Subjects Committee was in session, volunteers of the Muslim National Guard kept strict vigil in the vicinity of the room where it met, and no one was permitted beyond a line which had been drawn. A large number of League workers, spectators and pressmen had gathered and waited patiently for the leaders to come out. Although strict secrecy was maintained and no one was permitted within ear-shot and even eye-shot,

occasional long/distance glances stolen through the glass window panes of the doors of the room showed that the Quaid-i-Azam was frequently on his legs, and his characteristic gestures with his hands showed that the Committee was at close grips with the problems under discussion. Quite a large number of the Committee took active part in the discussion, and some were seen to get up to speak on a number of occasions.

THE DELHI RESOLUTION

The Subjects Committee after a five-hour discussion on Monday approved the following resolution:

> Whereas in this vast Subcontinent of India a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, soial, economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies, and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma Philosophy, which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid Caste System resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, the creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and super-imposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economimically;
>
> Whereas, the Hindu Caste System is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for;
>
> Whereas, different historical backgrounds, traditions, cultures, social and economic orders of the Hindus and Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations;
>
> Whereas, soon after the introduction by the British of the policy of setting up political institutions in India on the lines of Western democracies based on majority rule, which meant that the majority of one nation or society could impose its will on the other nation or society in spite of their opposition, as was amply demonstrated during the two and a half years' regime of Congress Governments in the Hindu majority provinces, under the Government of India Act 1935, when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and oppression, as a result of which they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so-called safeguards provided in the Constitution and in the Instrument of Instruction to the Governors, and were driven to the irresistible conclusion that in a united Indian Federation, if established, the Muslims, even in majority provinces, would meet with

no better fate, and their interests could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the Centre;

Whereas the Muslims are convinced that with a view to save Muslim India from the domination of the Hindus and in order to afford them full scope to develop themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent State comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East zone and the Punjab. North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West zone;

This Convention of the Muslim League Legislators of India, Central and Provincial, after careful consideration hereby declares that the Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for a united India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set up for the purpose, and that any formula devised by the British Government for transferring power from the British to the peoples of India which does not conform to the following just and equitable principles, calculated to maintain internal peace and tranquility in the country, will not contribute to the solution of the Indian problem.

1. That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India, namely Pakistan zones where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay;

2. That two separate constitution-making bodies be set up by the people of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions;

3. That the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the All-India Muslim League Resolution passed on March 23, 1940, at Lahore;

4. That the acceptance of the Muslim League demand of Pakistan and its implementation without delay are the *sine qua non* for the Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre.

This Convention further emphatically declares that any attempt to impose a constitution on a united-India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the Muslim League demand will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence.

SECOND OPEN SESSION

Mr. M.A. Jinnah was in the Chair and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan called on Mr. Suhrawardy to move the resolution.

Addressing the cheering multitude, Mr. Suhrawardy said that the

historical Convention was holding its deliberations at a momentous period in Indian history, when Britain, on the one hand, and the people of India, on the other, were at the parting of ways.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that there was no room for Muslims outside the League and for that Muslim who did not believe in Pakistan, whether he was "a renegade from Sind or the Punjab". Even the Congress Muslims from the N.W.F.P. were not against Pakistan, and probably they had already realized Pakistan there. He said: "Does not Malik Khizr Hayat say that he believes in Pakistan? I will ask him to join the League as a humble servant; and if he seeks honour, then why does he not seek it from his own people?"

Referring to the future of Muslims, Mr. Suhrawardy declared that no body could stem the march of 100 million Muslims.

He said: "Britain wants to hand over power to the Indians and the Cabinet Mission is here to find out suitable machinery for the transfer of power."

He said Congress wanted power to suppress the aspirations of Muslims and other rising nationalities of India.

"The Congress", Mr. Suhrawardy continued, "was saying: hand over power to us. We shall sweep away all opposition. We shall suppress the Muslims. We shall bring the Scheduled Classes to heel, and we shall annihilate the Adibasis. Give up the police, your army and arms, and we shall reproduce an armageddon in the name of a united India. This I call insanity induced by the lust for power."

"It would be sheer blindness if the Cabinet Mission decided to put the destiny of India in the hands of this murderous gang", he said.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that 100 million Muslims were a nation, but it would be incorrect to think that the 300 million people who are called Hindus were one nation. He pointed out that other suppressed communities, like the Scheduled Castes, were rising and claimed their rightful position in the Subcontinent of India.

"Is Pakistan our last demand?" he asked, and replied: "I will not attempt to give an answer. But that is our latest demand. I would like the Congress to recall that we in the past asked for much less, and we were prepared to accept the superior number of Hindus in a democratic constitution, but they turned down every one of our modest demands. Now there is nothing left for us except to demand separation. This is a fair and legitimate demand of ours."

"What next?" asked Mr. Suhrawardy. He said the Quaid-i-Azam says we will resist the imposition of a constitution unacceptable to us. I think that the cry of 100 million Muslims is: "We will resist." He continued: "We want to live in peace. We do not intend to start a civil war, but we want a land where we can live in peace."

He said that there were many Hindus who looked to the League for

emancipation. What the Muslims wanted was only two corners in India at the present moment. "If you wage war against us," he said, "I am not prepared to forecast the future."

He said: "We are a nation, and we believe we have something to contribute to the civilization of the world."

Mr. Suhrawardy asserted that the Hindu masses had not been touched by the Congress ideology. The Congress represented the Hindu intelligentsia who were vocal and voluble. On the one hand, they held out threats and, on the other, they were cooing like a dove.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that there were many Hindus who saw Pakistan as a solution of their ills, because Pakistan would be a heaven for the oppressed and the downtrodden.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that it was impossible for Muslims to rely on the goodwill of the Congress, and that that was why they demanded Pakistan.

"What is extravagent in the demand for Pakistan?" asked Mr. Suhrawardy.

He said that Muslims wanted two small corners in India where Muslims were in the majority. Mr. Suhrawardy said that Muslims would accept nothing less than a sovereign State for the nation.

Mr. Suhrawardy said the question was whether the British or the Hindus were prepared to give Pakistan peacefully and with grace.

Mr. Suhrawardy said: "I have long pondered whether the Muslims are prepared to fight. Let me honestly declare that every Muslim of Bengal is ready and prepared to lay down his life."

Mr. Suhrawardy paid a warm tribute to the Muslims of the minority provinces, from whom originated the wave of Muslim freedom. He said that it was admirable that they were prepared to make sacrifices for Pakistan. But the Muslims of the majority provinces should be able to bear the brunt of the struggle.

Addressing the Quaid-i-Azam, he said: "I call upon you to test us. Muslims of Bengal are prepared to make every sacrifice for the great glory of Pakistan."

Referring to the problem of defence, Mr. Suhrawardy asked: "Defence against whom? He asked if Britain or U.S.A. could defend themselves alone. We do not think that as soon as we get Pakistan, we shall start a crusade of aggression and begin arming ourselves. Replying to the question of how Pakistan would defend itself against aggression from Hindustan, Mr. Suhrawardy said: "Leave us alone. We know how to defend ourselves."

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, who was repeatedly applauded during his Urdu speech, regretted that neither the British nor the Hindus tried to understand Muslims. He said that the gulf between Hinduism and Islam was so wide that it was impossible to build up one nation in India.

He said that the Hindus' treatment of Muslims and the Scheduled

Castes was so unjust and disgraceful that their profession of being one nation could be clearly discerned as empty and hypocritical.

Giving the historical background of Pakistan, Choudhry Sahib said that after the Khilafat movement, Hindus were convinced that British power had become weaker, and began their efforts to become their successors. He said that Muslims have always been striving to retain their separate existence; but the British Government always avoided this problem.

He said: "The British Government wanted to cripple the Muslims, and this helped the Hindus. After a great agitation, the Muslims succeeded in having separate electorates." He said that the Muslims have been striving ever since 1857 to maintain their existence, and the demand for Pakistan was the consummation of those aspirations.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that Pakistan was the last demand of the Muslims, and the Cabinet Delegation should accept it. Referring to the setting up of an interim Government at the Centre, he said that it would reduce the Constituent Assembly into a *tamasha*.

He declared that Muslims would resist the imposition of such a Government, and would make the establishment of a Constituent Assembly an impossibility.

He pointed out that once an interim Government was formed at the Centre, then the permanent Hindu majority would use all the powers of the State to suppress Muslims and other dissatisfied nationalities, and the Assembly would become a farce.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that it was fortunate that the occasion of the final struggle for Pakistan had arisen in the lifetime of the man who had united the nation. He said: "Muslims will now decide their own destiny."

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that the Hindu Press was asking the Muslims of the minority provinces how they would benefit from the Pakistan which they were supporting. He said that Muslims were wise enough to decide what was good for them, and they needed no advice from the Hindu Press.

Choudhry Sahib said: "Hindus know that Pakistan is in the interest of Muslims of minority provinces, otherwise the lathis of the Hindu zemindar and the money of the Hindu capitalist would not have been used against us in the minority provinces."

Referring to Maulana Azad's statement that the Muslim League resorted to oppression to get votes, Choudhry Sahib said: "I and every Muslim Leaguer feel surprised about this discovery of Maulana Azad. But we should not be surprised because the statement is not addressed to us. It is a personal explanation which Maulana Azad has offered to the black-marketeers and profiteers whose money he wasted in the elections."

Referring to the communique of the Bihar Government about Adibasis, Choudhry Sahib said it gives an idea of the way in which Congress Ministries will work this time.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that in Aligarh there was some trouble, and two Ministers were sent to report. But while Muslim shops and houses were burnt in Kasgunj and the Mosque was set on fire, not even one Minister was sent there. He added: "This time the Congress Ministries have come into power with more murderous intentions than in 1937."

Choudhry Sahib said that the desire for Pakistan was intense amongst Muslims; and even Mr. G. M. Syed, Malik Khizr Hayat and Dr. Khan Sahib did not say that they were against Pakistan. He said: "I have heard that Dr. Khan Sahib, in reply to the Cabinet Ministers' question, whether he wanted a united India, he said he wanted a united world."

In reply to another question, whether he would stay in N.W.F.P. if Pakistan was established there, he is reported to have replied: "How can I separate myself from my people?"

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said: "We do not give threats of civil war like Sardar Patel, but we want to say that it may be easy for the Congress to get the Government, but very difficult to retain it."

He said: "If disturbances start in the country, Muslims would not lag behind anybody in the game. Mr. Gandhi used to say, "Muslims are *goondas*, while Hindus are cowards, and everybody knows that a *goonda* can make more mischief than a coward."

Addressing the Quad-i-Azam, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said: "We will lay down our lives for Pakistan. We are awaiting the order."

Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, congratulated the Muslims of the minority provinces for joining their Muslim brethren in their struggle for Pakistan. There was no Muslim who did not believe in Pakistan. Even Malik Khizr Hayat Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib were not against it.

The Sind Premier said that Hindus were not democrats; and had they not been in a majority, they would not have demanded a democratic government. He referred to the intrigues of the Congress in Sind, and said that educated Hindus have accepted the leadership of four Muslims to hoodwink the Muslims. They have accepted as their leaders people who had not even been to school.

The Sind Premier said that elections have proved that 90 per cent Muslims were with the League, and were determined to achieve Pakistan. He said that Muslims would get Pakistan in spite of strong opposition. He declared: "We shall not accept anything less than Pakistan. Every man in Sind will resist the imposition of a government unacceptable to Muslims with all possible means."

Sir Muhammad Saadullah, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assam Assembly, said that Muslims were the largest single community in Assam. He said that Assam was a poor province and had no High Court, Medical College or Engineering College and looked towards Bengal for help. "Apart from this", he continued, "Assam's physical situation is such that it

leaves no alternative to Assam but to join Pakistan."

Syed Rauf Shah, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the C.P. Assembly, declared that Muslims of C.P. would make every sacrifice for Pakistan. He said, "Delhi had been the burial ground of many an Empire, and we have gathered here to bury the dreams of a united India for ever."

The Nawab of Mamdot, who was lustily cheered as he walked to the rostrum, called upon the British to concede Pakistan and quit India.

He said: "We are asked how we will defend Pakistan. I would say that if stalwart soldiers of the Punjab could defend Britain against Nazi aggression, they can also defend their own hearths and homes."

The Nawab of Mamdot declared that Pakistan was the last demand of the Muslims, and Muslims would not rest until they had achieved it.

He said: "Whenever the Punjab Muslims showed signs of awakening from theire slumber, they were given sleeping doses."

This time Sir Bertrand Glancy also gave sleeping doses to Muslims in the form of *Murabbas* (squares of land) and *Jagirs* (laughter). He sometimes gave as many as 20 *Murabba* doses to some Muslims, but he failed. "All the Muslims", he said, "who were elected to the Assembly, including the Unionists, supported Pakistan."

The Nawab of Mamdot declared, amidst loud applause, that they were prepared to sacrifice hundreds of Ministries for Pakistan. He gave a detailed account of the intrigue of the Glancy-Azad-Khizr Axis against the formation of the League Ministry in the Punjab.

Supporting the resolution moved by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, leader of the League Party in the Bombay Assembly, declared that if 4 million Irishmen could tell the British Government that they were not prepared to join a Parliament in which they would be in a perpetual minority, then 100 million Muslims certainly have the right to claim a separate existence for themselves.

He said that a government imposed on unwilling people cannot be secure, and pointed out that in Yugoslavia a Central Government was imposed upon the various nationalities, but the whole structure of the State collapsed when the crisis of war came.

Mr. Chundrigar said that Muslims in the minorty provinces supported Pakistan because a Muslim State would thereby be established in the Subcontinent, and it would create a balance of power between Hindustan and Pakistan.

Mr. Chundrigar added that it was a mockery to talk of an Indian nation when one people did not take water from another people's hand, and did not inter-dine or inter-marry.

Mr. Chundrigar added that a balance of power was the best safeguard for the minorities. When there was Hindu rule in the Deccan, the Muslims were oppressed, and similarly when there was Muslim rule there, the Hindus did not always feel happy. But when in the Deccan there was, side by side, a

Muslim Nizam and a Mahratta power, neither oppressed its minorities.

That was what would happen when Pakistan and Hindustan existed side by side as sovereign States: neither would oppress its minorities.

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, leader of the Muslim League Party in the N.W.F.P. Assembly, declared amidst thunderous applause, that if the British Government imposed a Central Government upon Muslims, there would be no alternative for them but to take to the sword and rebel against the British Government.

He said: If 'Quit India' means that the British would withdraw immediately and Hindus and Muslims will be allowed to decide the future, then I say that Muslims are prepared to settle. But the fact is that the Hindus do not want that the British should withdraw immediately. They want the British to stay long enough to allow them to suppress the Muslims with the help of the British Army, Navy and Air Force.

"It cannot happen," he sid, adding: "Thank God, we have one flag, one leader, one platform and one ideal, Pakistan, to fight for. We are only waiting for the final order to do whatever is considered necessary for the attainment of Pakistan."

He condemned Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Congress Leader, for his opposition to the League, and said: "His name will go down in history as one of the Muslims who, at this hour of trial of the Muslim nation, tried to stab us in the back."

The people in the tribal areas who were all armed, he said, were for Pakistan. Muslims, he said, were enthusiastic; and during his journey to Delhi, he was asked by many Muslims, students and men in uniform, as to when "marching orders would be given by the Quaid-i-Azam."

Referring to the problem of defence, he said that if Transjordan, with a population of 3 lakhs could be declared a sovereign State, then Pakistan could also be established.

He said: "If the British Government is stampeded by the promises of trade preferences and other considerations, then I hope that the Muslim nation will gather together and strike swiftly, so that a Central Government may never be established."

Concluding he said: "We are not indulging in any threats against the Congress or the Hindus. But if the British force the setting up of a Government of the *Akhand* Hindustan type, and if they decide that there should be one Constituent Assembly, then the Muslims will have no other alternative but to take to the sword and rebel against it."

Mr. Muhammad Ismail, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Madras Assembly, said that India had never been one, and even to-day there were hundreds of states. Referring to the Quaid-i-Azam's declaration that he would be the first man to face bullets for the sake of Pakistan, he said that the bullet will have to travel first through the chests of 100 million Muslims

before it could touch the Quaid-i-Azam.

Ismail Sahib referred to the various conceptions of Islam and Hinduism, and said that the gulf between the two was so wide that it was impossible to evolve a common nationality in India.

Speaking next, on behalf of the women delegates, Begum Aizaz Rasul of U.P. described the Convention as a unique occasion in the history of Islam. She referred to the part which women had played in the elections, and said that everywhere she had seen a great awakening among the women and girls who did not want to lag behind in the freedom struggle of their nation.

"Every child in every Muslim home is being brought up in the spirit of Pakistan", she said, "and women will make their share of sacrifices if bloodshed comes. They are no longer sleeping, and are just as impatient as their menfolk to discharge their responsibilities to the nation to which they belong."

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, coming to speak next, was given an ovation. "I represent the martial clans of Pakistan who do not believe in words but in action", he said.

"They will fight till death if any attempt is made to subject their nation to the domination of anyone else. I speak for the Punjabi soldier, and I say that three-quarter million demobilized soldiers in the Punjab are pledged to achieve Pakistan. They talk of defence, but I ask: What will defence avail if a hundred million people are discontented?"

Continuing, the Sardar said: "Britain asks us: 'Can we defend ourselves?' Let there be a test, let us be given a chance here and now, when the British are still here and a Congress Government rules the Punjab."

Turning to Mr. Jinnah, Sardar Shaukat Hayat said: "You, sir, are holding us back, and we beg of you to give the word of command. Let us prove to the doubting how we can and how we mean to defend our Pakistan."

Next to speak was Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who said: "Neither the Hindus nor the British know yet how far we are prepared to go in order to achieve Pakistan. We are on the threshold of a great tragedy.

"The problem of defence is set forth as an argument against Pakistan. I am convinced that it is not the defence of Pakistan which they are afraid of, but the defence of Akhand Hindustan. They want us to remain in Akhand Hindustan because they want to use the army of Pakistan to defend them."

He asked if New Zealand, with a population of less than 2 millions, and Australia, with a population less than 7 millions, should be free and defend themselves, why should not Pakistan, with a population of over 70 millions, will be able to defend itself? The majority of the combatant personnel in the Indian armed forces came from the Punjab, and the problem of defence and protection rose only in the case of Hindustan, he said.

Similarly, it was said, continued Sir Firoz, that Pakistan would be economically weak, but why was Britain now, for nearly a year, begging at the

door of the USA for a loan?

"If Britain cannot do without the economic help of the U.S.A., why should there not be an *Akhand* U.S.-Englistan? Instead of trying this 'unity' in their own countries, why do Englishmen want to make us the sole recipients of their affection?"

Continuing, he said: "Even if we have to die fighting. We shall see that our children will never be slaves of *Akhand* Hindustan.

"I tell you that if we do not get Pakistan, after 20 or 30 years, no Muslim in *Akhand* Hindustan will dare to give a Muslim name to his son."

"Russia at San Francisco declared that from then onwards, the freedom of the oppressed peoples of Asia was going to be its concern. We are confronted with the problem of defence. Defence against whom? If the Hindus give us freedom, they are our friends. If the British give us freedom, they are our friends. If neither of them gives us freedom, Russia is our friend. I warn them of a great new surge of sentiment that is rising even among the big landlords of the Punjab. Communism is spreading, and as for myself, if I have to lose every rupee that I possess—if that is the only way to salvation and freedom for the Musalmans,—I am prepared to lose it."

Turning to the standard of living in the country, Sir Firoz said that in Pakistan that standard was much higher than in the Far East or the Middle East. Attempts were being made to impoverish the Musalmans, and *Akhand* Hindustan would mean their economic ruin.

"Things are so manipulated to-day that machinery is not allowed to go into Pakistan. As a former Member of the Government of India, I know that machinery worth crores of rupees has been imported into India during the war, but not one bit has been allowed to go into Pakistan.

"Unless you have political, economic and religious freedom, you will in 40 years be serfs in worse plight than the Scheduled Castes.

"With this Hindu mentality, and this Shuddhi Movement, if you fall into this trap and lose political power, you will lose something dearer than life itself—your faith.

"If Britain sells our freedom to gain the trade of *khhand* Hindustan, if the British force on us an *Akhand* Government, the destruction and havoc which Muslims will cause, will put to shame the deeds of Halaku Khan and Chengiz Khan, and the responsibility for this will be Britain's.

Sir Firoz paid glowing tribute to Mr. Jinnah, and said that if Mr. Jinnah had belonged to any other country, then that country would have followed him "101 per cent". He continued: "There is a man who can give them freedom to-day, but they will not take it from him because he is a Musalman."

Begum Shah Nawaz next made an eloquent speech. She described how Muslim women had steeled their hearts, and cited the instance of a mother in the Punjab whose son had been stabbed to death by Ahrars.

When Begum Shah Nawaz went to see her, she said: "I have given

my son to the nation." Muslim women were prepared for all sacrifices and were anxious to be put to the test.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan said the resolution he was supporting was nothing new. The elections had been fought on this principle. He said that not a single non-League Muslim had fought the election on any other issue than Pakistan and they had told their voters so.

The Muslim League, the Raja Sahib added, was the greatest democratic institution, and it was a man's worth and conviction that counted, not the manner of his dress, for instance, which was so important to the Congress.

"If the Quaid-i-Azam does not remain a two anna member of the League, he will cease to be a leader of the League, but look at the Congress dictator."

Referring to the "mild phraseology of the resolution", the Raja Sahib said that those who meant business did not shout loudly. They acted; whereas those who wanted to bluff and bluster but did not mean to act, used strong language.

Mr. Abdul Hashim, General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League , described Mr. Jinnah as the world's greatest realist, and said that where justice and equity failed, shining steel would decide the issue. The Muslims of India, he said, were not only fighting for their own emancipation, but to establish permanent peace and tranquillity in the world.

The struggle for *Akhand* Bharat was a struggle for exploitation, domination and injustice. He said that Bengal was ready for any action that might be taken for the achievement of Pakistan.

After this speech the resolution was put to vote by Mr. Jinnah, and was passed unanimously.

"Any one against?" asked Mr. Jinnah.

"None!" said the whole House with one voice.

THE PLEDGE FOR PAKISTAN

After the Resolution had been put to the vote and carried unanimously, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan read out the pledge. Every member stood up during the reading. All had signed copies of the pledge; and when the reading was finished, with a sincere, solemn Amen, every member signified his acceptance of it:

> "*In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, say: My prayer and my sacrifice and my living and dying are all for Allah, the Lord of the worlds.*" (*Quran*)
>
> I, a member of the Muslim League Party of the Legislative Assembly Council, do hereby solemnly declare my firm conviction that the safety and security, and the salvation and destiny of the Muslim Nation, inhabiting the Subcontinent of India lies only in the achievement of Pakistan, which is the one equitable, honourable and just solution of the constitutional problem, and which will bring peace, freedom and

prosperity to the various nationalities and communities of this great Subcontinent.

I most solemnly affirm that I shall willingly and unflinchingly carry out all the directions and instructions which may be issued by the All-India Muslim League in pursuance of any movement launched by it for the attainment of the cherished national goal of Pakistan, and, believing as I do in the rightness and the justice of my cause, I pledge myself to undergo any danger, trial or sacrifice which may be demanded of me.

Our Lord bestow on us endurance and keep our steps firm and help us against the disbelieving people.—Amen.

As it was nearing 2 a.m., Mr. Jinnah said that there had been sufficient discussion on the resolution, and be placed it before the Convention for its acceptance. The resolution was passed unanimously, amidst loud cheers.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS

"What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not theocracy—not for a theocratic State. Religion is there, and religion is dear to us. All the worldly goods are nothing to us when we talk of religion; but there are other things which are very vital—our social life, our economic life; but without political power how can you defend your faith and your economic life?

"After deliberations, we have made a resolve—we have made a solemn declaration in this august and historic Convention that while we hope for the best, we are prepared for the worst. In a clear, emphatic and definite declaration, we have expressed our determination to face all danger. For us there is no other course."

Referring to Muslim minority provinces, Mr. Jinnah sid: "I too belong to a 'minority province'. Muslims in these provinces are the pioneers and first soldiers of Pakistan. But now no question of minority or majority is left on the issue of Pakistan, it is now unanimity, except for a few who are still not with us.

"I do not want to hurt their feelings; for after all, what is the use? And they do not count, but they might at least keep quiet now. Quite obviously they cannot; they have to do what they are doing; it is a case of the 'master's voice'.

"They do not count, and I say on this platform, without fear of contradiction, that Muslim India is one and Pakistan is our demand.

"As I said, I also belong to a minority province, but let 70 millions of our brethren establish their 'Raj'. But it is not only that. If there is any safeguard known in the world for minority provinces, the most effective safeguard is the establishment of Pakistan. The present Constitution has safeguards also, but are paper safeguareds any good?

"What will you do if, after *Akhand* Hindustan is established, they want to change the Constitution? Who will prevent them? Five years or 10 years, and then if they do away with separate electorates—what then? They will get stronger and stronger, and you will get weaker, and all safeguards will be blotted out one by one.

"We are not going to start with quarrels. We shall have enough to do, and they will have enough to do, but if they begin it and our minorities are ill-treated, Pakistan cannot remain a passive spectator. If Britain in Gladstone's time could intervene in Armenia in the name of the protection of minorities, why should it not be right for us to do so in the case of our minorities in Hindustan—if they are oppressed?

"There are those who say to us 'What is the good of your talking of Pakistan when you cannot form Ministries even in your majority provinces?' I say to them: this is the very reason why we want to get rid of the existing Act of 1935 and establish Pakistan. Look at the spirit in which they are forming Ministries in the Muslim minority provinces and hindering us from forming Ministries in our majority provinces.

"We have taken this oath now—Ministries are nothing, merely a play-pen under a nurse.

"We Muslims have got everything—brains, intelligence, capacity and courage—virtues that nations must possess. But two things are lacking, and I want you to concentrate your attention on these. One thing is that foreign domination from without and Hindu domination here, particularly on our economic life, has caused a certain degeneration of these virtues in us.

"We have lost the fullness of our noble character. And what is character? The highest sense of honour and the highest sense of integrity, conviction, incorruptibility, readiness at any time to efface oneself for the collective good of the nation.

"And yet, we have done wonders. In five years our renaissance has been a miracle of achievement. I begin to think it has been a dream. How rapidly the nation is developing that character again in its pristine nobility! Our men, our women, our children—they think, talk and act differently now."

Referring to the large body of women present, Mr. Jinnah said: "No nation achieves anything unless its women go side by side with men—even to the battlefield."

Taking a long pause, Mr. Jinnah concluded: "Is Britain going to decide the destiny of 100 million Muslims? No. Nobody can. They can obstruct, they can delay for a little while, but they cannot stop us from our goal. Let us, therefore, rise at the conclusion of this historic Convention full of hope, courage and faith. Insha'Allah we shall win."[1]

Source: *A Pledge for Pakistan, Full Proceedings of League Legislators' Convention, 1946.* New Era Publications, Lahore.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

COUNCIL MEETING

DELHI, APRIL 10, 1946

RESOLUTIONS

II. This Council of the All-India Muslim League notes with apprehension and dismay that forecasts from authoritative sources credit the joint Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry into Palestine, which was set up in violation of the commitments given to Arabs in the White Paper of 1939, with the intention of recommending, *inter alia*, the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine and the partition of Palestine for the purpose of establishing a so-called Jewish National Home, and reiterates its earlier decisions, taken from time to time, that any attempt to betray the promises and pledges solemnly given to the Arabs of Palestine and Muslim India, and any arbitrary awards by the British Government, or by any other authority, without the consent of the Arabs themselves, will be regarded by the Muslims of India as a breach of faith with the Muslim world, and will result in grave consequences to the peace and tranquillity of all countries inhabited by the Muslims, particularly the Middle East.

The Council, therefore, once again appeals to His Majesty's Government to desist from further provoking the Muslims by going back on the pledge of the 1939 White Paper on the pretext of a fresh enquiry having been made into the question by a Commission, which was *prima facie* contrary to pledges.

The Council further reiterates its sympathy and support for the cause of the Arabs, in the name of the Muslim Nation of India and assures them of all possible help in their hour of trial.

III. The Council of the All-India Muslim League views with the deepest indignation the oppression and indignities to which the Indian citizens of the South African Union are being progressively subjected, and regards the proposed legislation of the Smuts Government, condemning the Indians of Natal and Transvaal to social isolation and inevitable economic ruin, as an intolerable affront to Indians everywhere and a direct challenge to the conscience of the world.

It has a sinister significance for the peoples of Asia and Africa that this relapse to the prejudices and taboos of the dark ages is sponsored by a politician who was a foremost exponent of the ideology of the Atlantic Charter, which was held forth as a pointer to a golden age of justice and political morality.

This Council of the Muslim League considers this to be ample proof of the insincerity of the high professions under garb of which the last war was fought and won, and warns the people of the West against such moral insensitiveness which bears in it the seeds of their own destruction.

The Council of the Muslim league cannot acquiesce in the contention of General Smuts, that the White minority in South Africa has a licence to perpetrate all crimes against the non-White populations, which have already been reduced to a dumb slavery by the denial of every elementary constitutional expedient of representation or association in the regulation of the conduct of their Government.

The conscience of the world cannot turn a deaf ear to the groans of the oppressed, wherever they may be located and however closely they may be guarded, because the rooting out of injustice is not a domestic affair, but the common business of all the peoples of the world.

The Council of the Muslim League assures the Indians of South Africa that they do not stand alone in their righteous struggles against oppression and injustice, but that the peoples of India will always lend them all the moral support of which they, in their present state, are capable.

Further, the Council of the Muslim League calls upon the Government of India to do all that lies in its power to vindicate the honour of India, grossly outraged by the actions and proposals of the South African Government, and urges upon it to use all its international pressure, as well as its existing executive powers, to recall the White people of South Africa to a realization of the rules of morality and decency by which the lives of nations must be regulated in the modern world.

IV. This Council of the All-India Muslim League notes with regret that the right of the Indonesian people to independence has not yet been recognized by the Government of the Netherlands Indies, who have landed fresh troops in the country with the approval of the British Government, and seem determined to impose their will on the free people of Indonesia under the pretext of negotiating a settlement.

This Council also condemns the delay in the withdrawal of British

from Indonesia and, particularly, the use of Indian troops in Indonesia for the purpose of helping the imperialist, i.e. the designs of the Dutch in keeping under subjection an Asiatic nation.

This Council sends a message of greetings and congratulations to the brave Indonesian people and particularly, to their great leaders, for the splendid struggle for freedom which they have continued against heavy odds, and assures them of the sincerest sympathy and support of the Muslim nation of India for their just and patriotic cause, for their sacrifices by which they have raised the stature of Asia in the eyes of the world.

V. The Council of the All-India Muslim League strongly disapprove of the policy adopted by the Government in not taking immediate steps to release Captain Abdul Rashid and other I.N.A. men, as the reviewing authority had committed a great error, in discriminating between their cases and that of Mr. Shah Nawaz, who was convicted of a graver offence, on the plea of the degree of brutality in the case of Rashid and others, which is neither legally nor morally tenable.

The Council calls upon the Viceroy to intervene and, if no other course is open, to grant pardon to them and remit their sentences. (The same resolution as that adopted by the March meeting of the Working Committee.)

VI. This Council of the All-India Muslim League attaches the first importance to the proper resettlement and future happiness of the million of Indian soldiers who, after having battled valiantly for six years against all the forces of Fascism and evil, are now returning home.

This Council is of the opinion that they are a most valuable asset in the social and economic life of the country, armed, as they return, with technical and mechanical knowledge, and enriched as they are with experience and discipline of the intensest years in human history, and that their fruitful absorption in suitable occupations and professions would be of abiding benefit to the growing economy of our motherlands.

This meeting calls upon the Muslim League parties in the Central as well as the Provincial Legislatures to do all in their power for the proper rehabilitation and employment of the demobilized soldiers.[1]

VII. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council demand that the Government of India and the Government of Assam do take immediate steps to withdraw the invidious and illegal Line system prevailing in Hindu areas of Assam and it further places on record its strong protest and resentment against mass eviction of Muslims cultivating lands therein and demands that all orders of eviction passed by the present Congress Government be immediately cancelled and those cultivators allowed settlement of lands under their cultivation.

VIII. This Council of the All-India Muslim League calls upon the

various Provincial Governments to constitute immediately independent tribunals to inquire into cases of official interference in the general elections in all those Provinces where a demand for such inquiry has been made or may be made by the opposition party.

This meeting further recommends that the personnel of the tribunals may be nominated by the Governors in consultation with the Chief Judges of the respective High Courts.

IX. This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League warns the Central and Provincial Governments, against embarking upon new post-war programmes affecting the educational and economic systems in vogue in different parts of India without the approval of the Muslim League party in the various Legislatures.

In this connection, the Council views with grave concern the intention of some of the Provincial Governments of introducing far-reaching changes in the educational and agrarian systems, and of setting up industries without providing adequate safeguards for the legitimate interest of the Muslim of those Provinces.

X. This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League deplores the manner in which the Departments of Education of the Government of India and of some of the Provincial Governments are carrying on the selection of candidates for higher studies and training in scientific and technical subjects outside India and regards this attitude of the Government as highly detrimental to the legitimate interests of the Musalmans of India. The report of the Selection Board appointed by the Central Government indicates that the Muslim candidates have not been selected in due proportion and have been almost completely overlooked so far as training in certain highly important branches of industrial and technical education is concerned. This council strongly urges upon the Governments concerned to redress the above-mentioned inequity while making selections for the coming year.[1]

1. Resolutions published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETINGS

DELHI, APRIL 25-28, 1946, SIMLA, MAY 10-13, 1946

RESOLUTION IV

The Working Committee, after hearing from the President on May 13, 1946, an account of what had happened during the Tripartite Conference held at Simla, from the 5th to the 12th of May, 1946, fully endorsed the stand taken by the Muslim League Delegation.[1]

1. *Ibid.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

DELHI, JUNE 25, 1946

The President of the All-India Muslim League placed before the Working Committee a copy, furnished to him by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation in the course of their interview with him on the evening of June 25, of the letter of the Congress President addressed to the Viceroy, conveying the decision of the Congress with regard to the proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contained in their statements of May 16 and June 16, 1946. After due consideration of the contents of this letter, the Working Committee adopted the following resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS

I. According to the understanding that the Muslim League Working Committee will give their decision after the Congress has decided and, as desired by the Viceroy in the letter of his Private Secretary, dated June 21, addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, that the decision of the Muslim League be communicated immediately after the reply of the Congress, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League hereby resolve to agree to join the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Exellency the Viceroy dated June 16, 1946, and the clarifications and assurances given by the Viceroy after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation in his letter dated June 20, 1946, addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League.

II. The Working Committee cannot accept the contention of the Congress, contained in the aforesaid letter, that the Congress is entitled to adhere to its interpretation of some of the provisions in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy, dated May 16, 1946, which is opposed to the interpretation and explanation embodied in the Statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on May 25, 1946.

III. With regard to the rest of the letter of the Congress President, the Working Committee reserve their observations for the present.[1]

1. *Ibid.*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
THE PRESIDENT'S MEMORANDUM
ON MINIMUM DEMANDS

MAY 12, 1946

The following Memorandum was issued by the President of the All-India Muslim League, embodying minimum demands by way of an offer, in accordance with the Simla Tripartite Conference decision, dated May 12, 1946, which had been endorsed by the League Working Committee meeting at Simla, May 10-13, 1946:

1. The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for Defence, which may be dealt with by the Constitution-making Bodies of the two groups of Provinces—Muslim Provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu Provinces—sitting together.

2. There shall be a separate Constitution-making Body for the six Muslim Provinces named above, which will frame Constitutions for the Group and the Provinces in the Group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the Provinces.

3. The method of election of the representatives to the Constitution-making Body will be such as would secure proper representation to various communities in proposition to their population in each Province of the Pakistan Group.

4. After the Constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the Provinces are finally framed by the Constitution-making Body, it will be open to any Province of the Group to decide to opt out of its Group, provided the wishes of the people of that Province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

5. It must be open to discussion in the Joint Constitution-making Body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance should also be left for decision of the joint meeting of the two Constitution-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

6. There should be parity of representation between the two Groups of Provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

7. No major point in the Union Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Joint Constitution-making Body, unless the majority of the members of the Constitution-making Body of the Hindu Provinces and the majority of the members of the Constitution-making Body of the Pakistan Group present and voting, are separately in its favour.

8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of a controversial nature, except by a majority of three-fourths.

9. In Group and Provincial Constitutions fundamental rights and safe guards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

10. The Constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any Province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of 10 years.

These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety, and all matters mentioned herein are interdependent.[1]

1. *Papers relating to the Cabinet Mission to India, 1946.* Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1946. pp. 20-21.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
PROPOSALS FOR AGREEMENT

MAY 12, 1946

1. The Constituent Assembly to be formed as follows:

(i) Representatives shall be elected by each Provincial Assembly by proportional representation (single transferable vote). The number so elected should be one-fifth of the number of members of the Assembly and they may be members of the Assembly or others.

(ii) Representatives from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

2. The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental Rights, Currency, Customs and Planning as well as such other subjects as on closer scrutiny, may be found to be intimately allied to them. The Federal Union will have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances it requires for these subjects and the power to raise revenues in its own right. The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the Constitution and in grave public emergencies.

3. All the remaining powers shall vest in the Provinces or Units.

4. Groups of Provinces may be formed and such Groups may determine the Provincial Subjects which they desire to take in common.

5. After the Constituent Assembly has decided the Constitution for the All-India Federal Union as laid down in Paragraph 2 above, the represen-

tatives of the Provinces may form Groups to decide the Provincial Constitutions for their Group and, if they wish, a Group Constitution.

6. No major point in the All-India Federal Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present in the Assembly and voting are separately in its favour. Provided that in case there is no agreement on any such issue, it will be referred to arbitration. In case of doubt as to whether any point is a major communal issue, the Speaker will decide, or, if so desired, it may be referred to the Federal Court.

7. In the event of a dispute arising in the process of constitution making, the specific issue shall be referred to arbitration.

8. The Constitution should provide machinery for its revision at any time subject to such checks as may be devised. If so desired, it may be specifically stated that this whole Constitution may be reconsidered after ten years.[1]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 21 & 22.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NOTE ON MUSLIM LEAGUE MEMORANDUM

MAY 12, 1946

The approach of the Muslim League is so different from that of the Congress in regard to these matters that it is a little difficult to deal with each point separately without reference to the rest. The picture as envisaged by the Congress is briefly given in a separate note. From consideration of this note and the Muslim League's proposals, the difficulties and the possible agreement will become obvious.

The Muslim League's proposals are dealt with below briefly:

(1) We suggest that the proper procedure is for one Constitution-making Body or Constituent Assembly to meet for the whole of India and later for Groups to be formed, if so desired, by the Provinces concerned. The matter should be left to the Provinces; and if they wish to function as a Group, they are at liberty to do so and to frame their own Constitution for the purpose.

In any event, Assam has obviously no place in the Group mentioned, and the North-West Frontier Province, as the elections show, is not in favour of this proposal.

(2) We have agreed to Residuary Powers, apart from the Central Subjects, vesting in the Provinces. They can make such use of them as they like and, as has been stated above, function as a Group. What the ultimate nature of such a Group may be cannot be determined at this stage and should be left to the representatives of the Provinces concerned.

(3) We have suggested that the most suitable method of election would be by single transferable vote. This would give proper representation

to the various communities in proportion to their present representation in the Legislatures. If the population proportion is taken, we have no particular objection; but this would lead to difficulties in all the Provinces where there is weightage in favour of certain communities. The principle approved of would necessarily apply to all the Provinces.

(4) There is no necessity for the opting out of a Province from its group as the previous consent of the Provinces is necessary for joining the group.

(5) We consider it essential that the Federal Union should have a Legislature. We also consider it essential that the Union should have power to raise its own revenue.

(6) and (7) We are entirely opposed to parity of representation as between groups of Provinces in the Union Executive or Legislature. We think that the provision to the effect that no major communal issue in the Union Constitution shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Constituent Assembly are separately in its favour, is a sufficient and ample safeguard for all minorities. We have suggested something wider, and including all communities, than has been proposed elsewhere. This may give rise to some difficulties in regard to small communities, but all such difficulties can be got over by reference to arbitration. We are prepared to consider the method of giving effect to this principle so as to make it more feasible.

(8) This proposal is so sweeping in its nature that no Government or Legislature can function at all. Once we have safeguarded major communal issues, other matters, whether controversial or not, require no safeguard. This will simply mean safeguarding vested interests of all kinds and preventing progress, or indeed any movement in any direction. We, therefore, entirely disapprove of it.

(9) We are entirely agreeable to the inclusion of fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and like matters in the Constitution. We suggest that the proper place for this is the All-India Federal Union Constitution. There should be uniformity in regard to these fundamental rights all over India.

(10) The Constitution of the Union will inevitably contain provisions for its revision. It may also contain a provision for its full reconsideration at the end of 10 years. The matter will be open then for a complete reconsideration. Though it is implied, we would avoid reference to secession as we do not wish to encourage this idea.[1]

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1. *Ibid.* pp., 22-23.

MR. M. A. JINNAH'S STATEMENT ON THE CABINET MISSION STATEMENT

MAY 22, 1946

I have now before me the Statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated May 16, 1946, issued at Delhi. Before I deal with it, I should like to give the background of the discussions that took place at Simla from May 5 onwards till the Conference was declared concluded and its breakdown announced in the official communique dated May 12, 1946. We met in the Conference on May 5 to consider the formula embodied in the letter of the Secretary of State for India, dated April 27, inviting the League representatives. The formula was as follows:

"A Union Government dealing with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

"There will be two Groups of Provinces, one of the predominantly Hindu Provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim Provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the Provinces in the respective Groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign rights."

The Muslim League's position was as follows: Firstly, the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East, and the Punjab, the N.W.F.P. Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India constituted Pakistan zones and should be constituted as a sovereign independent State, and an unequivocal undertaking should be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.

Secondly, that separate Constitution-making Bodies be set up by the

peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective Constitutions.

Thirdly, that minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the Lahore Resolution.

Fourthly, that the acceptance of the League demand and its implementation without delay were a *sine qua non* for the League co-operation and participation in the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre.

Fifthly, it gave a warning to the British Government against any attempt to impose a Federal Constitution on a united India basis, or forcing any interim arrangement at the Centre, contrary to the League demands; and that Muslim India would resist if any attempt to impose it were made. Besides, such an attempt would be the grossest breach of faith of the Declaration of His Majesty's Government made in August, 1940, with the approval of the British Parliament, and subsequent pronouncements by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible British statesmen, from time to time reaffirming the August Declaration.

We accepted the invitation to attend the Conference without prejudice, without any commitment and without accepting the fundamental principles underlying this short formula of the Mission, on the assurance given by the Secretary of State for India in his letter, dated April 29, 1946, wherein he said: "We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply, as a preliminary condition, full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement, and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

The Congress position, in reply to the invitation, was stated in their letter of April 28, 1946, that a strong Federal Government at the Centre, with present Provinces as federating units, be established and they laid down that Foreign Affairs, Defence, Currency, Customs, Tariffs and "such other subjects as may be found on closer scrutiny to be intimately allied to them," should vest in the Central Federal Government. They negatived the idea of grouping of provinces. However, they also agreed to participate in the Conference to discuss the formula of the Cabinet Delegation.

After days of discussion no appreciable progress was made. Finally, I was asked to give our minimum terms in writing. Consequently, we embodied certain fundamental principles of our terms in writing as an offer to the Congress in the earnest desire for a peaceful and amicable settlement and for the speedy attainment of freedom and independence of the peoples of India. It was communicated to the Congress on May 12, and a copy of it was sent to the Cabinet Mission at the same time.

The following were the terms of the offer:

(Here follow the 10 points given on pp. 532-533)

The crux of our offer, as it will appear from its text, was, *inter alia*, that the six Muslim provinces should be grouped together as the Pakistan Group and the remaining as the Hindustan Group, and on the basis of two Federations, we were willing to consider the Union of Confederation strictly confined to three subjects only, namely, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for defence which the two sovereign Federations would voluntarily delegate to Confederation. All the remaining subjects and the residue were to remain vested in the two Federations and the Provinces respectively. This was intended to provide for a transitional period; as after an initial period of 10 years, we were free to secede from the Union. But unfortunately this most conciliatory and reasonable offer was in all its fundamentals not accepted by Congress, as will appear from their reply to our offer. On the contrary, their final suggestions were the same as regards the subjects to be vested in the Centre as they had been before the Congress entered the Conference, and they made one more drastic suggestion for our acceptance, that the Centre "must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the Constitution and in grave public emergencies". This was stated in their reply, dated May 12, which was communicated to us.

At this stage the Conference broke down, and we were informed that the British Cabinet Delegation would issue their Statement, which is now before the public.

To begin with, the Statement is cryptic with several lacunas, and the operative part of it is comprised of a few short paragraphs to which I shall refer later.

I regret that the Mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a completely sovereign State of Pakistan, which we still hold is the only solution of the constitutional problem of India, and which alone can secure stable governments and lead to the happiness and welfare, not only of the two major communities, but of all the peoples of this Subcontinent.

It is all the more regrettable that the Mission should have thought fit to advance commonplace and exploded arguments against Pakistan and to resort to special pleadings couched in a deplorable language which is calculated to hurt the feelings of Muslim India.

It seems that this was done by the Mission simply to appease and placate the Congress, because when they come to face the realities, they themselves have made the following pronouncement embodied in Paragraph 5 of the Statement, which says: "This consideration did not however deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India, since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule. This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India, it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims

a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests."

And again in Paragraph 12: "This decision does not, however, blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element."

And now what recommendations have they made to effectively secure the object in view and in the light of the very clear and emphatic conclusion they arrived at in Paragraph 12 of the statement?

(1) They have divided Pakistan into two, what they call Section B (for the North-Western Zone) and Section C (for the North-Eastern zone).

(2) Instead of two Constitution-making Bodies only one Constitution-making Body is devised with these sections A[1],B and C.

(3) They lay down that "there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects." There is no indication at all that Communications would be restricted to what is necessary for Defence nor is there any indication as to how this Union will be empowered to raise the finances required for these three subjects, while our view was that finance should be raised only by contribution and not by taxation.

(4) It is laid down that "the Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States' representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting." While our view was: (a) that there should be no Legislature for the Union but the question should be left to the Constituent Assembly to decide; (b) that there should be parity of representation between the Pakistan Group and the Hindustan Group in the Union Executive and Legislature if any; (c) that no decision, legislative, executive or administrative, should be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of a controversial nature except by a majority of three-fourths. All these three terms of our offer have been omitted from the statement.

No doubt there is one safeguard for the conduct of business in the Union Legislature, that "any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting." Even this is vague and ineffective. To begin with, who will decide and how as to what is a major communal issue and what is a purely non-communal issue?

1. Comprising the six provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces, and Orissa.

(5) Our proposal that the Pakistan Group should have a right to secede from the Union after an initial period of 10 years, although the Congress had no serious objection to it, has been omitted; and now we are limited to only a reconsideration of the terms of the Union Constitution after an initial period of 10 years.

(6) Coming to the constitution-making machinery, here again a representative of British Baluchistan is included in Section B, but how he will be elected is not indicated.

(7) With regard to the Constitution-making Body for the purpose of framing the proposed Union Constitution, it will have an overwhelming Hindu majority, as in a House of 292 for British India, the Muslim strength will be 79; and if the number allotted to Indian States, 93, is taken into account, it is quite obvious that the Muslim proportion will be further reduced, as the bulk of the State representatives would be Hindus. This Assembly so constituted will elect the Chairman and other officers, and, it seems, also the members of the Advisory Committee referred to in Paragraph 20 of the Statement by a majority, and the same rule will apply also to other normal business. But I note that there is only one saving clause which runs as follows:

"In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of Paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues, and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision."

It follows, therefore, that it will be the Chairman alone who will decide. He will not be bound by the opinion of the Federal Court, nor need anybody know what that opinion is, as the Chairman is merely directed to consult the Federal Court.

With regard to the Provinces opting out of their Group, it is left to the new Legislature of the Provinces, after the first general election under the new Constitution, to decide, instead of a referendum of the people as was suggested by us.

(8) As for Paragraph 20, which runs as follows: "The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of fundamental rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial Group or Union."— This raises a very serious question indeed, for if it is left to the Union Constituent Assembly to decide these matters by a majority vote whether any of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee should be incorporated in

the Union Constitution, then it will open a door to more subjects being vested in the Union Government. This will destroy the very basic principle that the Union is to be strictly confined to three subjects.

These are some of the main points which I have tried to put before the public after studying this important document. I do not wish to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which are going to meet shortly at Delhi. They will finally take such decisions as they may think proper after a careful consideration of the pros and cons and a thorough and dispassionate examination of the Statement.[1]

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1. Cmd. 6835 (1946).

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

COUNCIL MEETING

BOMBAY, JULY 27-29, 1946

The session of the All-India Muslim League Council called to reconsider the League's attitude to the Cabinet Mission's proposals for India, began at Bombay on July 27, 1946.

About 450 delegates attended the session and the hall was packed with delegates, visitors and members of the press, both Indian and foreign.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, opening the session, said that what had happened during the three-and-a-half months of constitutional negotiations, and subsequently, had convinced him that the Muslim League had no other course left open to it but to depend on its own strength and to adhere to its goal of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah told the delegates that they had been summoned for certain specific purpose of great importance. The first was to decide what new course the Muslim League should adopt with regard to the Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals, while the second purpose was to decide the League's attitude to the proposals about the Interim Government.

Stating that all efforts of the Muslim League at fair play, justice, even supplication and prayers, had had no response of any kind from the Congress, Mr. Jinnah declared: "The Cabinet Mission has played into the hands of the Congress. It has played a game of its own.

"I tell you the Congress has done the greatest harm to the people of India, in which the Scheduled Caste Hindus are in an overwhelming majority, by its pettifogging, haggling attitude during the recent constitutional negotiations. The Congress is full of spite towards the Muslims. It has now taken India back 40 years by enabling a completely bureaucratic and autocratic Government to be set up at Delhi.

"The Congress thinks that it is going to walk into the Interim Government and bypass the Muslim League. It is welcome to go there. We are not frightened by that, and we know how to deal with that. They are talking through their hats when they talk of turning the Constituent Assembly into a sovereign body—the Constituent Assembly that is being summoned by the Viceroy appointed by the British Government. It is not going to be turned into a sovereign body by the bravado and childish statements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru."

Quoting extracts from the Congress President's letter of June 25 to the Cabinet Mission and the Congress Working Committee's resolution of June 26, Mr. Jinnah said the Congress acceptance was conditional. "Any man of common sense can come to that conclusion only, leave alone these great politicians. It is surprising that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy should consider this decision as acceptance. Throughout these negotiations, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy were under terror and threats of the Congress."

The Council had also to consider what steps should be taken by the Muslim League in view of the attitude adopted by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in regard to the Interim Government. Mr. Jinnah said: "They have gone back on their plighted word and abandoned what was announced as their final proposals embodied in their statement of June 16."

Mr. Jinnah contended that the Congress never really accepted the long-term plan. Its conditional acceptance was communicated to the Cabinet Mission by the Congress President on June 25, and was subsequently ratified by the AICC at its meeting in Bombay on July 7.

"The Cabinet Mission," Mr. Jinnah said, "like a drowning man ready to catch hold of a straw, treated this conditional acceptance of the Congress as genuine acceptance. Not only did they try to propagate this view in this country, but during the debate in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, both Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps created the impression that the Congress had accepted the long-term proposal. This impression is not based on facts. The Congress Working Committee's resolution was bad enough, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as the elected President having taken charge of his office, at a press conference in Bombay, on July 10, made the policy and attitude of the Congress towards the long-term proposal clear. In that interview the Pandit made it quite clear that the Congress was committed to nothing, and they were not bound by either Para 15 or Para 19 of the State Paper".

Brute Majority

"Pandit Nehru has stated that the Congress was not bound by Para 19 of the State Paper which regulates Grouping and which also regulates the functions of the Constituent Assembly. The essential part of the scheme from

the Muslim League point of view, is grouping B and C, and it is that part of the scheme which has been unequivocally repudiated by the Congress, which asserts that Provinces in Groups B and C are free to opt out from the very beginning and not, as is provided, until the Group Constitution and Provincial Constitutions are framed and elections are held under the new Provincial Constitutions."

Mr. Jinnah said that because the Congress had a brute majority in the whole of the Constituent Assembly, it was hoping to take any decision it liked with its majority, ignoring, nullifying and repudiating every item of the scheme, and acting in a manner which would not be competent of the Constituent Assembly, and which would be *ultra vires* of the functions and right of the body.

The Congress position in a nutshell, Mr. Jinnah said, was: "We are committed to nothing, and we are going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve our objective, and according to our sweet will, we will do what we like on the basis of the interpretations which have already been announced to the world." This, Mr. Jinnah said, had created a new situation necessitating the summoning of the League Council.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the Secretary of State's speech in the Lords' debate, where he declared that the Indian parties could not go outside the terms of what had been agreed to, as that would not be fair to the other parties.

Mr. Jinnah said: "Beyond this pious expression there is no effective check or remedy provided in the event of the Congress, which happens to have a brute majority in the Constituent Assembly, taking any decision which is *ultra vires* and incompetent of that Assembly. The Mission knew it. It was made clear to it that Congress acceptance was with reservations, and with their own interpretations on some of the fundamentals of the scheme. Both Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and I myself had made this clear in our statements. The British Government were in possession of these details before the debate took place; yet Lord Pethick-Lawrence had contented himself with the pious expression of hope.

"Does this show any sense of responsibility or understanding on the part of the Cabinet Mission who spent three and a half months here? Further, Pandit Nehru at a mass meeting in Delhi on July 23, said that if they could not mend the Constituent Assembly they would end it. When some papers attributed the Pandit's statements to his emotional and sentimental feelings, Pandit Nehru asserted, repeated and re-affirmed that he had said it deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility. He made it clear that the Congress would pursue that line, and if necessary kill the Constituent Assembly."

Mr. Jinnah characterized Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement in the Lords that he had faith and hope in the Indian people doing the right thing as "most unconvincing optimism" in view of the Congress stand.

"I feel we have exhausted all reason. It is no use looking to any other

source for help or assistance. There is no tribunal to which we can go. The only tribunal is the Muslim nation. (Cheers.) It is no consolation to me that Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps have acknowledged that we made very substantial and vital concessions whereas the Congress had not budged an inch.

"I wish I could honestly pay a tribute to their courage and statesmanship, which they so sadly lacked in handling these negotiations. Nor have I seen any signs of the slightest gesture of goodwill or conciliation, or any indication of co-operation, on the part of the Congress. I am confident the Muslims of India are not going to be perturbed, nor are we going to suffer from any sense of frustration.

"I can tell you this without fear of contradiction that of the three parties, throughout the negotiation the Muslim League behaved as an honourable organization. We negotiated on high principles. We made concession after concession, not because we were overawed: we did so purely because of our extreme anxiety for an amicable and peaceful settlement which would lead not only the Muslims, but also other communities inhabiting this Subcontinent to the achievement of freedom. But the Congress stood there. It has no other consideration except the one, namely, how to down the Muslim League.

"We worked with clean hands", Mr. Jinnah added. "The Muslim League is the only party that has emerged from these negotiations with honour and clean hands. The Mission went back on its words with regard to the Interim Government. The Mission to-day is cowed down and paralysed. The Congress has resorted to methods that even an ordinary individual will be ashamed of. Have you (Congress) not got the decency and have you not got any sense of honour and courage to say that you cannot accept the proposals because they are opposed to your fundamental principles and your objectives?" asked Mr. Jinnah.

Demanding a categorial reply from the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah asserted that on the night of June 24, the Congress Working Committee had rejected both the long-term and short-term proposals. "Earlier in the morning of June 25, the indefatigable Sir Stafford Cripps went and woke up Mr. Gandhi in the Bhangi Colony. It seems he did not cut much ice. He came back, and Lord Pethick-Lawrence was put on the scent of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, the strongman of the Congress. He waylaid Mr. Patel on the road and took him to his house, and there they concocted a device. The Congress was persuaded to accept the long-term proposals, even with their own interpretations and reservations, and the Mission assured the Congress that it would abandon the Interim Government scheme of June 16. It is again like a drowning man catching at a straw. They wanted somehow or other to say that their mission was not a complete failure.

"This is exactly what happened. Now I ask the Viceroy to issue a statement, giving a categorical explanation on this point. This is a grave charge

against the honour, integrity and character of the members of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

Pakistan the Only Solution

"All these facts prove clearly beyond a shadow of doubt that the only solution of India's problem is Pakistan. (Cheers.) So long as the Congress and Mr. Gandhi maintain that they represent the whole of India; so long as the Congress waste their money to no purpose, but to create disruption among the Muslims and encourage men who have no sense of honour and morality by bribery, corruption and snobbery; so long as they deny true facts and the absolute truth that the Muslim League is the only authoritative organization of the Muslims, and as so long as they continue in this vicious circle, there can and will be no compromise or freedom."

Mr. Jinnah maintained that it was a bogus claim of the Congress that it represented the whole of India. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly, out of 79 seats for Muslims, the Congress had secured only three. The candidate from the U.P. stood from three Muslim constituencies in the provincial elections and he was kicked out everywhere.

"Mr. Gandhi now speaks as a universal adviser. He says that the Congress represents the whole of India and that the Congress is the trustee for the people of India. It is an alarming status he wants. We have enough experience of one trustee that has been here for 150 years. We do not want the Congress to become our trustee. We have now grown up. (Laughter.) The only trustee of the Muslims is the Muslim nation. Mr. Gandhi is the self-appointed trustee of the Harijans. Does he honestly believe that the Harijans have confidence in him? The Harijans are a blot on any civilized community. Sixty millions of them who have been tied down by social and economic tyranny for centuries have been living in a miserable condition. What has Mr. Gandhi done for them since he assumed charge of the welfare of the Harijans? The Scheduled Castes are now offering satyagrah and going to jail. People do not and will not take to these extreme measures unless there is strong feeling and strong grievance. The Mission has betrayed the Harijans in order to appease the goddess of the Congress."

Negotiations on Interim Government

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to give a detailed explanation of the negotiations regarding the setting up of an Interim Government. He said: "It is entirely untrue that I submitted any list on behalf of the Muslim League. On the contrary, I definitely said that I was not prepared to submit any list until I knew that there was an agreed settlement; and if there was no agreed settlement, the Viceroy was bound to go ahead with one major party that accepted it, and that I would submit my list at that stage. The Viceroy had no business to put my name when I had clearly made it known to him, in spite of his trying

to persuade me, that I would not accept any office so long as I was the President of the Muslim League.

"Immediately the Congress gave its reply, we have our reply. Now we are told that Clause 8 means something which it does not mean. Here I must say that Sir Stafford Cripps, when he was questioned in the House of Commons, found it very difficult to wriggle out, and he resorted to jugglery of words and misleading the house. I am sorry to say that Sir Stafford Cripps debased his legal talents and put this dishonest interpretation on this clause. He over-powered the venerable and idealistic Secretary of State."

Mr. Jinnah deplored that too much prominence had been given to the interview he had with the Mission on June 25. "The Viceroy received the Congress reply at about 11 or 12 noon that day. It had not been stated anywhere that we were time-barred in accepting the proposal. It was not stated that the offer had been withdrawn. Of course they would have been entitled to withdraw the offer had both parties not accepted the offer. A fantastic and dishonest construction was put on the clause by that ingenuous juggler of words, Cripps, to evade the formation of the Interim Government."

Mr. Jinnah criticized Lord Pethik-Lawrence's statement that he (Mr. Jinnah) could not have a monopoly of Muslim Nomination. "I am not a trader", Mr. Jinnah said. "I am not asking for concessions for oil, nor am I higgling and haggling like a *banya*. Is it not absurd for the Secretary of State for India to come out with this phraseology? Are the Muslims a commodity?"

Mr. Jinnah maintained that right from the beginning he had objected to the inclusion of "Quisling Muslims" in the Interim Government. The Viceroy himself had, in his letter to the Congress President on June 22, stated that he would not have any non-League Muslim. If Mr. Jinnah had that monopoly then, he asked, did he lose it after two days. The reason was that the Congress did not accept it.

Mr. Jinnah thought that the Congress had throughout acted in a petty manner, and their objective had been to discredit and humiliate the Muslim League. If the Congress was really a national body representing the whole of India, then why should it bestow its attention only on the Muslim and not on other communities?

Second Sitting

When the Council resumed its session at 9:30 p.m., Mr. Jinnah announced that there were several resolutions tabled for discussion by members of the Council. Mr. Jinnah said that in view of the Cabinet Mission having gone back on their word on the question of setting up an Interim Government, the League Council had to decide what steps they had to take.

"We have accepted the proposals—both the long-term and short-term. And now the vital questions are: first, what are you going to do with

that decision of yours? Is that decision to be scrapped and modified, and in what way?" The second question was what the League Council had now to say about the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, who had gone back on their own words.

Since the scheme of the Interim Government had been scrapped, what was left was only the long-term proposals, and the Council had to decide what they would now do with these. "Do you want to scrap it or modify it?" Mr. Jinnah urged the members to confine themselves to these two points in their speeches.

Over a dozen resolutions, which had been tabled by the League Council members, varied from total rejection of the Cabinet Delegations' proposals and the launching of an immediate struggle for the achievement of Pakistan to acceptance strictly on the basis of parity in all matters relating to the Constitution-making Body and the future Union Government.

After all these resolutions had been read out by Nawabzada Liquat Ali Khan, a general discussion began.

Initiating the debate, Sir Feroze Khan Noon said that Congress was responsible for the official Executive Council functioning at the Centre to-day. "If the Congress thinks that this Executive Council is short-lived, they are very much mistaken. In the absence of an agreement between the major parties in the country, it might continue for 10 or 15 years."

Sir Feroze pointed out that it was in the interest of the British to keep this official Executive Council in power to continue the economic exploitation of the country. "Let the Congress realize that the British owe India 1,500 crores of rupees by way of sterling debts. There is an economic drain on the country, which will never be known to the world unless the Government wanted to tell them. Fourteen annas out of every rupee thus drained would go from the Congress and the Hindus.

"If the Congress was thinking of getting into the Executive Council without the League, let them do it. We shall stand aside. Let us see how they work it. They will not be able to work it for a day.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon counselled the League to keep out of the Constituent Assembly as well, in the same manner. "The long-term proposals are nothing but a trick to keep us busy quarrelling with each other for the next 15 years. The British Government wants peace in India for the next four years while they are in power, and the most convenient device is to keep us engaged for sometime with some proposals."

Sir Feroze pleaded for an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League without which there was no use going into the Constituent Assembly. "Unless we have an agreement out of court, it will be most futile, foolish and suicidal for the Muslims to go into it. (Cheers.) We are not going there merely to be out-voted."

Having accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals, there were two

alternatives now before the League. "If the Congress do not agree out of court with us, we can go into the Constituent Assembly, but not take part in the Union part of it. The Muslims can draw up a constitution for Pakistan and the Hindus for Akhand Hindustan. But then both these will go to London and probably remain in the archives there for ever. But even this will be dangerous for the Muslims, because the British Government will pick out some weak point, and as self-styled arbitrators, press something else on us.

"The best for us is frankly to admit that we made a mistake in accepting a Union of some sort proposed in the Scheme and go back to our Pakistan ideal. (Cheers.) The path of wisdom lies in the total rejection of the constitutional proposals. We will sit quiet and do nothing until the Congress has made the British quiet. We shall eliminate ourselves for the time being, for somebody has got to make sacrifices to achieve freedom for the country. We, Musalmans, shall sacrifice, if we want freedom for ourselves, when we know that neither the Britisher nor the Hindu is willing to make us free. From our own point of view, it is better we fight one of them. When the Congress has turned out the Englishman, we will know how to fight the Congress. (Cheers.) The brave can never be ruled by others.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon said the Muslim League had committed "a great mistake in putting our cards on the table as straight and honest men dealing with men whose words we trusted and whose intentions could not be doubted. The second mistake was when we departed from our ideal of Pakistan, a completely sovereign State for the Muslims of India, the issue on which we fought and won the elections. Ever since, we have fallen lower and lower. If you depart from the ideal, your movement will be dead in five years. Whatever programme we made for our future political progress, therefore, let there be one guiding beacon before us—a fully sovereign, separate State of Pakistan. (Cheers.) If at any time we felt that we were willing for a partial Union at the Centre, that was only a stepping stone towards Pakistan.

Sir Feroze uttered a warning that if the British Cabinet Ministers had gone back on their words once, they would do it again in respect of the long-term proposals. "Those very Congress threats which frightened them will again weigh with them with regard to the constitutional long-term agreement. You cannot look into the present Government in Britain for the protection of your rights. That door is closed, so far as we are concerned. Our future does not lie in the hands of the British."

Maulana Hasrat Mohani moved his resolution suggesting that the Muslim League acceptance of the Mission's proposals be withdrawn. The Maulana said there was no more room for any negotiations with men who had broken their plighted word. The time had come for revolutionary action. The Muslim League must revert back to the demand for a sovereign Pakistan and devise suitable measures for its achievement. Maulana Hasrat Mohani suggested that the Muslim members elected to the Constituent Assembly be asked

to form themselves into a Committee of Action for the purpose. 'If the Quaid-i-Azam will only give his word, the Muslims of India will rise in revolt at a moment's notice", he added amidst cheers.

Maulana Karam Ali moved a resolution demanding the immediate launching of a struggle against the British. "There is no other course left open to the Muslims. We should not go into the Constituent Assembly." Maulana Karam Ali also suggested that the Muslims should begin an immediate boycott of British goods.

Dr. Abdul Hamid Kazi urged that now any settlement with the Congress should be based on the principle of parity between the Congress and Muslim League in the proposed Interim Government, the Hindus and Muslims, in the Constituent Assembly and in the Union Government and in the Union Legisture, when it was formed. The Muslims, he said, were not going to trust the Hindu Congress, who were given to petty bargaining, any more than they would trust the British Government. He did not agree with Sir Feroze Khan Noon that the Muslims should stand aside and let the Hindus settle with the British. "The Muslims must come into the field now and fight for independence—independence not only for Pakistan, but for Hindustan as well. After wresting power from the British for the whole of the country, the Muslims should establish their own Government in the Pakistan areas and make a free gift of the other three-fourths of the country to the Hindus.

Khan Bahadur Jalaluddin suggested that the Muslims should begin with renouncing their titles and pursuing a more active political programme. He added that Mr. Jinnah should give a directive to the Muslim nation to renounce their titles from the British Government. This would only be the first step, and the people should be prepared for further sacrifices.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan condemned the "militant and aggressive attitude" of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and said that the Congress, with its overwhelming majority in the Constituent Assembly, hoped to crush the Muslim League. Muslims could not rely on the promises of the British; they should develop their own inherent strength and fight for the achievement of Pakistan. He advocated direct action; but as to when and in what manner it should be launched, should be left to the League Working Committee. If Mr. Jinnah gave the call, Raja Ghazanfar Ali said, Muslims from all walks of life would come forward to carry on the struggle for the attainment of Pakistan.

The sitting adjourned at midnight.

Third Sitting

Discussion on what attitude the Muslim League should adopt in view of the "new situation that has been created" was continued at the resumed session of the League Council on the morning of July 28.

Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayutullah, Premier of Sindh, Sir Azizul Haque,

former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and Mian Iftikharuddin Ahmed were the principal speakers in this sitting. Sir Ghulam Husain said that the time has now come for the League to take some action instead of indulging in speeches.

Sir Azizul Haque said that the decision of the All-India Muslim League Council in June last to accept the British Cabinet Mission's proposal was not a mistake as Sir Firoze Khan Noon had said last night. The decision of the Muslim League to accept the proposal was a great act of statesmanship.

Fatima Begum, the first speaker of the morning assured whole-hearted support by Muslim women for any programme of direct action that might be launched by the Muslim League. "Since the advent of the thought of the Constituent Assembly, the Muslims had forgotten their demand for Pakistan. They are under a great delusion if they think they can afford to forget Pakistan," she declared.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan warned the Council against taking any precipitate action, and asked them not to allow anger and passion to influence their decision. He suggested that the Muslim League President, Mr. Jinnah, be authorized to deal with the present situation, as well as any other situation that might arise in the future, as he thought fit, and also to withdraw the League acceptance of the long-term proposals if found necessary. This, in his opinion, would be the proper course for the Council to adopt.

Mr. Jinnah intervened in the debate at this stage and said that while he appreciated the high esteem and confidence placed in him, he would like the Council to decide the future course of action. "Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's suggestion shifts your responsibility onto my shoulders. I want you to take your own decision after ascertaining all the facts, which I have placed before you", he said. "It is true the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have betrayed the Muslim nation. We accepted their proposal as a whole, both long-term and short-term. But since they have scrapped the interim proposals, you have to decide what we should now do, for the proposals are interdependent and inseparable. Of the three parties to the proposals, the Delegation and the Viceroy have scrapped the interim proposals. The Congress, one of the two major parties, has accepted the Plan conditionally, which is no acceptance at all. What security is there for the League to go into the Constituent Assembly when the other major party has not accepted it, and the third party scraps a vital part of the proposals and says, 'We have faith, hope and confidence in the Indians doing the right thing.'?

"I am not prepared to accept responsibility for any decision as to the future, unless you force it down my throat. It is your bounden duty to decide what we should now do, for you are the parliament of the Muslim Nation. The President and the Working Committee will carry out any policy laid down by you."

Mian Iftikharuddin appealed to the Congress to observe the rules of

the game in working the Constituent Assembly, and not to go beyond the scope of the British Cabinet Mission's proposals. Unless the Congress agreed to work hand in hand with the League, the constitutional problem would never be solved. By accepting the British Cabinet Mission's proposals, Mian Iftikharuddin added, the League had given up its demand for a sovereign Pakistan. Now it was for the Congress to reciprocate this gesture.

Mian Abdul Haye supported the plea for immediate direct action by the League. He said that in denying Mr. Jinnah the right to nominate all the Muslims in the Interim Government, the Secretary of State for India had repudiated the representative character of the League.

Mr. Abdul Hassan said Muslims should resist Congress attempts to dominate over them in the name of freedom and liberty. He wanted the League to forge sanctions for any demand they might make, and said there should be sovereignty in the groups.

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, voicing the young Muslims' point of view, said that Muslim India supported the League Council's decision to accept the Cabinet Mission's proposals in the hope that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would join the League in fighting British Imperialism. He said it had now become clear that the Congress was not against British Imperialism but against the Muslims. He said the Muslims should not fight on two fronts. They should first fight the British; and if the Congress allied itself with the British, then the Congress too would have to be fought. The League should go to the Constituent Assembly and there prove the justice of its case. If the Congress were to refuse the claims of the Muslims, the Muslim members in the Constituent Assembly should sit together and frame their own Constitution for Pakistan.

The Council adjourned its sitting at 1-20 p.m. Before adjourning the House, Mr. Jinnah announced that the Working Committee would draft a resolution on the lines of the views expressed in the Council and would place it before the House on the next day.

Fourth Sitting

Mr. Jinnah announced to the Council that, after a great deal of consideration, the Working Committee had decided to withdraw the League's acceptance of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals. He said that the decision had been taken after "full consideration of all aspects," and added, "We spent considerable time in preparing the draft resolution."

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan then moved the following two resolutions[1]:

RESOLUTION I

On the 6th of June 1946, the Council of the All-India Muslim League accepted the Scheme embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation

1. For source reference see end of the Chapter.

and the Viceroy dated May 16, 1946 and explained by them in their statement dated May 25, 1946. The Scheme of the Cabinet Delegation fell far short of the demand of the Muslim nation for the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan, comprising the six Muslim provinces, but the Council accepted a Union Centre for 10 years strictly confined to three subjects, *viz.* Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications as the Scheme laid down certain fundamentals and safeguards and provided for the grouping separately of the six Muslim Provinces in Sections B and C for the purpose of framing their Provincial and Group Constitutions unfettered by the Union in any way; and also with a view to end the Hindu-Muslim deadlock peacefully and accelerate the attainment of freedom of the peoples of India. In arriving at this decision, the Council was also greatly influenced by the statement of the President, which he made with the authority of the Viceroy, that the Interim Government, which was an integral part of the Mission's Scheme, was going to be formed on the basis of a formula, viz. 5 Muslim League, 5 Congress, 1 Sikh and I Indian Christian or Anglo Indian, stipulating that the most important portfolios would be distributed equally between the two major parties, the Muslim League and the Congress. The Council authorized the President to take such decision and action with regard to further details of setting up the Interim Government as he deemed fit and proper. In that very Resolution the Council also reserved the right to modify and revise this policy, if the course of events so required.

The British Government committed a breach of faith with the Muslim League in that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy went back on the original formula of 5:5:2 for the setting up of the Interim Government to placate the Congress.

Having gone back on the original formula, upon the faith of which the Muslim League Council had come to their decision on the 6th of June, the Viceroy suggested a new basis of 5:5:3 and, after carrying on considerable negotiations with the Congress and having failed to get the Congress to agree to it, intimated to the parties on the 15th of June that he and the Cabinet Delegation would issue their final statement with regard to the setting up of the Interim Government.

Accordingly, on the 16th of June the President of the Muslim League received a Statement embodying what was announced to be the final decision for setting up the Interim Government by the Viceroy, making it clear that if either of the two major parties refused to accept the Statement of June 16, the Viceroy would proceed to form the Interim Government with the major party accepting it and such other representatives as were willing to join. This was explicitly laid down in Paragraph 8 of the Statement of June 16.

Even this final decision of the Cabinet Mission of the 16th June, with regard to the formation of the Interim Government, was rejected by the Congress, whereas the Muslim League definitely accepted it. Though this

proposal was different from the original formula of 5:5:2, the Muslim League accepted it because the Viceroy had provided safeguards and given other satisfactory assurances which were contained in his letter dated the 20th June 1946, addressed to the President of the Muslim League.

The Viceroy, however, scrapped the proposal of the 16th June and postponed the formation of the Interim Government on the plea concocted by the 'legalistic talents' of the Cabinet Mission, putting a most fantastic and dishonest construction upon Paragraph 8 of the Statement, to the effect that as both the major parties, i.e. the Muslim League and the Congress had accepted the Statement of May 16, the question of the Interim Government could only be taken up in consultation with the representatives of both the parties *de novo*.

Even assuming that this construction was tenable, for which there is no warrant, the Congress, by their conditional acceptance with reservations and interpretations of their own as laid down in the letter of the President of the Congress, dated the 25th of June, and the Resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress passed at Delhi on the 26th of June, repudiating the very fundamentals of the scheme had, in fact, rejected the Statement of the 16th of May and there was therefore no justification, whatsoever, for abandoning the final proposals of the 16th of June.

As regards the proposal embodied in the statements of the 16th and 25th of May of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the Muslim League alone of the two major parties has accepted it.

The Congress have not accepted it because their acceptance is conditional and subject to their own interpretation, which is contrary to the authoritative statements of the Delegation and Viceroy issued on the 16th and the 25th of May. The Congress have made it clear that they do not accept any of the terms or the fundamentals of the Scheme, but that they have agreed only to go into the Constituent Assembly and to nothing else; and that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body and can take such decisions as it may think proper in total disregard of the terms and the basis on which it was proposed to be set up. Subsequently this was made further clear and beyond any doubt in the speeches that were made at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on the 6th of July by prominent members of the Congress, and in the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, to a press conference on July 10 in Bombay, and then again, even after the debate in the Parliament, in a public speech by him at Delhi on the 22nd of July.

The result is that of the two major parties, the Muslim League alone has accepted the statements of May 16 and 25 according to the spirit and the letter of the proposals embodied therein and in spite of the attention of the Secretary of State for India having been drawn to this situation by the statement of the President of the Muslim League of July 13 from Hyderabad, Deccan, neither Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons, nor Lord Pethick-Law-

rence in the House of Lords, in the course of the recent debate, have provided or suggested any means or machinery to prevent the Constituent Assembly from taking decisions which would be *ultra vires* and not competent for the Assembly to take. The only reference that the Secretary of State made to this serious situation was a mere expression of pious hope when he stated that "that would not be fair to the other parties who go in."

Once the Constituent Assembly were summoned and met, there was no provision or power that could prevent any decision from being taken by the Congress with its overwhelming majority, which would not be competent for the Assembly to take or which would be *ultra vires* of it, and however repugnant it might be to the letter or the spirit of the Scheme. It would rest entirely with the majority to take such decisions as they may think proper or suit them; and the Congress have already secured by sheer numbers an overwhelming Hindu Caste majority, whereby they will be in a position to use the Assembly in the manner in which they have already declared, i.e. that they will wreck the basic form of the Grouping of the Provinces and extend the scope, powers and subjects of the Union Centre, which is confined strictly to three specific subjects, as laid down in Paragraph 15 and provided for in Paragraph 19 of the Statement of May 16.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, collectively and individually, have stated on more than one occasion that the basic principles were laid down to enable the major parties to join the Constituent Assembly, and that the Scheme cannot succeed unless it is worked in a spirit of co-operation. The attitude of the Congress clearly shows that these conditions, precedent for the successful working of the Constitution-making Body, do not exist. This fact, taken together with the policy of the British Government of sacrificing the interests of the Muslim nation and some other weaker sections of the peoples of India, particularly the Scheduled Castes, to appease the Congress, and the way in which they have been going back on their oral and written solemn pledges and assurances given from time to time to the Muslims, leaves no doubt that in these circumstances the participation of the Muslims in the proposed Constitution-making machinery is fraught with danger; and the Council, therefore, hereby withdraws its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, which was communicated to the Secretary of State for India by the President of the Muslim League on the 6th of June, 1946.

RESOLUTION II

Whereas the Council of the All-India Muslim League has resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated the 16th of May, 1946, due to the intransigence of the Congress, on one hand, and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government, on the other; and

Whereas Muslim India has exhausted, without success, all efforts to

find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means; and

whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up Caste-Hindu Raj in India with the connivance of the British; and

whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs; and

whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest contented with anything less than the immediate establishment of an Independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan, and would resist any attempt to impose any Constitution-making machinery or any Constitution, long-term or short-term, or the setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre without the approval and consent of the Muslim Legue;

the Council of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination.

This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative and authoritative organization, the All-India Muslim League, and to be ready for every sacrifice.

This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of Direct Action to carry out the policy enunciated above, and to organize the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

As a protest against, and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this Council calls upon the Musalmans to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government.[1]

*

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar from the Frontier Province, who was one of the Muslim League delegates to the Tripartite Conference at Simla, was the first to address the Council. Sardar Nishtar said that though the Cabinet Mission's proposals fell short of the Muslim League's demands, it accepted them in order to prove to the world that it was not the League which stood in the way of India's independence. The Muslim League acted as an honourable and honest organization and wanted to solve the Indian political deadlock by peaceful methods. The Congress, on the other hand, tried to dominate the Muslim League in whatever way it could. In view of all that had happened during the past three months, the Muslims had only two courses open. One was to continue to be under British Imperialism which would be dishonourable. The other was to fight for the achievement of Pakistan. The Muslims were prepared to make every sacrifice for this purpose.

1. Resolutions published by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

Sir Mohammed Saadullah, former Premier of Assam, said there was only one way out for the Muslim now, and that was to keep their self-respect and withdraw their acceptances of the Mission's proposals.

Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, made a fighting speech and expressed the hope that the Council would decide its future course of action in a spirit of freedom. Mr. Suhrawardy said that the Muslim League accepted the short-term and long-term proposals at Delhi with grave misgivings and in a spirit of oppression. The misgivings had unfortunately been justified now. He said that the Congress had already begun to carry out its 'nefarious design' to convert the Constituent Assembly into a sovereign body. "We have learnt now that we cannot any more rely either on the professions of British friendliness or on the hope that the Congress will one day do justice to us. The Congress is out to destroy Muslim resurgence in this country. We await the clarion call of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Muslim nation has been straining at the leash. When we dispersed after the last session at Delhi, there was no enthusiasm amongst the Muslims. But now when we feel that we shall have to stand on our own feet and search our hearts for our own strength, mark the enthusiasm amongst the Muslims. Let the Congress beware that it is not going to fight just a handful of people fighting for power, but a nation which is struggling for its life and will secure that life. Let us contribute to the world the best and choicest of all that was taught to us 1,400 years ago by the greatest teacher of mankind."

Syed Ali Akbar Shah urged that any course of action chalked out should be strictly in accordance with Islamic principles and traditions. This, they could not do if they remained subservient to the British or any other party. The Muslim League was not a body, as had been alleged time and again, of knights and zamindars; it was an expression of the united will of the Muslim masses. The Muslims would and were ready to fight for freedom to manage their own affairs.

Maulana Jamal Mian suggested that the members of the Muslim League Council—most of whom were in the Legislative Assemblies and Councils—should resign from these bodies. It would be a test of their sincerity.

Mr. Qadeeruddin, President of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League declared, amidst applause, that Muslim India was unanimously of the view that the Cabinet Mission's proposals should be rejected in toto. He did not believe there would be any civil war in the country under the existing conditions. The Muslim struggle for Pakistan would be a rebellion against authority and would commence with the violation of existing laws. Mr. Qadeeruddin appealed to the Muslim masses to organize themselves properly and select the right type of man to lead them in the struggle with a view to avoiding its turning into a haphazard movement.

Mr. Husain Imam said that the recent political negotiations with the British Ministers and the Congress had shown that the Muslim League had

gone to the utmost limit to reach a compromise. This attitude was, however, being misinterpreted as weakness on their part. Declaring that there was no other course but to launch a struggle, Mr. Husain Imam concluded: "To-day is a red-letter day in the history of the Muslim nation. The vital decision to launch a struggle against all the forces that stand in our way of achieving Pakistan will be taken to-day."

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, member of the Working Committee, in a brief speech asserted that during the negotiations that took place in Delhi and Simla, the Congress had completely exposed itself by demonstrating that its only aim was to down the Muslim League. On the other hand, the Muslim League worked honestly and sincerely for the freedom of India. The Congress wanted to reject the proposals, but had not the moral courage to do so, and took up a position of neither acceptance nor rejection. The Muslim League, which had the courage to accept the Plan, had now the courage to reject it as well. The Muslim League having now decided to reject it, he had no doubt that every Muslim would obey the orders of the Working Committee and Mr. Jinnah.

Intervening in the debate, Mr. Jinnah said that already 23 speakers had participated in the proceedings and he believed all viewpoints had been put forward. He and the members of the Working Committee had sat late the previous night and had discussed the draft resolutions at length, but the final draft was settled just then at the meeting itself. As they had fully expressed their views, he did not believe any further debate was necessary.

Almost all the speeches were emphatic in their attack against the Cabinet Mission and the Congress. "I think I am putting the sense of the House correctly that we should withdraw our acceptance of the long-term proposal as contained in our resolution of June 6, communicated to the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy." (Prolonged cheers). The Council agreed to the closure.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF MR. M. A. JINNAH

In his concluding remarks, following the adoption of the two resolutions, Mr. Jinnah said: "We have taken a most historic decision. Never before in the whole life-history of the Muslim League did we do anything except by constitutional methods and constitutional talks. We are to-day forced into this position by a move in which both the Congress and Britain have participated. We have been attacked on two fronts—the British front and the Hindu front. To-day we have said good-bye to constitutions and constitutional methods. Throughout the painful negotiations, the two parties with whom we bargained held a pistol at us; one with power and machine-guns behind it, and the other with non-co-operation and the threat to launch mass civil disobedience. This situation must be met. We also have a pistol.

"We have taken this decision", thundered Mr. Jinnah, "with full responsibility and all the deliberation possible for a human being, and we mean it. In the three-party talks the British committed not only a flagrant breach of faith, the Congress not only adopted a method of acceptance, but they practised nothing but deception. The only party that has acted honourably and came out with clean hands is the Muslim League.

We have made no mistake. We deliberately accepted the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16 and we also accepted the interim formula. The Muslim League was moved by higher and greater considerations than the rest of India. We therefore sacrificed our full sovereignty of Pakistan on the altar of securing independence and freedom for all. We voluntarily delegated three subjects to the Union to work for 10 years. It is not a mistake. It is the highest statesmanship the Muslim League has achieved.

"It is not only that we played a part on a high level, but I do not think any responsible man could have allowed the situation to give rise to bloodshed and civil war. The situation was such that we did, in all anxiety, try to come to a peaceful settlement with the other major party. We had the courage—it was not a mistake—to sacrifice three subjects to the Centre. That has been treated with contempt and defiance by the Congress. Are we only to be guided by these principles of honesty, integrity and statesmanship, when, on the other hand, there is the perfidious Albion and the Congress which wants to crush the Musalmans? A man who is guided by these high principles is always bound to win in the long run. To-day there is no doubt that Muslim India is stirred up and indignant, because two parties have been thoroughly exposed.

"For Muslim India this has been the greatest blessing in disguise. Now there is no more room left. Let us march on."

Mr. Jinnah, then launched a broadside against Lord Pethic-Lawrence, for having said in the Commons that Mr. Jinnah did not have the monopoly of Muslims in India. "What made the Secretary of State in that responsible position use that stupid phrase? He has gone out of his way to do so. I ask Pethick-Lawrence: Has he got the monopoly of every Briton? By what title, by what authority does he speak on behalf of the British nation? He has at the most 60 per cent of the electorate behind him. What are Pethick-Lawrence and his Government doing to-day What did they do with their quislings? Did they include them in their Cabinet? What did they do to Lord Haw-Haw and John Amery? They hanged them, and many other traitors with them. What power have I got? None. But it was impossible for me to consent to the inclusion of a quisling, a traitor who had betrayed us—to nominate him to the Executive."

Winding up his peroration, Mr. Jinnah castigated the Cabinet Ministers severely. "I think that the Mission have been intellectually paralysed. Their legal talents have been prostituted to place a dishonest interpretation on the

proposals. They have taken leave of not only political ethics but of every cannon and every principle of political morality."

Quoting Firdousi, he concluded:

We want peace, we do not want war.
But if you want war, we accept it unhesitatingly.

Titles Renounced

Immediately after the Council had passed the two resolutions before the House, a number of top-ranking Muslim Leaguers and others attending the Session announced that they had renounced the titles that had been conferred on them by the British Government, as required under the terms of the second resolution. These included the following, with titles renounced placed in parenthesis:

(Sir) Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Sind Premier; (Sir) Nazimuddin, the Bengal ex-Premier; (Sir) Feroze Khan Noon (Punjab); (Nawab Sir) Mehr Shah (Punjab); (Sir) M. Saadullah, the Assam ex-Premier; (Raja) Ghazanfar Ali Khan; (Nawabzada) Nasrullah Khan; (Khan Bahadur) Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, Minister, Sind; (Khan Bahadur) Jalaluddin (N.W.F. Province—who was the first to ascend the platform and surrender his title); (Khan Bahadur) Haji Hassan Ali Ibrahim (Bombay); (Khan Bahadur) Karamat Ali Khan; (Khan Saheb) Alibhai Patel (Bombay); (Khan Bahadur) Amjad Ali; (Khan Bahadur) Abdullah-al-Mahmud (Bengal). Mr. Hassan Ispahani (M.B.E.), (Bengal).

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, Khan, announced that although the prefix of 'Nawabzada' to his name was not a title conferred by the British Government, he wanted to be addressed as only Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

Frenzied cheers broke out as each of the above Muslim Leaguers announced the surrender of their title.[1]

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1. *Sources*: *Dawn*, Delhi, July 28-31, 1946;
The Star, Bombay, August 4, 1946;
The Indian Annual Register, 1946, Vol. II, pp. 167-180.

MR. M.A. JINNAH'S BROADCAST MESSAGE ON THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

JUNE 3, 1947

The following is the full text of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's broadcast speech of June 3, 1947:

I am glad that I am afforded an opportunity to speak to you directly through this Radio from Delhi. It is the first time, I believe, that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address the people directly through the medium of this powerful instrument on political matters. It augurs well, and I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions, which will reach you directly, life-warm, rather than in the cold print of a newspaper.

The Statement of His Majesty's Government embodying the Plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast, and will be released to the press to be published in India and abroad to-morrow morning. It gives the outlines of the Plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We have to examine it coolly, calmly and dispassionately. We must remember that we have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great Subcontinent inhabited by 400 million people. The world has no parallel for the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.

Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore we must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community, and particularly to Muslim India, to maintain peace and order.

We must examine the Plan, its letter and spirit, and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment, He may guide us and enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner having regard to the Plan as a whole.

It is clear that the Plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view; and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the Plan. It is for us now to consider whether the Plan, as presented to us by His Majesty's Government, should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement.

On this point I do not wish to prejudge the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has been summoned to meet on Monday the 9th of June; and the final decision can only be taken by the Council according to our Constitution, precedents and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather on the whole, the reaction in the Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful. Of course, the Plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before the final decision can be taken.

I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely, and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality; and it is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him as far as it lies in our power, in order that he may fulfil his mission of transfer of power to the peoples of India, in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now the Plan that has been broadcast already makes it clear in Paragraph II that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province, who will choose which of the two alternatives in Paragraph 4 they wish to adopt; and the referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the Provincial Government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly.

In these circumstances, I request the Provincial Muslim League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League, and Musalmans generally, to organize our people to face this referendum with hope and courage; and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Musalmans, and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame —and this is hardly the moment to do so—I deeply sympathise with all those who have suffered and those who died or whose properties were

subjected to destruction; and I fervently hope that Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner, and it should be the anxiety of every one to obtain a fair, free and true verdict of the people of the Frontier. Once more, I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order.

Pakistan Zindabad.[1]

1. *Source*: *Dawn*, Delhi, June 5, 1947.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

COUNCIL MEETING

DELHI, JUNE 9-10, 1947

A historic session of Council of the All-India Muslim League met at the Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, on Monday morning, June 9. Nearly 425 members out of the 475 invitees attended the Session. Hundreds of Muslim National Guards and spectators waited on the lawns of Imperial Hotel in the scorching heat long before the arrival of the leaders, and dispersed peacefully after they had gone into their meeting. However, about 50 Khaksar volunteers were put under arrest by the Delhi police for shouting anti-League slogans. It is understood that the Khaksars were instigated to stage demonstrations in order to disrupt the meeting.

The police fired two rounds and used tear gas to disperse an unruly crowd of Muslim demonstrators, reported to be Khaksars, who tried to invade the All-India Muslim League Council meeting at the Imperial Hotel in the night.

The police closed the grill and the lounge of the Hotel, and armed guards were posted at all corners of the Hotel. The demonstrators are alleged to have smashed windows and chairs in the Hotel, and to have run upstairs where the League Council was in session. The armed Guards and the police soon restored order.

Guests and other residents of the Hotel, who were lounging on the lawns and inside, ran helter-skelter. The guests in the dining -hall sat down for their dinner with tearful eyes as the tear-gas spread into the hall.

Mr. Jinnah, however, continued the proceedings of the meeting untrammelled by the disturbances on the ground floor. A few demonstrators, who found their way into the meeting-hall were soon ejected.

On the top floor of the Hotel, Muslim League National Guards and Khaksar demonstrators clashed as the demonstrators sought to force their way into the meeting. They broke furniture and smashed glass panes, and a few persons sustained injuries. The police rushed to the top floor and restored order. The demonstrators thereupon ran away, but a dozen of them were taken into custody.

"I am a soldier of Pakistan, not its Emperor", said Mr. Jinnah when Muslim League supporters shouted 'Shahenshah-e-Pakistan' (i.e. 'Emperor of Pakistan') as Mr. Jinnah mounted the dais in the ball-room of the Imperial Hotel.

He strongly objected to his being called 'Emperor of Pakistan', and asked Muslim League supporters not to repeat this.

Mr. Jinnah, who opened the proceedings with a three-quarter hour resume of the events leading up to the announcement of June 3, asked the Council to discuss the Plan in a free an frank manner. Mr. Jinnah is reported to have pointed out that he had agreed to Dominion Status for Pakistan for the transition period only, and that it was for the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to decide whether to remain in the British Commonwealth or not. Mr. Jinnah also made an appeal to the delegates from the Frontier to see that the referendum resulted in a clear verdict in favour of Pakistan. One of the members from the Frontier assured Mr. Jinnah that it might be taken as a certainty that the Pathans would come into Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah explained the new Plan of His Majesty's Government without prejudicing the members of the Council. After the Quaid-i-Azam's address, questions were put by the House.

A number of questions were then put to Mr. Jinnah. One of them related to the treatment of minorities in the Indian Union and in Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah reiterated the assurances he had given in the past—that the minorities in Pakistan would get a 'square deal', and that their rights would be protected in every possible manner. He expected the same would be the case in regard to minorities in the Indian Union too; but pointed out that it was obviously a question for the minorities in the Indian Union to take up in their Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Zahir Hasan Lari, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the U.P. Assembly, who followed the Quaid-i-Azam, strongly condemned the Plan for giving a truncated sovereign State to Muslim India. The Sind Premier, Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, supporting the Plan, urged upon the Council to accept it. Pir Saheb of Zakori, of the Frontier, though supporting the Plan, did not approve the partitioning of Bengal and the Punjab. Mr. Muhammed Ismail, President of the Madras Provincial Muslim League, and Mr. Abdul Rehman Khan of C.P. also addressed the meeting.

The first sitting continued for nearly two and a half hours. and the Council resumed its session at 7-30 p. m. After a debate lasting another two

and a half hours, the Council adopted the following, resolution accepting the Plan for the partition of Bengal and the conferment of Dominion Status, with 400 Council members voting for it and eight against it.[1]

RESOLUTION

The Council of the All-India Muslim League, after full deliberation and consideration of the Statement of His Majesty's Government dated the 3rd of June, 1947, laying down the Plan of transfer of power to the peoples of India, notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, will not be proceeded with, and has been abandoned. The only course open is the partition of India as now proposed in H.M.G.'s Statement of June 3.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League is of the opinion that the only solution of India's problem is to divide India into two—Pakistan and Hindustan. On that basis, the Council has given its most earnest attention and consideration to H.M.G.'s Statement. The Council is of the opinion that although it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, or give its consent to such partition, it has to consider H.M.G.'s Plan for the transfer of power as a whole.

The Council, therefore, hereby resolves to give full authority to the President of the All-India Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, to accept the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise, and to leave it to him, with full authority, to work out all the details of the Plan in an equitable and just manner with regard to carrying out the complete division of India on the basis and fundamental principles embodied in H.M.G.'s Plan, including Defence, Finance, Communications, etc.

The Council further empowers the President, Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the Plan.[1]

1. *Sources: Morning Herald*, Bombay, June 10, 1947.
Morning News, Calcutta, June 11, 1947

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

COUNCIL MEETING

KARACHI, DECEMBER 14-15, 1947

A meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held at Karachi in the Khalikdina Hall on December 14-15, 1947, to take a historic decision on the fate of the accredited organization of the Muslims of the Subcontinent. The First Session of the Muslim League was held at Karachi in December 1907, and 41 years later, the last meeting of the Council of the Muslim League was held in the same city. Three hundred members, of whom 160 were from India, out of a total strength of 450, participated in the deliberations. The premises were heavily guarded by the police and green uniformed Muslim National Guards; and the surging crowds, surrounding the compound and blocking all traffic, raised slogans of 'Pakistan Zindabad', 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad', as the leaders, one after another, arrived at the Hall. The meeting was held in camera, and the Quaid-i-Azam presided. Mr. Jinnah addressed the Council for about an hour in English, and his speech was later translated into Urdu by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Mr. Jinnah began by welcoming the members, and reviewed the events that led to the partition of India. Referring to the developments that had taken place since the session of the League Council of June 9, Mr. Jinnah said: "We are meeting to-day to discuss what is going to be the future structure of the All-India Muslim League. As you know, the Muslim League has achieved and established Pakistan in a way and in a manner which has no parallel. The Muslims were a crowd, they were demoralized, and they had to suffer economically. We have achieved Pakistan, not for the League, not for any of our colleagues, but for the masses. Muslim India would have been finished if Pakistan had not been achieved. We have established Pakistan where there

are at least 60 millions of Muslims, with a mighty territory and complete sovereignty. Credit for this must go to the Minority Provinces. We both agreed (the Congress and the League) regarding the treatment of the minorities. I never thought that the Hindus would resort not only to killing and destroying life and property, but to organized group barbarities. It was intended to give a blow to Pakistan. That was pre-planned."

The Quaid-e-Azam deplored the human madness that had overwhelmed people and brought misery to many homes.

While condemning the disturbances in both the Dominions, the Quaid-i-Azam reminded the Muslims that it was against Islam to indulge in such crimes. He expressed the hope that the minorities in both the Dominions would be assured adequate protection, and as the Governor-General of Pakistan, he would do his duty.

The Quaid-i-Azam recalled the charges that were being levelled against Pakistan and its leaders about the betrayal of the Muslim masses in the Indian Union. He said, he was full of feelings for the Muslim masses in the Indian Union who were, unfortunately, facing bad days. He advised the Indian Muslims to organize themselves so as to become powerful enough to safeguard their political rights. A well-organized minority should be powerful eough to protect its own rights—political, cultural, economic and social. On his part, he assured them of his full realization that the achievement of Pakistan was the outcome of the labour and toil of the Muslims in India as well as of those who were now enjoying its fruits. Pakistan would help them in every possible way.

A member interrupted and asked the Quaid-i-Azam if he would once again, be prepared to take over the leadership of the Muslims of India in the present hour of trial. The Quaid-i-Azam replied that he was quite willing to do so if the Council gave its verdict in favour of such a proposal. He recalled his statement at the time of the achievement of Pakistan that his job had been done, and with the achievement of Pakistan, the cherished goal of the Muslim nation, he wanted to lead a retired life. But if called upon, he was quite ready to leave Pakistan and share the difficulties of the Muslims in the Indian Union and to lead them.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan then moved the main resolution, calling for the spliting up of the All-India Muslim League into two Leagues, both independent and separate from each other. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar seconded the resolution. Several members wanted time to consider the resolution and move amendments.

Mr. Ashraf got up and said that only an open session of the All-India Muslim League could change or alter the Constitution of the League; the Council was not competent to do so.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Constitution of the Muslim League had provided that in an emergency the Council could take such decisions. He added

that the Council should have received notice of the member's objection beforehand, and he had not received such a notice till that moment. The present situation required that a vital decision be taken without delay.

Then Mian Iftikharuddin, President of the Punjab Muslim League, got up and said to the President: "People may have 100 per cent confidence in the Council, still the open session is necessary, as a democratic organization. We must call an open session, and that is the only body to decide the issue."

Mr. Jinnah said, "I have given my ruling."

Maulana Jamal Mian moved an amendment to the main resolution that: the word 'Muslim', wherever it appears in the resolution in the phrase 'Pakistan, a Muslim State' should be deleted. He said that Pakistan could hardly take pride in calling itself a 'Muslim State'. He found many un-Islamic things in the State from top to bottom. Jamal Mian added: The behaviour of the Ministers is not like that of Muslims. The poor cannot enter the houses of the Ministers; the needy and the lowly cannot see them. Only the courtiers can enter, those who possess large bungalows can enter. The name of Islam has been disgraced enough."

The Council adjourned after three hours to resume the discussion, and met again on December 15. Mr. Jinnah said: "We are only a four-month-old child. You know somebody would like to overthrow us. I know you would say we have not done such and such a thing, but we are only four months old." He called the Council to dispose of the two non-controversial resolutions first, and then take up the first resolution which had been discussed the day before. Of these two resolutions, one dealt with Palestine, condemning the UN decision to partition it. The other expressed horror at the widespread acts of organized violence and barbarity, both in the Indian Union and in certain parts of Pakistan. (See resolution I in the following section.).

An amendment to this resolution was moved by Mr. Ismail Zabih to the following effect: "The Council hopes that both the Governments will realize their responsibility in this behalf, and prepare, after deliberations, a charter of minority rights which will ensure an honourable existence for the minorities in the two Dominions. The Council further hopes that the two Dominion Governments will be able to conclude agreements and treaties which will promote and stabilize friendly relations between the two Dominions."

The amendment was accepted and both the resolutions were adopted.

Then the discussion on the first resolution was resumed. Mr. Jinnah addressed the Council again and said: "Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim State based on Islamic ideals. It was not going to be an ecclesiastical State. In Islam there is no discrimination as far as citizenship is concerned. The whole world, even UNO, has characterized Pakistan as a Muslim State.

"There must be a Muslim League in Hindustan. If you are thinking of anything else, you are finished. If you want to wind up the League you can do so; but I think it would be a great mistake. I know there is an attempt.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others are trying to break the identity of Muslims in India. Do not allow it. Do not do it. I again appeal that those who have moved their amendments will not press for them."

At this stage, Maulana Jamal Mian withdrew his amendment. Mr. Hussain Imam then moved his amendment: "In the resolution, '..in place of the All-India Muslim League, there shall be separate League organizations for Pakistan and the Indian Union', the word 'shall' should be replaced by 'may'. Mr. Imam said, "People here do not know the difficulties the Muslims are facing in India. They should be left free to decide their future according to the circumstances." No one supported Mr. Hussain Imam's amendment.

Mr. Jinnah said, "I sympathize with Mr. Hussain Imam. He has not read the resolution properly. You should constitute the Muslim League in India. If you do not, you would go back to 1906. You are 40 millions; you can have a leader—if not one, then two or more. We cannot give directives to you. When you are strong and Pakistan is developed, the settlement will come."

Speaking next, Mr. Suhrawardy, first made a reference to the fact tha those who like him were opposing the resolution were men who had refused or given up Ministries. He added: "I oppose this resolution. I am amongst those who had proposed some time ago that the League should be split. So, some might be surprised at my opposition. But before we split, my concern is to do something practical about the protection of minorities. I say when our objective is achieved, then why should we not organize ourselves in such a manner that the minorities are given the opportunity, on a national basis, to join us in the same organization? If you do that in Pakistan, it would help us in the Indian Union. If you form a national body here it would strengthen the hands of Nehru and Gandhi. The AICC passed a very good resolution. We should also have passed a similar resolution."

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar made an appeal to the members and said, "Our two friends want to finish the League. I say if the League exists, Islam exists, Musalmans exist. We shall never allow the League to be wound up. The protection of minorities in India depends on the strength of Pakistan. We shall do all to protect them."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan supported Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. The resolution was passed with an overwhelming majority. Some 10 members, including Mr. Suhrawardy and Mian Iftikharuddin, voted against it.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Ismail, President of the Madras Provincial Muslim League, were elected as convenors for the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Muslim League respectively, and it was decided to hold their sessions shortly at Karachi and Madras.[1]

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1. *Sources*: *Times of India*, Bombay, December 15-16, 1947; *The Statesman*, Delhi, December 15, 1947; *The Daily Gazette*, Karachi, December 16, 1947; *People's Age*, Bombay, January 11, 1948.

The Council of the Muslim League concluded its sitting, after it had adopted the following resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL MEETING

I. (A) The Council of the All-India Muslim League, having reviewed the situation and the happenings in various parts of the Indian subcontinent since its last meeting, held in New Delhi on June 9 this year, places on record its deep sense of sorrow and its feelings of horror at the widespread acts of organized violence and barbarity which have taken place, resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, colossal destruction of property, wanton outrages against women, and mass migration of populations, whereby millions of human beings have been uprooted from their hearths and homes and reduced to utter destitution.

The Council also views with grave concern the rising tide of communal antagonism against the Muslim minority in the Indian Union where, in spite of the repeated declarations by the Congress that minorities will be dealt with justly and fairly, and that their rights and interests will be fully safeguarded and protected, Muslim life and property continue to be insecure, their trade, business and other means of earning their livelihood are in a state of suspense in many parts of the country, and they are being subjected to various disabilities merely because they happen to be Muslims.

The Council expresses its deep regret that, although the division of India has taken place on the basis of an agreement to which both the Congress and the Muslim League were consenting parties, and although these two political organizations were recognized and named in the Indian Independence Act itself as the successor authorities to the British for purposes of the transfer of power, certain influential sections of people in the Indian Union, including persons holding responsible positions, have been acting contrary to the spirit of that agreement, and are branding the Muslim minority in the Indian Union as disloyal because of their support of the very solution of the long-standing political problem which the Congress itself had ultimately and finally accepted and ratified, notwithstanding the most categorical declarations and assurances by representative Muslim leaders, in the Indian Constituent Assembly and outside, that the Muslims in the Indian Dominion had completely identified themselves with the country in which their lot had been cast and of which they had become natural citizens with all the rights as well as the obligations of such citizenship.

This Council strongly condemns and deplores that, in spite of the strict injunctions, given privately and publicly by the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League, not to harm the minorities in any way, unfortunately acts of violence were also committed in certain parts of Pakistan, inflicting loss of life and sufferings on the non-Muslim minorities, and expresses satisfaction that these were suppressed and brought under control by timely and vigorous action on the part of the Governments concerned. The Council reminds

the Governments of both the Indian Union and Pakistan that they jointly gave the most categorical assurances to their respective minorities of full protection of life and property and of a full guarantee of their rights and interests, and most emphatically urges the Governments of the Indian Union and Pakistan, and the authorities concerned, that the pledges given to the minorities be fulfilled in all sincerity.

The Council hopes that both Governments will realize their responsibility in this behalf and prepare, after deliberations, a charter of minority rights which will ensure an honourable existence for the minorities in the two Dominions. The Council further hopes that the two Dominion Governments will be able to conclude agreements and treaties which will promote and stabilize friendly relations between the two Dominions.

Finally, the Council expresses its deepest sympathy for all those who have suffered due to the communal upheaval, offers its heart-felt condolences to those who have been bereaved, and places on record its profound admiration for the nameless multitudes who have so heroically and so steadfastly made such tremendous sacrifices for the cause of Pakistan.

(B) This Session of the Council of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of horror and grief at the widespread acts of violence which have been happening in Ajmer for some time past. In the deep regard and devotion which the Musalmans have for the Dargah Sharif of Ajmer, this Council urges the Government of the Indian Union to ensure protection for the Dargah Sharif and of the honour, person and property of the people living in that holy city. The Council further urges the Government of the Indian Union to take effective measures for the protection of mosques, *imambaras*, holy shrines, tombs and other sacred places in the Indian Dominion, and to see that all such places which have been subjected to sacrilege and outrages are immediately restored to their original condition, and effective arrangements made for their future protection.

II. The Council of the All-India Muslim League expresses its deep indignation at the manner in which the General Assembly of the United Nations have flouted considerations of international justice and the right of the Arabs and endorsed the unfair recommendation of the United Nations' Special Committee on Palestine to partition that country, in the teeth of the united resistance and opposition of the entire Muslim world and other nations who not only voted against it but are opposed to it.

This action by the U.N.O., specially in the circumstances in which the votes of several member nations were secured by undue pressure in favour of partition, even after their delegates had publicly opposed it from the General Assembly's rostrum, on the very eve of actual voting, has shaken the faith of large masses of humanity throughout the world, belonging particularly to the smaller nations, in the sanctity and inviolability of the Charter of the United Nations, round which mankind's hopes for a better and a juster world

had begun to grow. The Council feels that a decision adopted in such vitiated circumstances cannot be regarded as binding on the Arabs of Palestine or the Arab and the Muslim world, and it therefore fully supports the decision of the Arab League not to accept it.

On behalf of the Muslims of the Dominions of Pakistan and India, the Council sends to the Arabs of Palestine a message of courage and hope on the eve of the great struggle which they are about to launch for the defence of their country against Zionist aggression and other heavy odds which are likely to be ranged against them, and the Council assures the Arabs that Muslims in the Indian Subcontinent, engrossed though they are in grave domestic problems of their own, will render every possible help for the achievement of the aspirations of the Arabs in Palestine, and for the preservation of its freedom and integrity, which is a matter of concern not only to the Arabs but to the Muslim world as such.

III. The Council of the All-India Muslim League views with great satisfaction the attainment of its main objective, namely the establishment of Pakistan, and congratulates the Musalmans of the Indian Subcontinent on the sacrifices they have made for the achievement of their national goal. The Council feels confident that the unique struggle of the Muslim League for the establishment of a fully independent sovereign State, under the superb leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and its ultimate triumph in the birth of the largest Muslim State and the fifth largest of all States in the world, will go down in history as the most outstanding world event of modern times. The Council now calls upon the Musalmans of Pakistan and all other loyal citizens of the State to make the greatest possible contribution towards the building up of this new-born State, so that in as short time as possible it can attain an honourable position in the comity of nations of the world as an ideal democratic state based on social justice as an upholder of human freedom and world peace, in which all its citizens will enjoy equal rights and be free from fear, want and ignorance.

Now that the main object of the All-India Muslim League has been fulfilled and India has been divided into two independent and sovereign States, certain changes are inevitable in the structure, objectives and policies of the All-India Muslim League organization. It is obvious that the Musalmans of Pakistan and India can no longer have one and the same political organization.

The Council therefore resolves:

1. (i) That in place of the All-India Muslim League there shall be separate Muslim League organizations for Pakistan and the Indian Union. (ii) That all members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League for the time being who have become ordinarily residents of the territories comprised by Pakistan, or have settled therein, and all Muslim members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly who are primary members of the Muslim League do hereby constitute the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League. (iii) That all

members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League who have become ordinarily residents of the territories comprised by the Indian Union, or have settled therein, and all Muslim members of the Indian Union Constituent Assembly who are primary members of the Muslim League do hereby constitute the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League. (iv) That a convenor each be appointed for the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League, with instructions to convene at very early dates meetings of the two respective Councils as defined above, for the purpose of electing office-bearers, framing the constitution and transacting such other business as arises by virtue of this decision. (v) That the following be elected the convenors respectively: for the Pakistan Muslim League, the Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan; for the Indian Union Muslim League, Mr. Mohammad Ismail, President, Madras Provincial Muslim League. (iv) That the meeting of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League will be held at Karachi, and that of the Indian Union Muslim League at Madras.

2. That all primary members of the All-India Muslim League who are now ordinarily residents of Pakistan, or have settled therein, should be deemed *ipso facto* to have become primary members of the Pakistan Muslim League; and all members of the All-India Muslim League who are now ordinarily residents of the Indian Union, or have settled therein, be deemed to have become *ipso facto* primary members of the Indian Union Muslim League.

3. That when meetings of the respective Councils of the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League are convened, each Council shall elect its representatives, not exceeding three in each case, as members of a Joint Ad Hoc Committee for the purpose of deciding how the assets and liabilities of the All-India Muslim League are to be equitably divided as between the Pakistan Muslim League and the Indian Union Muslim League. In the event of a difference of opinion in the Ad Hoc Committee, the issues in dispute will be finally decided by the Quaid-i-Azam.

4. That in case of dispute regarding the membership of the Council, a written declaration by an existing member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League to the effect that he is ordinarily resident of, or has settled in, Pakistan or the Indian Union shall be conclusive.

5. That the existing Central Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League shall continue to function in accordance with the Constitution and Rules for the Muslim League organization in Pakistan till such time as the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League meets, and for the Muslim League organization in the Indian Union till such time as the Council of the Indian Union Muslim League meets.

Source: *The Morning News*, Calcutta, December 17, 1947.

APPENDIX I

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

ELEVENTH SESSION

DELHI, DECEMBER 30-31, 1918[1]

The Eleventh Session of the Muslim League began with a recitation from the Quran. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Mrs. Annie Besant, Vijay Raghava Chatiar, Mr. Shastri, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Sharma and other Congress leaders attended the first day's meeting. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari read his address in Urdu as Chairman of the Reception Committee in a loud and clear voice, and the audience, which numbered about 2,000, received it with prolonged and loud cheers.

WELCOME ADDRESS OF DR. M.A. ANSARI

I have been entrusted with the duty of welcoming you, on behalf of the Muslim citizens of Delhi, to this ancient city, which was once the seat of Muslim power and glory and the home of Muslim civilization and culture; and which has, alas! also seen their gradual decline and decay. This assembly of Musalmans, from all parts of India, awakens in one's imagination the memory of many a brilliant gathering which, in the palmy days of its Muslim Rulers, Delhi must have witnessed. It was this city from where such great saints as Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, Sultan Nizamuddin Aulia, Khwaja Baqi-Billah, Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, and such famous divines as Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi, Shah Fakhruddin, Shah Abdul Aziz (may the blessings

1. As indicated in the Post Script to the Preface of Vol. I, the material of this Appendix was traced when the printing of Vol. I had been nearly completed.
Sources: Intelligence reports in J & P Volume 1424/19 and J & P Volume 2272 of the India Office Library.

of God be upon them all), sent forth the light of Muslim religion, Muslim theology and Islamic philosophy, not only to the four corners of India, but beyond its geographical limits, to Bokhara and Samarkand, to Persia and Baghdad and even to Mecca and Medina. It was Delhi that gave to India that beautiful language which is the offspring of all that is sweet in Arabic, Persian and Turkish on one side, and Sanskrit and Prakrit, on the other. From the mere lingua franca of the camp followers, it rose to the eminence of being designated the *Urdu-i-Mualla* of the Red Palace, and gradually it became the acknowledged literary, economic and political language of the country. It was Delhi again which blended the Indian with the highly polished Persian art, and gave to the world that eminent poet, Sufi and genius, Amir Khusrau, and the great philosopher-poet Asadullah Khan Ghalib. Delhi, under its Muslim name Shahjahanabad, with its Juma Masjid, the Diwan-i-Aam and the Diwan-i-Khas, shall always give to India the highest place in the world of architecture, as much as that lofty monument, the Qutub Minar, holds high the mighty power of the Faith, to which it was consecrated as one of the towers of the Masjid-i-Quvvat-ul-Islam. Time has not yet effaced the landmarks of Islam in the history of this country, nor has the dust of centuries buried the foot-prints of our ancestors. Gentlemen, I welcome you to the cradle of Islamic civilization in India and to the City of Muslim Memories.

Our Departed Friends:

Since we met last at Calcutta, we have lost some of our leading men and sincere and zealous workers. The death of Nawab Hajee Muhammad Ishaq Khan, at the most momentous period of the history of our country, has removed from amongst us not only a true patriot but also a great champion of the rights of progressive Muslim India. He had a courage which did not fail at the critical time, and his support one could rely upon even during the most adverse circumstances. The late Justice Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shah Din leaves a gap in our society which it will be difficult to fill. As a great lawyer still more painful loss has been that of Sheikh Wilayat Ali Qidwai, of Barabanki, who was snatched away, in the prime of life, from a most fruitful literary career. As a humourist, Bambooque was unequalled. His numerous sketches in *The Comrade* and *The New Era* form classics that will always keep his memory fresh and green. Last of all, we mourn the death of that silent worker, great thinker and philosopher, Dr. Abdur Rahman Bijnori, who, in his simplicity and modesty, coupled with great learning, reminded one of the scholars and masters of early Islamic days. The Muslim University, whenever it comes into existence, will bear the impress of his mind for always. The Sultania College, a child of his imagination, will not receive his fostering care, and Muslim Education in India will be the poorer in the loss of its best champion. He was devoted to the service of Urdu, and at the time of his sad death, at the beginning of a promising career, he was engaged in writing a learned introduc-

tion to the *Diwan-i-Ghalib* shortly to be published by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu. May Almighty Allah give their souls eternal rest and peace. *Ameen*!

Muslim World Situation

Gentlemen, we are meeting to-day at a very critical period in the history of the world. The Great War, in which nations of the East and the West were engaged, has come to an end and bloodshed and carnage have ceased. But although the war is over, our anxieties have only begun. Momentous issues hang in the balance, and the entire course of human history is to be determined at least for a very long time to come, by the decisions of the Peace Conference. It is an anxious moment for every nation, but for the Musalmans it is especially so. Never in their varied history of over 1,300 years have they been faced with a situation as it is to-day.

Gentlemen, the British Government, in its international engagements and relations, has always claimed, as a matter of right, the attention of the world because the King of England rules over the largest number of Muslim subjects. But it must be remembered that every right has a corresponding duty and responsibility, which Government, howsoever strong, cannot afford to ignore. The time has now come when the Musalman subjects of his Majesty demand that the Ministers of the Crown who are in charge do their duty by the Musalmans of India.

We all know how Islam has suffered in its temporal power since the latter half of the nineteenth century. Each succeeding generation has witnessed the gradual disruption of the House of Islam. Diverse reasons have been brought forth and plausible explanations have not been wanting; lofty political doctrines have been invented to screen aggressive designs, and humanitarian principles have been advanced to justify the acts of robbery done to Islamic Kingdoms. The white man's burden, too, has been paraded before an innocent and all-believing world. But bereft of all the verbiage of innocent-looking doctrines and high-sounding principles, this tragedy can be traced to the common dislike of the Muslim or the avarice and greed of the chancellories of Europe.

That belt of Muslim States which once extended from the shores of the Atlantic to the confines of the Chinese Empire has, bit by bit, shrunk to a mere shadow. In Europe, the Northern littoral of the Black Sea, Wallachia, Roumelia, Greece and Macedonia, have been lost, one after the other, in quick succession. In Africa, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli and Egypt are gone. Caucasia and the Khanates of Central Asia shared the same fate; and the integrity and independence of Persia, after the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, is a huge political joke. Even the Bedouin of the African and Arabian deserts is being seduced to give up his nomadic life and take to the refinements of cafes *chantants*. Turkey, which has fought the battles of Islam for many centuries, is in imminent and grave danger of being parcelled out into small States

to the great detriment of the Muslim World.

The Khilafat

It is an acknowledged fact of history that in 918 A.H. (1518 A.D.) the last Khalifa of the house of Abbas, Muhammad Abbasi of Egypt, transferred, with the consent and concurrence of the Musalman people, the office and dignity of the Khilafat and the spiritual sovereignty of Islam, along with the symbols of this exalted office—the sword, the standard and the cloak of the Prophet—to the Osmanli Sultan Saleem, the Great. The Sultan, accompanied by Muhammad Abbasi, took these holy relics to Istanbul. It is from this day that the Sultans of the House of Osman have received the honoured appellations of *Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen*, *Sultan-ul-Islam* and *Khadim-il-Haramain-ish-Sharifain*, and the Musalmans of the world have recognized them as their spiritual Imams and the successors of the Messenger of God. Not only in the *harams* of Mecca and Medina, but throughout the wide expanse where the religion of Islam is practised, prayers for their success and glory are offered every Friday and on the occasions of the two Eeds.

Shareef Barakaat of Mecca, on getting a *firman* from Sultan Saleem, acknowledged him as Khalifa and ordered the name of the Turkish Sultan to be introduced in the prayers. No Shareef has, since then, questioned the authority of the rulers of Turkey—and even Shareef Husain recognized the Sultan as the lawful Khalifa and submitted to his spiritual overlordship.

During the course of the present war, actuated by personal ambitions and selfish interests, Shareef Husain raised the standard of revolt against the unquestioned Khalifa of Islam, whom he himself had recognized as such. By this action of his, he not only disregarded a rule of political morality, but, according to Muslim belief and religious teaching, broke an explicit and clear commandment of God and His Prophet. It has been distinctly ordered in the Holy Quran that:

> *If one party become disloyal to the other* (which is in power), *fight against the one that has become disloyal until it return to the binding of God.* (Ch. 26; S.49, V. 9.)

And the Prophet has said that:

> Various dissensions shall take place after me. If any one attempts to divide the unity of my people, kill him with the sword, whosoever he be. (*Saheeh Muslim*)

The scholars and divines of Islam, in commenting upon this Hadees, have said that: "Behead the person who revolts against the Imam, even if he be superior and more exalted (than the Imam himself), and even if you also consider him to be in the right and more exalted." (*Mishqat.*)

The Prophet has further said that:

> If allegiance is demanded for two Khalifas,
> kill the latter among them. (*Saheeh Muslim*)

These are the definite and conclusive injunctions which leave no room for doubt, and, therefore, on religious grounds, the revolt of the Shareef transgresses the law of Islam and consequently is totally *haraam* (forbidden and sinful).

The Holy Places

The most important duty of the Khalifa is to keep the Holy Places under Muslim protection. This protection means nothing less than the complete and unquestioned sovereignty of the Sultan over them, and their immunity from interference on the part of non-Muslims. It must not be lost sight of that every age has its special needs and requirements and with the change of times, these needs and requirements also change. No sovereign to-day can discharge great religious duty satisfactorily and faithfully, unless the essentials of modern civilization are within his reach. He should, in the first place, command the sympathies and support of the people whose holy places he guards and protects. The economic and natural resources at his disposal should be adequate and effective to enable him to defend these places. His councillors and ministers should be well-versed in modern arts and sciences and they should possess a sound experience of modern diplomacy and statecraft. He should be well-equipped with all the latest weapons of war. For the last 400 years, in the opinion of the Musalmans, no Muslim sovereign has satisfied the above conditions better than the Sultans of the Turkish Empire. It is the firm conviction and deliberate judgment of the Muslim world that, from the time of Sultan Saleem down to the present day, the house of Osman has discharged its duties in respect of the Holy Places, to its entire satisfaction. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty Sultan Waheeduddin Muhammad VI, is the one and only Musalman who is and can be the rightful Commander of the Faithful and the Khalifat-ur-Rasool, capable of protecting the two *Harams* along with the other Holy Places of Islam and of successfully combating the intrigues and secret machinations of non-Muslim Governments.

That the opinion of the Musalmans alone is the determining factor in this matter was officially acknowledged by Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of His Majesty's Government on November 29, 1917:

> "Mr. King asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, since the outbreak of war, Russia had any communications with this country relative to the proposals that the Sultan of Turkey should no longer be recognized as Khalif; if so, what attitude was then assumed on behalf of this country; and whether he will now declare that the Khalifate is a question of Islam alone to decide?
>
> "Lord R. Cecil: The answer to the first part of the Hon. Member's question is in the affirmative, but His Majesty's Government have never departed from the attitude that the question of the Khalifate is one for Muslim opinion alone to decide."

(Parliamentary Debates: Commons: Vol. XCIX, p. 2192)

We demand that this decision of the Government be put into practice and be not relegated to the domain of pious hopes and broken promises.

Jazirat-ul-Arab

What are the Holy Places of Islam? The greatest authority that a Musalman can quote in proof of his contention, next to the Quran, is that of the *ahadees.* It is reported that the Prophet once said:

Remove the non-Muslims from the Jazirat-ul-Arab. (Saheeh Bokhari and Saheeh Muslim)

The same tradition is reported by Hazrat Ibn-i-Abbas in the following words.

The Prophet, may the blessings and peace of God be upon him, had left three things as legacy, one out of which was "remove the non-Muslims from the Jazirat-ul-Arab." (Saheeh Bokhari and Saheeh Muslim)

The question naturally arises as to what is meant by Jazirat-ul-Arab? No explanations could carry greater weight than those given by Arabian scholars and Arabic lexicons: "That which is surrounded by the Indian Ocean and the Sea of Sham (Syria) and also by the Tigris and Euphrates." (Qamoos) Then again it is said that "Jazirat-ul-Arab extends from Aden to the mountains of Sham in length; and in breadth from Jeddah and the Sea Coast to the agricultural lowlands of Iraq (Mesopotamia).," (Lisan-ul-Arab) Further, the reason for its being called the *Island of Arabia* has been explained thus: "All these lands are called Jazirat-ul-Arab because they are surrounded by the Sea of Faras (Persian Gulf) and the Sea of Abyssinia and the Tigris and the Euphrates. (Lisan-ul-Arab)

The injunction, that non-Muslims should not rule over the smallest portion of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, was given because in this portion of the world are situated the cities consecrated by the religion, history and traditions of the Musalmans. In it are buried all the prophets, *imams* and divines of Islam; and from the midst of its desert started that world-force which has not yet exhausted itself and which, according to the faith of the Musalmans, will endure till the Day of Judgment.

Mecca

In the Jazirat-ul-Arab is situated the Holy City of Mecca which contains the *Baitullah*, the first house of God, built by Abraham and reconstructed by the last of the prophets, towards which the Musalmans of all climes and countries turn their faces five times a day. It is the birthplace of the Prophet and it was to Mecca that he addressed the words:

> O land of Mecca, I love thee better than any other portion of God's earth and if my people had not driven me out I would never have forsaken thee.

Surrounded by Mina, Arafat and numerous other places, a visit to which is an essential part of the Haji, every inch of Mecca and the land around it is sacred territory, where, never since the days of Abraham, has a bird been shot or a tree felled. For, has not Allah Himself said:

Do they not behold that We have made Mecca a safe sanctuary. (Ch. 21; S.29; V. 67)

Medina

Yasrib, where the Prophet found safety and a home after his migration from the city of his birth, became renowned as the Madinat-un-Nabi or the city of the Prophet. God named it Taiba or Taba (holy) as the Prophet once said:

God has named it the holy city: (Saheeh Muslim)

Medina was raised to the high dignity of a *haram* (sanctuary) by the prophet who said:

> Abraham made Mecca a *haram*, and I declare Medina to be one..."
> (Saheeh Muslim)

It is of this city that the Prophet declared:

> He who comes with the intention of seeing me will be near me on the Day of Judgment; I shall be his witness and intercede on his behalf on the Day of judgment who adopts Medina as his home and bears its hardships with patience; while he who dies within the holy precincts of Mecca or Medina will be immune from punishment on the Day of Judgment. (Mishqat)

A major portion of the Divine Book was revealed in Medina and from here were issued the orders and instructions which gave final shape and form to the constitution and organization of the Islamic Theocracy. Medina again was the centre from which radiated the resplendent rays of the Light of Islam and it was here that the mortal remains of the Prophet were entrusted to the earth.

Mecca with its *Baitullah* and Medina with its *Rouza-i-Athar* are together called the *Heramain-ish-Sharifain* and in the words of the Holy Quran:

> *Those who join others with God are unclean, so let them not come near the Sacred Mosque after this their year.* (C:10; S.9; V.28)

Non-Muslims are forbidden to enter them.

Jerusalem and Palestine

Bait-ul-Maqdas, the city of the Holy House, is also held sacred by the Musalmans. This was the city towards which, not only all the Prophets of Bani Israel turned their faces in prayer, but it was also the *qibla* of the Prophet of Islam and his followers for full 14 years. After the *Kaaba*, the Masjid-i-Aqsa of Jerusalem, is the first House of God in Islam. It has been referred to in the Quran in connection with the *Miraj* where it is said:

> *Glory be to Him who took His servant a journey by night from Masjid-al-Haraam to Masjid-al-Aqsa whose precincts we have blessed.* (Ch. 16; S.17; V.1)

Allah ordered Moses to remove his shoes in its vicinity in the words: *Thou art on the holy valley Tuwa.* (Ch. 16; S.20; S.12)

Just as President Wilson would refuse to hand over the Government of of the United States to the head of some forgotten Red Indian tribe, or just as the whites in the European colonies would decline to withdraw in favour of the native aborigines, or even just as we ourselves would oppose a revival of the Bhil and Gond Empire in India, Palestine cannot be handed over to the Zionists, whose sole claim to that land is that centuries before the birth of Christ, the ancestors of the wandering sons of Israel had once lived in it. The achievements of Salahuddin Ayyubi and the blood of millions of *mujahideen* did not flow, in the days of the Crusades, to lose it to a people who cannot put forward any recognizable claim to it. The Muslim rulers of Palestine have, as acknowledged by Christians and Jews themselves, always kept the door open to all. It has given a great deal of pain and much resentment has been created among the Musalmans of India to see that the attitude of their own Government, in connection with this matter, has been diametrically opposed to their wishes and sentiments:

> Mr. King asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (on the 19th November, 1917) whether the desire of the Government to see a Jewish Zionist nationality established in Palestine has been communicated to the Allied Powers, especially to France, Russia, Italy, and the other Allied States; and whether it is one of the Allied war aims: or only a British war aim, to set up a Zionist community in the Holy Land?
>
> Mr. Balfour: No official communication has been made to the Allies on the subject, but His Majesty's Government believe that the declaration referred to would meet with their approval. His Majesty's Government hope that the establishment in Palestine of a national home of the Jewish people will result from the present war. (Parliamentary Debates: Commons; Vol. XCIX, p.883)
>
> This decision on the part of the Cabinet was served out to us here in India, by Reuter and the Official Censor with the following addition: (His Majesty's Government) will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being understood that nothing will be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status of the Jews in any other country.

Najaf and Karbala

Najaf-i-Ashraf contains the sacred remains of Ali, the Lion of Allah and Khalifa of Islam. He is regarded as the fountain-head of the different typhus schools of spiritualism by the *Sufees*.

In Karbala-i-Mualla is buried the great martyr of Islam, Husain bin Ali, who gave his life to uphold right against wrong.

Baghdad

Baghdad with its Mausoleum of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani is the centre of the Qadria school of *sufees*, which claims millions of votaries among the Musalmans all the world over. The names of Marroof-i-Karkhi, Ibn-i-Jauzi, Imam Ghazali and that greatest of Muslim jurists—Imam Abu Haneefa, endear the city of Baghdad to the heart of every Muslim.

His Majesty's Declaration

The Government of India published, on behalf of his Majesty's Government and on behalf of the Governments of France and Russia, a declaration on November 2, 1914, which says:

> In view of the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey, which to the regret of Great Britain has been brought about by the ill-advised, un-provoked and deliberate action of the Ottoman Government, His Excellency the Viceroy is authorized by his Majesty's Government to make the following public announcement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia, including the Holy Shrines of Mesopotamia and the port of Jedda, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of his Majesty's most loyal Muslim subjects as to the attitude of his Government in this war, in which no question of a religious character is involved. These Holy Places and Jedda will be immune from attack or molestation by the British Naval and Military Forces so long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places and Shrines in question. At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Governments of France and Russia have given them similar assurances.

I leave it to you, Gentlemen, to judge how far even this most carefully worded proclamation, has been carried into effect.

Muslim States

Essential though they are to the Musalmans, these are not the only questions they desire to see settled to their satisfaction. There is another question of vital importance to the peaceful evolution of the human race, which awaits our immediate and careful attention. This war, gentlemen, has demonstrated, if any demonstration were needed, the instability of the present order of the world . It was the logical outcome of the policy of selfish aggrandizement and exclusive national ambitions pursued by the nations of the West, who placed their national interests above the liberty and freedom of other nations. This general holocaust of the best and the choicest of the human race will have taken place for nothing if we do not realize this fact and reconstruct the world on principles which would for ever preclude any chance of the domination of one portion of humanity by another, and would give an equal and fair chance to all nations to contribute to the efforts of man to rea-

lize himself. I have already reviewed the painful history of the fate of Muslim peoples before you. As men and as Musalmans, we cannot be indifferent to the fate of 400 millions of our co-religionists in the world. We are deeply interested in their future, and demand that not only the integrity and independence of the present Muslim States be maintained intact, but that the wrong done to the Arabs of North Africa and Tartars and Turks of Central Asia be redressed and that all these peoples be given a free chance of determining their own form of government. In this connection, gentlemen, I feel it my bounden duty to offer , on your behalf and mine, our grateful thanks to that acknowledged intrepid leader of India, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, who is never afraid to speak out the truth and who has, by his sole actions, endeared himself , as much to the Musalmans as to the Hindus. In his famous letter of April 29, 1918, addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy, he has laid down the correct definition of Indian nationalism and explained the attitude that should be adopted by Indian politicians towards Muslim sentiment.

Musalmans in India.

Looking back to the last four years of war through which we have passed, one can only characterize this period, so far as the relations of the officials and the Musalmans are concerned, as one varying from bias against them to that of antipathy, suspicion, mistrust and even dislike. The apparent cause of this attitude seems to be Turkey's entry into the war against England and her Allies. In this choice of the Turks, the Musalmans of India had no hand. Indeed, it can be authoritatively stated to the contrary that what little influence they possessed in this matter was used to dissuade the Turks from pursuing the course which they did. Neither did the Musalmans fail in their duty to urge their own Government to adopt a policy of reconciliation and not coerce the Turks to join its enemies. Our sympathies for the Turks are well-known and patent. The Musalmans, however, exercised admirable self-control over their feelings and, in spite of innumerable provocations, proved successful under the severest tests. As if the anxieties and agonies of the war were not sufficient, nearer home, in India, we were being subjected to a treatment which no self-respecting people would have tolerated. Had it not been that our rulers were engaged in a struggle of life and death, the Musalmans would have taken such constitutional measures as would have compelled attention.

Internment of Muslims

Eminent Muslim divines and acknowledged political leaders have been deprived of their freedom and liberty on the flimsiest pretext. Those of us who have been fortunate enough to receive the attentions of the all-powerful C.I.D. know full well how its secret machinery works. No wonder if the authors of the Arabian Nights, *Tilism-i-Hoshruba* and *Qissa-i-Hatim-Tai* jump

out of their graves to pay homage to the great masters of the C.I.D. for their creative imaginations and inventive faculties. To give to their fabrications the sorely needed touches of reality and truth, it has now become common practice to appoint official commissions and committees of inquiry which invariably put their seal of approbation and finality on them. While the Musalmans are keenly feeling the absence of men like Maulana Mahmood Hasan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Shaukat Ali, and his brilliant brother, Mr. Muhammad Ali, and a host of others, a greater tragedy has been and is being enacted in the marshy and malarial lowlands of Bengal, where the youth and intellect of that unhappy province has been imprisoned and put in shackles.

The Muslim Press

Gentlemen, you are all aware of the methods adopted by the bureaucracy to strangle the Muslim Press and to destroy the organs of Muslim public opinion one by one, so much so, that in the whole of India not a single free Muslim newspaper exists to-day. Our voice has been silenced and we have been prevented from carrying our views to the public, the Government and the British Democracy. Where the omnivorous Press Act could not catch its prey, the Defence of India Act was brought in to assist it in devouring one after another, the *Zamindar*, the *Muslim Gazette*, the *Comrade*, the *Hamdard*, the *Tauheed*, the *Tarjuman*, the *Sadaqat*, *Al-Hilal*, *Al-Balagh*, the *New Era*, the *Jamhoor* and many others.

Muslim Meetings

The lack of sympathy for Muslim views and grievances has been further evidenced by the repressive policy adopted in stopping the meeting at Calcutta last September. The objects of this meeting were not only perfectly lawful, but involved a question vitally connected with the religious sentiments of the Musalmans, who were justified in their wish to give expression to their natural resentment at the insulting and vile references made to the Holy Prophet's tomb. The action of the Bengal Government in this matter was highly unjust, partial and one sided, and the responsibility for the loss of life and property rests entirely on its shoulders.

Gentlemen, you will thus observe that the two avenues of ventilating their grievances, a free press and the right of association, have been closed to them.

Separate Muslim Resolutions

As a further evidence of the changed angle of vision on the part of the Government to the detriment of the rights of our community, I would refer you to the adverse and unfavourable remarks made by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford on the question of separate electorates and communal representation, which is the life and soul of all our political activities of the present

day. In view of the solemn pledges given to us by the Government, and in view of the understanding arrived at between our Hindu brethren and ourselves, and in our own interests, we cannot release the Government of its pledges and promises. The absence of any representative of the Musalmans of India from the deliberations of the Imperial Conference has added to this feeling of neglect, which has been further intensified by their non-representation at the War Cabinet, and still more at the Peace Conference, where questions affecting the very existence of the Musalmans are to form subjects of discussion. No non-Muslim, however sympathetic or friendly he may be, can claim to speak on Muslim questions with authority, nor can he put the Muslim case in so forcible and convincing a manner as would be expected from a Musalman.

Religious Liberty

Finally, there is a growing feeling among the Musalmans that attempts have been made to interfere with the religious liberty guaranteed to them under the Proclamation of 1858, which is the fundamental basis of their allegiance to the Crown. The indirect influence brought to bear upon the managers of mosques to remove the name of the Khalifat-ur-Rasool from the Friday prayers, the peregrinations of certain persons in search of signatures on the *fatwa* purporting to declare the rebel Shareef of Mecca as the future Khalifa of the Musalmans, are matters which cannot be ignored. The continuance of the cruel and unjust incarceration of Mr. Shaukat Ali and his brother Mr. Muhammad Ali—because they prefixed a few important sentences, regarding their allegiance to God and their adherence to the faith of Islam, to the undertaking sent them by the Director of the Criminal Intelligence Department—gives an added credence to this feeling. It is our duty, as law-abiding citizens, to beg the Government not to allow this feeling to take root in the minds of the people.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

So far, gentlemen, I have discussed topics which affected the Musalmans alone. But that does not mean that I am not keenly interested in the problems of our motherland. I have heard it said that the extra-territorial patriotism of the Indian Musalman is opposed to Indian nationalism and that he would be prepared "to sacrifice the whole of India for an inch of land in Gallipoli". This is a travesty of truth not sanctioned by facts. The Musalmans have fought the battles of India shoulder to shoulder with their Hindu brethren, their political programme has come in line with that of the Hindus; the Hindu-Muslim rapprochement entered into Lucknow has, year after year, gained strength and vitality; and I believe that as time goes on, we shall understand each other better, and any cases of friction that remain shall cease to exist. It is my firm conviction that a true Musalman is always a good nationalist. If we sympathize with the Musalmans of Turkey and Persia, we have

also proved that we are second to none in our sincere advocacy of the rights of our countrymen in foreign lands, and it was left to an Indian Musalman, Ahmad Muhammad Kachalia, to fight the battles of India in South Africa and fill the place vacated by that dauntless champion of our rights, Mr. Gandhi. But while anxious to fight for the common rights of the two communities, the Musalman is determined to maintain his position in this country and will jealously guard all his legitimate rights. It has pained me beyond expression to read the harrowing details of the barbarous treatment meted out by the Hindus of Katarpur to the unoffending and innocent Musalmans of that place. It is impossible to put into words the feelings of indignation and anger that are present in the hearts of everyone of us here. Incidents like these embitter the relations between the two communities and strike at the very root of the *entente cordiale.* I appeal to my Hindu brethren to take effective measures to prevent any recurrence of such deplorable incidents. If it is necessary for the Musalmans to co-operate with the Hindus to realize their political ideals, the Hindus too cannot fulfil their national destiny by excluding the Musalmans. Accommodation, not retaliation, should be the motto of both of us.

Self-Determination

It would be impossible to conclude my remarks without clearly putting before you the situation which this World War has created. Out of the welter and blood of the Armageddon have emerged certain definite principles on which will be based the foundation of a new and better world.

These principles were enunciated by the President of the American Republic and accepted by the statesmen of the leading nations of the world. They have been repeated, explained and amplified, time after time, until no doubt has been left in the minds of men that their application will be universal and not confined to the geographical limits of a country or continent, nor will they be circumscribed by the prejudices of race, colour or creed. To my mind, there is but one single doctrine in which is focused the entire thought of the whole human race. This doctrine, gentlemen, is the doctrine of self-determination. If every nation, small or large, weak or strong, free or under subjugation, is given the chance to realize itself and to determine its own destiny, without any outside intervention, it will develop its own form of government, its own national culture and its own peculiar civilization. It is only on such lines that free nationalities could expand and develop, and it is only under such conditions that the world could be made fit to live in. The phrase 'subject nationality' would then be obsolete, and there would be no such thing as national greed or aggression. The world would then consist of a sisterhood of free and trusting States, each helping the other for the common good of mankind.

It was to facilitate the establishment of this happy order that India contributed so lavishly in men and money, and in the final reconstruction of

the world she cannot be left out. The blood of her sons has not flowed on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa to win freedom and liberty for other nations and perpetuate her own bondage. The tradition and history of the Hindus and Musalmans support her claims to recognition. The Hindus possessed a civilization which preceded even those of Greece and Rome; and long before the modern Western world emerged out of its darkness, she possessed democratic institutions in her village *panchayats*. Her guilds of artisans and traders and the constitutional limits placed on the powers exercised by her rulers, as we find them described in her ancient books, leave no doubt in our mind that she had attained, at that early period of the world's history, a standard of liberty which would entitle her to be recognized as a leader of democracy in our own day.

Democracy is the very essence and life-breath of Islam. The world cannot show a spectacle of such absolute equality and fraternity as the assemblage in the plains of Arafat, during the Hajj, of millions of Musalmans dressed in white unsewn garb, with shaved heads and bare feet obliterating all distinctions between the rich and the poor, the king and the subject, the master and the slave. Can the world preach equality in a clearer and more effective manner than when Allah made His Messenger declare:

Say, I too am a human being like unto you. (*H.Ch.* 16; *S.*18; *V.*110)

Apart from this perfect equality in matters of religion, the same spirit permeates all the social and political institutions of Islam. Students of history are fully aware how, in the reign of that greatest of Muslim Khalifas, Umar ibn-ul-Khattab, the poorest of Musalmans criticized, most freely and fearlessly, the actions of the Khalifa. On one occasion, when Umar asked his hearers at a congregation as to what they would do if he did not rule them according to the law of the *Shariat*, a wild Bedouin, imbued with the true spirit of Islam, unsheathing his sword, retorted that he would bring the Khalifa to the right path at the point of the sword. This is not an isolated instance. Muslim history has an abundance of similar examples. The vicissitudes of time might have somewhat suppressed the latent instincts inherent in the two great peoples inhabiting India, but given full opportunities of development, they are bound to regain their former splendour and greatness.

If Ireland, in spite of her hostile attitude, even during the war, can bring forward her interesting doctrine of 'suppressed sovereignty' and compel English Ministers to grant her Home Rule; if England and her Allies can champion the cause of Poland, the Czechoslovaks and the patched up and degenerate nationalities of the Balkans; if it is proposed to breathe new political life into the dead remains of the Armenian kingdom, and if the scattered sons of Israel are to be once more gathered into the folds of Judea—equity and justice, political honesty and loyalty to the principles, accepted and preached by the statesmen of Europe and America, demand that India shall not be deprived of

her innate right to determine her future and control her destinies.

If the claims of India are not satisfied from the point of view of the Indians, the Great War shall have been fought in vain.[1]

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq then read his Presidential Address in English.[2]

The first day's sitting of the meeting came to an end after the adoption of the following resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS

I. The All-India Muslim League tenders its homage to the person and throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor and assures him of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Musalman community.

II. The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of irreparable national loss at the death of Nawab Hajee Muhammad Ishaq Khan, late Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, whose staunch and fearless support of the true ideals of Islam and whose dauntless advocacy of the rights of the people of this country had won him an abiding place in the hearts of the Musalmans and the Indian Nation.

III. The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise of Justice Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shah Din in whom the Muslim community loses a great advocate of Muslim education and an eminent lawyer whose services to the Musalmans and the country will always be remembered with gratitude.

IV. The All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sense of sorrow at the sad death of Shaikh Wilayat Ali Bambooque of Barabanki, whose premature death has removed from the Muslim community a gifted writer, an unrivalled humourist and a true servant of Islam.

V. The All-India Muslim League mourns with profound sorrow the grievous loss suffered by the Muslim community in the untimely death of Dr. Abdur Rahman Bijnori, whose unassuming life and deep learning had raised him to an exalted position in the hearts of his co-religionists. In him the country loses a poet and philosopher of great eminence and an educationist of a high order, whose services in connection with the proposed Muslim University shall always be remembered gratefully by the Musalmans of India.

Second Day

The next day's sitting of the League commenced with an Urdu speech from the Chair in which the President eulogized the special features of the year's sitting, in which their revered *ulema* had come to take part in their deliberations. He considered himself very fortunate and thought that it was the greatest honour for him that he was presiding over a session in which their

1. *The Bombay Chronicle*, December 31, 1918.

2. For the text of the Address, see *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. I, p. 474.

religious leaders had joined hands with them. Dr. Ansari, in proposing a resolution to welcome the *ulema*, read a letter from the Dar ul-Uloom, Deoband, signed by Shums-ul-Ulema Hafiz Ahmad and also the proceedings of a meeting of the *ulema* held in the Fatehpuri Mosque on December 30, which had elected and sent three *ulema* to represent that body in the deliberations of the Muslim League. Shumsh-ul-Ulema Hafiz Ahmad wrote that the *ulema* of Dar-ul-Uloom, Deoband, agreed with the Muslim League and endorsed the resolutions regarding the Holy Places, the Caliphate and Muslim States. The sentiments of the *ulema* of the Dar-ul-Uloom was at one with that expressed by the Muslim League in its resolutions. Dr. Ansari added that the *ulema* had always given their moral and material help in matters concerning religion, and that they would never refuse to do so in future.

The *ulema* who attended the session of the League were:

1. Maulana Ibrahim of Sialkot
2. Maulana Sanaullah of Amritsar
3. Maulana Kifayet Ullah of Delhi
4. Maulana Koraman Ullah
5. Maulana Abdul Latif
6. Maulana Abdul Husain
7. Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow
8. Maulana Salman Ullah of Lucknow
9. Maulana Azad Subhani of Cawnpore
10. Maulana Ahmad Saeed

Moulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin of Kusur, in seconding the resolutions, said that up to this time the *ulema* had considered that the religion and politics of Musalmans were two different things, but in fact they were one and the same in Islam. Their politics was their religion. He added that when Baghdad was overrun and conquered by the Tartars and the Muslim supremacy there vanished, God came to their rescue, and the conquerors themselves became the followers of Islam. They need not be anxious for Islam, as God had promised to take care of it himself.

On behalf of the *ulema*, Maulvi Kifayet Ullah, thanked the League and the audience for the warm welcome extended to them by their President, Dr. Ansari, and other gentlemen. He repudiated the charge that the *ulema* considered religion and politics to be two different things. He said they had always been of the opinion that the religion and politics of Musalmans were one and the same thing. In fact their religion was their politics, and their politics was their religion. So far they had thought the Musalmans had committed their religion to the custody of the *ulema* and their politics to the custody of the All-India Muslim League and kindred organizations; but when the call went out to them, they came with open arms and pleasure to join their political body. He then read out the proceedings of the meeting of the *ulema* held in the Fatehpuri Mosque, in which it was resolved that three *ulema* be

sent to the Muslim League to represent them and to put before that body a resolution passed at that meeting regarding the Holy Places. After reading this, Maulvi Kifayet Ullah added that the Government had given them a pledge in clear terms about the Holy places and it should keep its promise. The British forces should evacuate Jerusalem, Najaf and other Holy Places. If the British Government failed to do so, he could not say to what extent the Musalmans would remain loyal to it. He had no official information that the Government was going to do so, but he apprehended a breach of promise on their part as the returning *Hajis* had told him that Jeddah was in the possession of the British, and he had also read in the papers that British warships in the Jeddah harbour fired salutes for the *Mahmal* from Egypt. These facts gave an impression that the Holy Places were now not immune from military occupation.

Moulvi Abul Qasim then proposed the following resolution about the Calcutta disturbance:

RESOLUTION VI

The All-India Muslim League views with alarm the interference on the part of the Government of Bengal with the right of the Musalmans to hold public meetings and to give free expression to their opinions, as evidenced by the unfair and unjust attitude taken up by the said Government regarding the contemplated meeting in Calcutta in September last, and strongly protests against the high-handedness of the Civil and Military authorities in firing upon the Musalmans, in some cases even without orders, and especially against the wanton desecration of the Nakhuda Mosque.

The League deeply deplores the loss of life and property resulting from the uncalled for measures adopted by the Bengal Government.

The League further regrets that the appeal made to the Government of India by the Council of the League for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the matter has not been accepted, but the League welcomes and approves of the appointment of the Non-Official Commission appointed by the people of Bengal.

Moulvi Qasim compared it with the Cawnpore Mosque incident, and said that some dishonest titled and honour-hunting Musalmans misinformed the Government, which, regardless of the feelings of Musalmans and without hearing or consulting their accredited bodies, prohibited the meeting. The Nakhuda Mosque was desecrated by soldiers who fired wantonly on the inoffensive and unarmed Musalmans collected in the Mosque. He called the Government statement a glorified and incorrect document. He was followed by Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, who, seconding the resolution, said that he was an eye-witness, and gave an account of the riots.

He complained of the high-handedness of the police, and was picturing

the massacre and bloodshed of innocent men and children in vivid colours when he was interrupted by the President, as his words were creating excitment. He also said that the British called themselves civilized and said that Germans were barbarous and uncivilized, but the Germans after all fired on hospitals and sunk hospital-ships which contained those wounded who had fought against them, but the authorities in Calcutta allowed wanton firing and killing of inoffensive and unarmed Muslim men and children.

Nawab Zulqadar Jang proposed the next resolution about the Holy Places:

RESOLUTION VII

> The All-India Muslim League enters its strong protest against the occupation of Jerusalem and Najaf-i-Ashraf and other Holy Places by His Majesty's Forces, and having regard to the solemn promises given to the Musalmans regarding those Places, hopes that all such Places will be immediately restored.
>
> The League further requests His Majesty's Government that in view of the wishes of the Musalmans of India, it will use its good offices to dissuade other Allied Powers from taking any step which might affect the position and status of their Holy Places.

Maulana Abdul Bari supported the resolution and remarked that the actions and speeches of the Musalmans should follow this spirit. Those things (pointing to the Union Jack flags with which the hall was decorated) should not have been allowed to be hung in this hall in which they were holding their deliberations. Although they were the flags of their rulers, the sign of the cross was most prominent in them, which they could never respect. The Maulana said that Dr. Ansari had fully dealt with the religious aspect of the question of the Holy Places, the Sharif and the Khilafat, and very little was needed to throw more light on it. He then discussed the terms *Dar-ul-Aman*, *Dar-ul-Islam* and *Dar-ul-Harb*. He added that India was by some called a *Dar-ul-Aman* and by others a *Dar-ul-Islam*. In the case of a *Dar-ul-Aman*, their eyes searched for a *Sheikh-ul-Islam*. In the case of a *Dar-ul-Islam*, there should be complete freedom, and in the event of an attack on a Muslim country, it was incumbent on the inhabitants of the *Dar-ul-Islam* to defend their attacked Muslim brothers—and this procedure would be followed by the Musalmans of all *Dar-ul-Islams* in the world if they had the strength to do so. If a Muslim country is occupied by non-Muslims, efforts should be made to get it cleared of them. As regards the prohibition respecting the presence of *mushrikin* (idolators) in the Jazirat-ul-Arab referred to by Dr. Ansari in his address, the Maulana said that he would quote a more clear *Hadis* in which the Prophet says, "Remove the Christians, the Jews and the idolators from the Jazirat-ul-Arab at all cost."

The boundary of the Jazirat-ul-Arab was explained in detail in Dr. Ansari's

address. He said that the Holy Places should be evacuated, or it would be incumbent on the Musalmans to continue their efforts to drive out the non-Muslims. As regards the *Khilafat*, he deprecated the idea of its being conferred on anyone except the Sultan of Turkey, who was the only rightful Caliph of the Musalmans of the world. It was the duty of every Musalman to help the Sultan of Turkey. He also enumerated the points which he said were essential in a *Khilafat*. and added that the Sharif was a rebel.

When the President rose to ask the audience to vote on the resolution, Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja moved an amendment that the word 'further' in the second portion of the resolution be deleted and details of the Holy Places be given instead. He also asked that a further clause in following should be added to the resolution: "The League considers it necessary and essential that the Holy Places occupied by His Majesty's forces should be evacuated, as the occupation of these places is likely to severely shake the loyalty of the Musalmans who are enjoined by religion to defend their Holy Places at all sacrifice."

This amendment was seconded by Haji Musa Khan of Aligarh. But the President requested Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja to withdraw this amendment, as all this had been said by the *ulema* in their speeches on the resolution and the amendment would serve no further purpose. Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja refused to withdraw it, as it was a question of religion, and his conscience would not allow him to be false to his religion.

Maulana Azad Subhani opposed the amendment; and Mr. Khwaja, on being again appealed to withdraw it, said that he would do so if Mr. Abdul Bari would order him to do so. At this, Maulana Abdul Bari got up in great excitement and said that anyone who considered the action of the English right was dishonest, and that a single movement of his tongue and a stroke of his pen would shake the world. He would do more than what they said (*Jetena tum kehte ho men us se ziada karunga*) but would do it in his own time as the duty was his (*lekin namaz meri hai, jahan chahoonga parhonga*).

After this Mr. Khwaja withdrew his amendment, and the original resolution was carried by acclamation.

The next resolution, regarding the *Khilafat*, was moved by Mr. Asgher Husain of Hyderabad:

RESOLUTION VIII

> The All-India Muslim League deems it necessary to remind the Government of the declaration of policy made by His Majesty's Government, "that the question of the *Khilafat* is one for Muslim opinion alone to decide", and begs to point out that any departure from that policy will cause great resentment and ill-feeling among the Musalmans. The League further requests His Majesty's Government to dissuade any Allied Power that might contemplate any interference with this question from taking any action in this matter.

Mr. Asghar Husain, quoting the reply given by Lord Robert Cecil in Parliament, said that the Sultan of Turkey was the only person who was entitled to be the Khalifat-ul-Muslemin. The resolution was seconded by Maulana Ahmad Saeed who said that pledges given by the Government often became threats. He recalled that during the Russo-Turkish War, when the Russians were advancing towards Constantinople, Sultan Abdul Hamid said that the time had arrived when he would have to take out the Holy Relics and appeal to the Muslim world in their name to fight for Islam. This made the Russians go back from the very doors of Constantinople. He added that a rebel could never be a leader of the Musalmans, and that as the Sharif was a rebel, he could not be made a Khalifa. He had information that the Government was going to give the Sharif the title of Khalifa; and Maulana Abdul Bari had told him that he had seen the Sharif called Amir-ul-Mommenin in the *Al Qibla*. He further said that the statesmen of Europe had been unanimous that it was in the interests of universal peace that Jerusalem should remain under the Sultan of Turkey, or there would be perpetual bloodshed. The Musalmans could never agree to the Sharif being the custodian of the Holy Places, as Sharif Faisal in his reply to an address in England said that the ground of the Holy Haram and Hedjaz, which no white man could tread in the past, was now open to every Englishman.

Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin said that the French, who had lost Alasce and Lorraine in 1870, always longed and thought of getting it back from the Germans, while these Holy Places had belonged to the Muslims from time immemorial, and Sultan Salahuddin had defended them at the sacrifice of thousands of Muslim lives against the Christians. The Musalmans would not sit quiet if these places were now taken over by non-Muslims. He urged that all these places should remain under the Khalifa.

Moulvi Sanaullah, supporting the resolution, said that no one but the Musalmans of the *mohalla* (locality) had even the right of selecting an *Imam* for a mosque in that *mohalla*. Thus, when non-Muslims could not even select the *Imam* of a mosque, how could they select a Khalifa for the Musalmans. The following resolution was then read out in Urdu:

RESOLUTION IX

> Having regard to the fact that the Indian Musalmans take a deep interest in the fate of their co-religionists outside India, and that the collapse of the Muslim Powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of the Musalmans in the country, and that the annihilation of the military powers of Islam in the world cannot but have a far reaching effect on the minds of even the loyal Musalmans of India, the All-India Muslim League considers it to be its duty to place before the Government of India and His Majesty's Government the true sentiments of the Muslim community, and requests

that the British representatives at the Peace Conference will use their influence and see that in the territorial and political re-distribution to be made, fullest consideration should be paid to the requirements of Islamic law with regard to the full and independent control by the Sultan of Turkey, Khalifa of the Prophet, over the Holy Places and over the Jazirat-ul-Arab as delimitated in Muslim books.

The League further hopes that in determining the political relations of the Empire for the future, His Majesty's Ministers shall pay the fullest consideration to the universal and deep sentiment of the Musalmans of India, and that resolute attempts shall be made to effect a complete reconciliation and lasting concord between the Empire and Muslim States, based on terms of equity and justice in the interests alike of the British Empire and the Muslim World.

Maulana Azad Subhani made a lengthy speech justifying the commandments of *Jehad* on occasions like these. He said that it is written in the Quran that the Musalmans were the best of creation and were created to improve the conditions of their fellow beings. He added that, in order to reform the wicked, the Prophet had to raise the sword. He (the Prophet) had the same justification for it which a teacher has in relation to his pupils. The Musalmans had been created to punish and to teach a lesson to the mischievous *kafirs* and they were justified to do so to reform them. He was followed by Hakim Ajmal Khan, who said that the integrity of the Muslim States and Turkey was essential for the prestige of Islam, without which their dignity and honour would suffer.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then spoke on the following resolution

RESOLUTION X

That in view of the announcements of President Wilson and the British and Allied statesmen, that it is essential for the permanent peace of the world that every nation should be given the right of self-determination, and in view of their being adopted by all the civilized Governments as the basis of the impending political reconstruction of the world, and having regard to the sacrifices that India has made for the establishment of that right, the All-India Muslim League urges that India's right to self-determination be recognized by the British Government and the Peace Conference, and she be given immediate opportunity of freely exercising that right by means of her popularly elected representatives.

Mrs. Naidu appealed to the Musalmans to sink all their differences and to unite with their brethren, without which they would never get self-government or the right of self-determination. Her speech was heard with great interest and was punctuated with loud applause.

Hazik-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan then proposed the next resolution:

RESOLUTION XI

The All-India Muslim League views with great dissatisfaction the unreasonable attitude of the Government in not releasing the Muslim internees, particularly Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan, even after the signing of the Armistice, and urges their immediate release in order to allay Muslim feelings.

In view of the vague nature of the charges framed against them by the Committee of Enquiry, appointed by the Government to investigate their case, the League strongly protests against the continuation of the internment of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali.

Hakim Ajmal Khan said that, as far as he knew, the Ali brothers were not guilty of the offences of which they had been accused, and the Commission of Enquiry, as in other cases, had not conducted their trial in the manner in which it should have been conducted ordinarily. He thought that it was high time that they should have been released. Mr. Wazir Hassan, who seconded the resolution, said that the religious and political services of the Ali brothers were innumerable. When the usual declaration to be signed by an internee before his release was sent to Mr. Muhammad Ali by the C.I.D., he thought of the greater law of God and religion, and added only one line to the effect that they would do nothing which was against the commandment of God. He added that their conduct in this case had placed them on a very high pedestal in the opinion of the Musalmans and had endeared them to their hearts.

The following resolution was then moved by Mr. Masud-ul-Hussain:

RESOLUTION XII

The All-India Muslim League demands the immediate repeal of the Defence of India Act, and while repeating its condemnation of the Rowlatt Committee Report, emphatically declares its recommendations to be most retrograde, which, if given effect to, will greatly interfere with the freedom and liberties of the people of India.

Mr. Masud-ul-Hussain said that the Defence of India Act was responsible for the internment of their leaders Maulana Mahmud Husain, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the Ali brothers, who were deprived of their liberty on dirty C.I.D. reports, without any trial. The Rowlatt Committee had dealt with these cases under this Act in an even worse fashion than the cases under section 110 Cr. P.C., and he was surprised to see how such eminent judges as Sir Sydney Rowlatt, and others, forgot British Indian law when hearing these cases and relied on statements made before the police and on confessions of approvers. He said that the non-official members of the Imperial Council were responsible for the passing of this Act, as with the exception of one man, none raised a voice against it. They should now see that the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee were not passed by the Council. If they were passed, they should punish their non-official members by not returning them

again. They should agitate against it in their cities, towns and villages when they went back.

Agha Safdar, seconding the resolution, said that if these recommendations became law, they would end their freedom and liberty forever, and the dream of self-government and progress for India would vanish.

Another resoluion regarding further contributions towards the expenses of the war was not taken up, as in the Subjects Committee Meeting it was opposed by Messrs. Wazir Hassan, Zahur Ahmad, Nabiullah and others, and the resolution had to be dropped.

Maulana Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani moved the following resolution:

RESOLUTION XIII

In view of the growing dissatisfaction with the administration of the C.I.D. and its adverse effects on the political, moral and national advancement of the people, the All-India Muslim League requests the Government to appoint, at an early date, a Commission from amongst the official and the elected Indian members of the Imperial Legistative Council to conduct an enquiry into the working of the department and to recommend measures necessary for putting it on a satisfactory basis.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Hasrat Mohani said that he had personal experience of the false reports and the high handedness of the C.I.D., but he did not like the idea of asking for the appointment of a commission, as commissions were either a farce or appointed to justify the actions of the Government. Haji Ahmad Mulla Daud and Musa Mal, late Burma internees, accused the C.I.D. of dishonesty and making money by threatening people. Musa Mal laid a direct charge against the C.I.D. of Rangoon for black-mailing respectable Musalmans through their agents, by drawing up lists of respectable people suspected by the Government.

The following resolution was proposed and passed with the amendment indicated after it:

RESOLUTION XIV

The All-India Muslim League authorizes the Council of the League to take steps to send a deputation to England, at an early date, to work in the matter of the Reforms in accordance with the principles incorporated in the resolution passed in the Special Session at Bombay, and in this session of the League, and to place before His Majesty's Government and the British public the views of the Musalmans in connection with their special and religious interests.

The amendment, which was accepted, suggested that pending the departure of the proposed deputation to England, Maulana Hasrat Mohani be sent to England at once to work in connection with the Reforms Scheme on behalf of the All-India Muslim League.

RESOLUTION XV

A new resolution was then moved by Dr. Ansari, requesting the *ulemas* to become permanent members of the All-India Muslim League. The resolution was passed.

RESOLUTION XVI

By another resolution it was decided that copies of the Muslim League resolutions about the Holy Places, the *Khilafat*, Muslim States, self-determination, and Maulana Hasrat's deputation, should be sent to the Viceroy, Secretary of State, and the Peace Conference by wire.

Mr. Abdur Rehman Siddiqui proposed that copies of the first four resolutions mentioned above should also be cabled to President Wilson. This suggestion was received with great applause, but the Council of the League did not accept it.

Then the following resolution was moved by Syed Husain, of the Bombay Chronicle:

RESOLUTION XVII

The All-India Muslim League while re-affiirming the principles underlying the resolutions passed at its sessions of Lucknow 1916, Calcutta 1917, and Bombay 1918, demands that complete responsible government be immediately granted to the Provinces.

The League further resolves that the Congress be asked to appoint a Committee, at an early date, to confer with the Council of the League, in order to arrive at an understanding on questions arising out of the demand for complete Responsible Government for the Provinces.

He said that since the Special Session of the League at Bombay, many changes of great importance had taken place, and the question of self-determination and self-government for the smaller nations was before the Peace Conference. They should therefore ask for complete responsible government in the Provinces at once. This resolution was seconded by Mr. Shuaib Qureshi who explained that the British Government had failed to educate the Indians for the goal of self-government; and asked, when they had failed to achieve this in 150 years, in spite of their boast of being the most civilized nation and the pioneers of democracy, liberty and freedom, what could be expected of them in future. He quoted the examples of Germany, France, Austria and Italy, which had become powerful nations during the period from 1868 to 1914, while Japan had become what she was to-day in 40 years. He added that railways and canals were not being used for the benefit of India or to make it economically sound. They were used to exploit the country. The railway was used to carry away the grain and other products of India for the benefit of foreigners. He also criticized the educational policy of the Government.

An amendment to the resolution was moved by Mr. Abul Qasim, of Bengal, that a time limit of six years might be fixed for granting complete responsible government. This amendment was supported by Mr. Abdus Salam, Mr. Mohammad Yakub and Mr. Wazir Hussain, who urged that they should have a time limit, as they were in a minority, and they were not sure in what way they would be treated by the Hindus when complete responsible government was granted; but if a time limit was fixed, they could at the end of this period, remedy any evil that they might experience during that period. Mr. Yakub quoted instances of Hindu treatment at Katarpur and Arrah.

At this point he was hooted down by the audience, who did not like his argument. Mr. Abdur Rehman Siddiqui, opposing the amendment, said that people quoted the instances of Katarpur and Arrah very readily, but they forgot Cawnpore and Calcutta. They should remember that they could not be worse off with those people with whom they had been living for the last 800 years and who were the sons of the same soil as they themselves. Even taking the worst for granted, it would be better to receive kicks from the black than from the white.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, speaking on the amendment, said that the Government made the promise of August 20 when it was weak and had only 15,000 troops in India; but a conquering nation was always ungrateful, and the English had started showing their ungratefulness.

Winding up the debate, Syed Husain said that those who quoted Katarpur and Arrah forgot all that had happened in Singapore and Mesopotamia and had been allowed to be published in papers. If they would not give up these ideas and unite with the Hindus, they would always be trampled under the heels of the English.

The amendment was put to the vote and lost. The resolution was then passed. Dr. Sadruddin, of the Silk Letter Conspiracy, was also on the dais.

The session of the League was closed without giving the usual cheers for the King Emperor.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

XVIII. The All-India Muslim League views with alarm the fanatical and barbarous way in which the Hindus of Katarpur treated the innocent Musalmans of that place and calls upon the leaders of the Hindu community to take effective steps to prevent a recurrence of such incidents.

XIX. Having regard to the fact that the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book of India and the manner in which it is administered is producing a demoralizing and degenerating effect on the mental, moral and political development of this country, the All-India Muslim League considers that the existence of the said Act on the Statute Book is unjustified and that it should immediately be repealed. (From the Chair.)

XX. The All-India Muslim League regards the continued existence of the Arms Act in its present shape as insulting to the self-respect and dignity of the people of this country, and in view of the proved loyalty of India in the cause of the Empire during the War, considers that a continuation of the policy of mistrust is not justified and urges the amendment of the said Act so as to bring it in line with the English law on the subject. (From the the Chair)

XXI. The All-India Muslim League hopes that Government will be pleased to take into consideration the just grievances of the Musalmans, having business in Government Offices and Courts, in finding difficulties in the performance of their Jumma Prayers and requests that business in Government Offices and Courts be suspended from 12 noon to 2 p.m. on Fridays. (From the Chair.)

XXII. The All-India Muslim League welcomes the idea of forming a League of Nations for deciding international questions by means of arbitration and urges upon the Government the securing for India her proper place in it. Further the Muslim League hopes that the rights of the non-White races will receive equal and fair consideration at the hands of its members as those of the White races.

XXIII. The All-India Muslim League, while appreciating the admission on the part of the British Government of the right of Indians to be represented at the Peace Conference, strongly protests against the principle of nomination by Government, observed in the case of India and is of opinion that the All-India Muslim League, the representative political organization of the Indian Musalmans, be authorized to elect its own members to represent the Musalmans of this country. (From the Chair.)

XXIV. The All-India Muslim League begs to draw the attention of the Kashmir Durbar to the hardships suffered by the Musalmans of Kashmir under the system of the collection of revenue in kind and appeals to the Ruler to appoint a commission to investigate their complaints.

The League requests the Durbar to hand over the Patthar Mosque to the Musalmans, and places on record its deep regret at its constant desecration.

The League also regrets to point out that the imposition of *begar* on Musalmans alone is a great injustice to them and should be put an end to immediately. (From the Chair.)

XXV. The All-India Muslim League requests the Government to remove the restrictions placed on the use of the Juma Masjid of Delhi by the Musalmans under the order passed after 1857 as the said order militates against the free enjoyment of the right of using the mosque as a place of worship by them. (From the Chair.)

APPENDIX II

NEW LIGHT ON THE SIMLA DEPUTATION
LETTER FROM S.M. ZAUQI TO THE QUAID-I-AZAM

MAY 26, 1943

Syed Mohammed Zauqi, who had accompanied the Prince of Wales on his Indian tour in 1905 and had talks with Muslim leaders like Syed Hussain Bilgrami (Imad-ul-Mulk), has recalled the events that led to the establishment of a Muslim political party in a letter dated May, 26, 1943, to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. The letter is revealing and throws new light on the origin of Simla Deputation and the birth of the Muslim League, and is, therefore, here quoted in full (also see introduction to Volume I).

The story starts with the arrival in India of King George V, as Prince of Wales, in 1905-6. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales landed in Bombay on the 21st of November, 1905, and, after a tour of four months in India and Burma, boarded the steamer at Karachi on the 21st of March, 1906. Six Indian press representatives were selected to travel with the Prince. I happened to be one of them. I was then Editor of the *Alhaq*—the only Muslim Anglo-Sindhi weekly of Sind. I was then known as plain Syed Mohammad. ('Zauqi' is a later addition; in fact, it is a title given to me by my Spiritual Sheikh: subsequently, it overshadowed my real name). The following were the other five Indian representatives:

1. Mr. Abdul Aziz of *The Observer*, Lahore.
2. Mr. K.P. Chatterji of *The Tribune*, Lahore.
3. Mr. U.N. Sen of Bengal.
4. Mr. Mapilay of Madras (Indian Christian).
5. Mr. Muncherji of Quetta (Parsi).

In due course (February 1906), we reached Hyderabad Deccan, and there, one fine morning, we called on Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Moulvi Syed Husain Bilgrami. In the course of conversation, he drew his chair close to us and whispered into our ears the anxious query of whether we had been doing anything useful for the nation or were merely enjoying dinners and receptions. We told him what we had been doing. He asked what we had found. We said, nothing but disappointment. The picture was very gloomy. The old and the young are both dissatisfied with their doom. The old are growling and grumbling in their own places, while the young are about to revolt against the authority of the Aligarh group of leaders. They say they had so far been dancing to the tune of their leaders and the Government. They were asked not to join the Congress, and they kept away from it. They were asked to remain loyal to Government, and they have been passing resolutions after resolutions of loyalty in their meetings. They were asked not to spread agitation, and not to ventilate their grievances publicly, and though they have been receiving kick after kick, like good boys, they have been keeping quiet. When they had had less of the Western education, they were more respected. The more their advancement in 'modern learning', the greater their fall. Their percentage in Government services has been steadily on the decline. There was a time when three Muslim judges graced the Indian High Courts—Mr. Mahmood in Allahabad, Mr. Amir Ali in Calcutta and Mr. Badruddin Tyebji in Bombay. To-day (in 1906), with a larger number of graduates, pleaders, barristers and educated civilians, not a single Muslim has been found capable of occupying a judge's seat in any of the High Courts in India. We went on like that for a long time, and then took leave of the Nawab.

The same evening we were invited at the Nizam Club to a dinner in honour of Maulana Hali. We reached there a little before time, and were strolling in the compound garden, when a carriage suddenly entered and Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk stepped out. He came to us direct, took us by the hand, dragged us to a side room, bolted the doors and began to talk in whispers. I do not exactly remember his own words after such a long time, but he said something to the following effect:

> Just after you left this morning, I received an invitation to tea for the afternoon from Sir Walter Lawrence (Chief of the Staff of the Prince of Wales). We have been very old friends. While he was Lord Curzon's Private Secretary, I was a member of the Viceroy's Council and we were together at Simla. When I went to him this afternoon, he asked me about the present condition of the country. You fiery young men put a spark into me this morning, and it kept on raging within me throughout the day. I unburdened myself before Sir Walter, and told him every word of what you said—and something more which I know and you know not. I told

him frankly that our young men are getting out of hand. Don't ask us to control them unless you at once change your policy. Sir Walter told me they were perfectly justified in their attitude, and Government were certainly wrong in ignoring them. "But it is never too late to mend. Do not let them join the Congress. They will suffer if they do that. Let them start a political organisation of their own and fight out their battle independent of the Congress. You keep control over the organization." I said the Nizam Government Rules precluded me from taking part in politics. He said, "let a big man, e.g. the Agha Khan, be its President merely for show. It is the Secretary who does the main work, controls and guides. You be the Secretary; and if your State Rules do not allow you, then let a nominal Secretary take that office and you do the real work behind the scenes. If you do not do that, Muslims will get crushed between two mill-stones." I promised to think over the matter. He wanted to know the result before he left India, so that he might see that proper instructions were communicated to the Viceroy.

I said, "There is no reason for alarm. Nothing to worry about. Something will have to be done. If you do nothing, young men will do what you may not like, and then you will not be able to curb them. From here the Prince goes to Benares. From Benares he goes to the Terai Forrest for a fortnight on a shooting trip. We shall have a holiday during that fortnight. From his shooting trip, he goes straight on to Aligarh in the middle of March (1906). At Aligarh you expect a huge gathering of Muslims from all parts of India. They have been invited there for the occasion. My friend, Mr. Abdul Aziz, will write to his friends in the Punjab—men like Shah Din and Mohammad Shafi—not to miss the occasion, as important matters were to be discussed and decided. I shall do the same with my friends in other parts of India, and both of us will exercise our influence in getting as many important men together as possible. We shall be at Aligarh a few days ahead of the Prince. You do the same. And when the people we want get there, we shall meet together and discuss matters *in camera*."

The Nawab approved of the idea very much. "But then", I continued, "you have got to do something very important before we discuss the matter with others. You alone can do it. You have got to win the Aga Khan and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk to your side. We know our people full well. If these two gentlemen oppose an idea, the rest of them are bound to oppose it and nothing will come out of the meeting. The Aga Khan has leanings towards the congress.[1] He is not in favour of Muslims starting a separate political organization of their own. He thinks it is better to have one enemy

1. In 1927 the Aga Khan disclosed the fact that towards the end of 1905, he was in favour of Muslims joining the Congress. *The Times of India*, December 30, 1927.

than to have two: 'If you isolate yourself that way, you will have to fight against both, the Government and the Hindus.' As for Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, he is definitely of the opinion that the glare of politics and the charm of novelty will dazzle the masses away from the Aligarh educational institution, and the M.A.O. College will lose its present popularity; that the Muslims are not yet sufficiently educated and are firebrands by temperament, and on that account it would not be advisable to introduce politics into the Muslim masses; and that the tragedy of 1857 should not be lost sight of. He thinks even now the Governments are not so much afraid of the Hindus as of the Muslims. He is of the opinion that only a selected few of the Muslims should form themselves into a sort of a defence association and work secretly for the political emancipation of Muslims."

Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk pondered over the subject for a while, put me some more questions, and ultimately decided to be at Aligarh five days before the Prince and try to bring both of them round, as the Aga Khan would be there too.

Here I may mention an incident which puzzled me. After finishing with Benares, since I had a fortnight's holiday, I went to Bombay for a week and saw Sir Pherozshah Mehta. We knew each other, and in those days when I went to Bombay, I invariably saw him. In course of conversation, while we were all alone, he told me: "You Mohammedans are about to have a congress of your own. There is no reason why you should not have it. You shall have my sympathy and support. But I tell you one thing. Remember it well. Your moderates will be our extremists. You will give a lot of trouble to the Government and the Hindus. I shall be glad of it." I did not say anything in reply. But I felt a bit embarrassed, and could not conclude whether he really knew anything about it or merely tried to pump me out.

We reached Aligarh five days ahead of the occasion. Within half an hour of our arrival there, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk entered my tent, told me he had arrived 10 days ahead of the occasion, and gave me the tidings that he had converted both of them.

To make a long story short, the proposed meeting took place *in camera*, and we all decided to have a political organization of our own. Then came the question of how to proceed. One of the gentlemen present said that sometime back Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk had started a political organization, and called it the Muslim League. Although it never went beyond paper, and had not been heard of for long, present relations between Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk were a bit strained, and the latter might misconstrue the proposed step as an act of antagonism against him. The matter was serious, so it was decided, on the proposal of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk himself, that a deputation be first sent to Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk with a request to enrol all of us as members of his Muslim League if it functioned.

If it had ceased to exist, let him and others of his following join the association we propose to start. The deputation was nominated and asked to report within a specified time. After this we all dispersed.

It was at this time that talk about the desirability of starting a 'Muslim Congress' became widespread, and different schemes of varying merits began to be hatched in different quarters. The spade-work was still on, when a Godsend opportunity arrived with the news of the impending Minto-Morley Reforms. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk utilized the opportunity, and as a stepping stone in the direction of the permanent establishment of the proposed political association, he at once started organizing a Muslim Deputation to wait upon Lord Minto. He worked with lightning speed. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk drafted the Memorial. Both the Nawabs received private assurances that the Viceroy's reply would be sympathetic. So the whole thing was done very secretly for fear of the Hindu Press, whose howls might spoil the atmosphere, and the Viceroy might be compelled to become cautious in his reply. The public knew of the Deputation only at the eleventh hour and the contents of the Memorial became known only after the Aga Khan had read it.

Here again an incident took place which is worth mention. Before the eleventh hour arrived and the people knew anything about the Deputation, I went to Bombay on a private business of mine. There I happened to come across Mr. Gokhale. He told me everything about the proposed Deputation, and gave me the contents of the Memorial drafted by Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk. I asked him bluntly if he had a spy in the Muslim camp. He told me he had received a copy of the address officially from the Viceroy.

To return to our story, the Simla Deputation was considered to be a grand success. Muslims felt electrified.[1]

1. Manuscript letter of S. M. Zauqi to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, May 26, 1943—copy supplied by Mr. Shaheedullah, son-in-law of Mr. Zauqi.

CHART OF ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE SESSIONS, 1906-1943 AND COUNCIL MEETINGS, 1944-1947

Session	Place	Date	President	Reception Committee Chairman
Inaugural	Dacca	December 30, 1906	Nawab Salimullah Bahadur	Viqar-ul-Mulk, Moulvi Mushtaq Hussain Bahadur
First	Karachi	December 29-30, 1907	Sir Adamjee Pirbhoy	Mr. A. M. K. Dehlavi
First (Contd.)	Aligarh	March 18-19, 1908	Mr. Shah Din	Mr. Muzamil-ullah Khan
Second	Amritsar	December 30-31, 1908	Syed Ali Imam	Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah
Third	Delhi	January 29-30, 1910	Sir Ghulam Ali Khan Bahadur	Hakim Ajmal Khan
Fourth	Nagpur	December 28-30, 1910	Syed Nabiullah	Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak
Fifth	Calcutta	March 3-4, 1912	Nawab Salimullah Bahadur	Moulvi Badruddin Haider Khan
Sixth	Lucknow	March 22-23, 1913	Mian Mohammad Shafi	—
Seventh	Agra	December 30-31, 1913	Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla	Syed Alay Nabi
Eighth	Bombay	December 30, 1915-January 1, 1916	Mr. Mazharul Haque	Mr. Abdul Hussain Adamjee Pirbhoy
Ninth	Lucknow	December 30-31, 1916	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Mr. Nabi-ullah
Tenth	Calcutta	December 30, 1917	Raja of Mahmudabad	Mr. Abdul Latif Ahmed
Special	Bombay	August 31-September 1, 1918	Raja of Mahmudabad	Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy
Eleventh	Delhi	December 30, 1918	Mr. A. K. Fazalul Haque	Dr. M. A. Ansari
Twelfth	Amritsar	December 29-31, 1919	Hakim Ajmal Khan	Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew
Extraordinary	Calcutta	September 17, 1920	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Hakim Maulana Abdul Rauf
Thirteenth	Nagpur	December 30-31, 1920	Dr. M. A. Ansari*	—
Fourteenth	Ahmadabad	December 30, 1921	Maulana Hasrat Mohani	Mr. Abbas Tayabji
Fifteenth	Lucknow	March 31-April 1, 1923	Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri	Lt. Sheikh Shahid Hussain
Fifteenth (Cond.)	Lahore	May 24-25, 1924	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Agha Mohammad Safdar
Sixteenth	Bombay	December 30-31, 1924	Syed Riza Ali	Mr. Sherif Deoji Canji
Seventeenth	Aligarh	December 30-31, 1925	Sir Abdur Rahim	Sheikh Abdullah
Eighteenth	Delhi	December 29-31, 1926	Sheikh Abdul Qadir	Khan Bahadur Pirzada Muhammad Hussain
Nineteenth—I. Jinnah Group	Calcutta	December 30, 1927-January 1, 1928	Moulvi Mohammad Yakub	Mr. Mujibur Rahman

* The President Elect was Maulana Mohammad Ali, but he had been interned by the Government.

Session	Place	Date	President	Reception Committee Chairman
Nineteenth—II. Shafi Group	Lahore	January 1, 1928	Sir Muhammad Shafi	Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan
Twentieth	Calcutta	December 26-30, 1928	Raja of Mahmudabad	Moulvi Abdul Karim
Twenty-first	Allahabad	December 29-30, 1930	Sir Muhammad Iqbal	Mr. Muhammad Hussain
Twenty-second	Delhi	December 26-27, 1931	Choudhury Zafarullah Khan	Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah
Twenty-third—I.	Howrah	October 21, 1933	Mian Abdul Aziz	Mr. Ghulam Rabbani
Twenty-third—II. Hidayat Group	Delhi	November 25-26, 1933	Hafiz Hidayat Hussain	Haji Rashid Ahmed
Twenty-fourth	Bombay	April 11-12, 1936	Syed Wazir Hassan	Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim
Twenty-fifth	Lucknow	October 15-18, 1937	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Raja of Mahmudabad
Special	Calcutta	April 17-18, 1938	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Mr. Fazlul Haque
Twenty-sixth	Patna	December 26-29, 1938	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Syed Abdul Aziz
Twenty-seventh	Lahore	March 22-24, 1940	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot
Twenty-eighth	Madras	April 12-15, 1941	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan
Twenty-ninth	Allahabad	April 3-6, 1942	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf
Thirtieth	Delhi	April 24-26, 1943	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Mr. Hussain Malik
Thirty-first	Karachi	December 24-26, 1943	Mr. M. A. Jinnah	G. M. Syed

MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL MEETINGS, 1944-47

First	Lahore	July 30, 1944	Mr. M. A. Jinnah
Second	Delhi	April 10, 1946	Mr. M. A. Jinnah
Third	Bombay	July 27-29, 1946	Mr. M. A. Jinnah
Fourth	Delhi	June 9-10, 1947	Mr. M. A. Jinnah
Fifth	Karachi	December 14-15, 1947	Mr. M. A. Jinnah

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THE BOOK

The comprehensive documentation on the work of the All-India Muslim League collected in this book illuminates the Muslim struggle for freedom in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent from 1906 to 1924 in Volume I, and from 1924 to 1947 in Volume II. These documents thus unfold the drama of the making of a nation, scene by scene, with extraordinary vividness, and are, in this sense, documents on the foundations of Pakistan.

While the book presents invaluable material for the historian and political scientist—which has for the first time been collected together—the general reader interested in Pakistan will also find that it gives him a new insight into the formation and meaning of Pakistan. Most of the speeches and proceedings brought together in these volumes sparkle with liveliness, and convey an exciting sense of the march of events and ideas.

The collection of these documents—which are mostly taken from rare pamphlets and official records and include unpublished material—has been painstakingly undertaken by Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada over a period of several years. In this major task, he has tapped all available sources of information to make the documentation as exhaustive as possible.

While his introduction to Volume I provides a graphic setting for the documents, outlining the salient developments of the Muslim movement after the popular uprising of 1857; the introduction to Volume II clarifies issues relating to the genesis of Pakistan, the Lahore Resolution, the League Legislators' Convention of 1946, and the Quaid-i-Azam's concept of Pakistan.

The book is a saga of Pakistan that should grace the bookshelf of everyone who is interested in Pakistan and the Pakistan Movement.

THE EDITOR

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada is one of those eminent men of Pakistan who have been closely associated with the Pakistan Movement. During 1941-47, he held important offices both in the Bombay Muslim Students' Federation and the Bombay Muslim League. He came to know Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah personally, and worked with him for some time during this period.

He is a senior advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, and is a jurist of international fame. He was Advisor to the Constitution Commission of Pakistan in 1960, Chairman of the Pakistan Company Law Commission in 1961, the leader of several Pakistani delegations to various International Law Conferences, and leader of the Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in 1966-67. During 1966-68, he was the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, and now is the Attorney-General of Pakistan.

Apart from the offices he has held and his achievements in the forensic field, Sharifuddin Pirzada is essentially a scholar and historian. His writings include the following books: *Evolution of Pakistan*; *The Pakistan Resolution and the Historic Lahore Session*; *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*; *Fundamental Rights and Constitutional Remedies in Pakistan.*

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